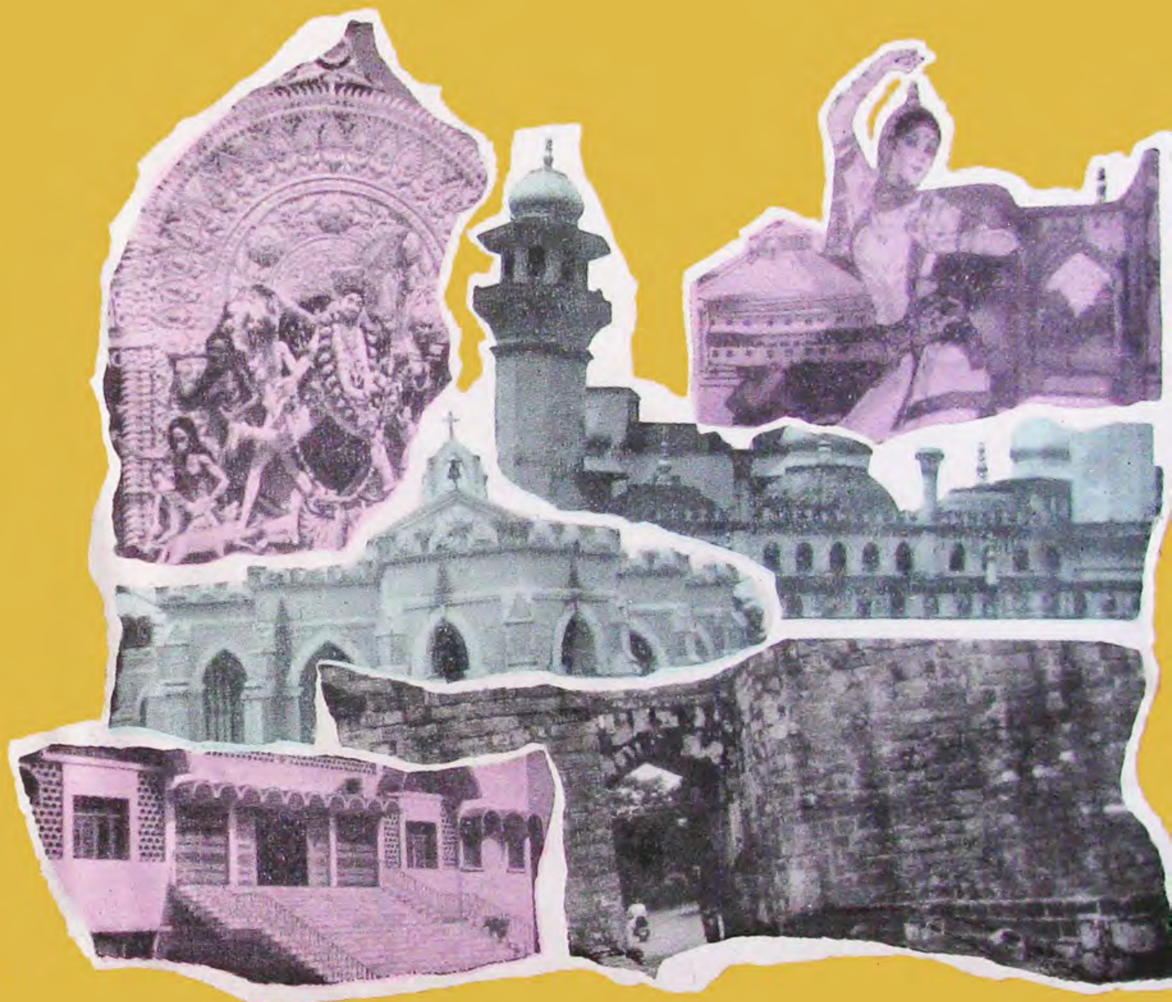
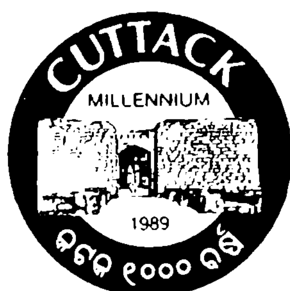
CUTTACK
ONE THOUSAND YEARS



CUTTACK CITY
MILLENNIUM COMMITTEE
THE UNIVERSE, CUTTACK

CUTTACK ONE THOUSAND YEARS

Vol. I



Cuttack City Millennium Celebrations Committee
The Universe, Maitree Sarani
Cuttack

Editors

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DEDICATED

TO THE PEOPLE

OF

CUTTACK

FOREWORD

Antiquity of a place is always hallowed with an emotional surge, more particularly for people dwelling there. Such a town with continuous human habitation has an important significance. If that town has been the seat of capital or centre of trade and commerce for a continuous period of more than eight hundred years, its important role is obvious.

Cuttack, having different epithets at different times, is a town like that situated on a small delta formed by two rivers, Mahanadi and Kathjori, it is encircled by those rivers almost on all sides, except a narrow neck of land in the east, joining it with the hinterland. More than a thousand years ago, there were a few hamlets along side the rivers. Its location providing natural in accessibility through wide, deep, perennial water spread of the two surrounding rivers, attracted the attention of the then rulers who were looking for protection against the insurgent attacks from the south, the north and the west. Fort, royal residence, administrative centre gradually began to appear on this land which led to a township growing into the capital of the region known by varied names in different periods, now as the State of Orissa in the Republic of India.

Written history of the long past of any part of the world is only a string strewn with investigative collection, probable imagination and random folklores. Bereft of arithmetical corrections it certainly provide a foot-hold. The remoter a fact, the sharper is the controversy about that. About the time of establishment of this town, now known as Cuttack, and before as Varanasi Kataka, Abhinab Varanasi Katak, the position is no different. But, a visible, massive stone embankment round the town, forming embankment of the two rivers, for the protection of the town from the ravages of floods in rivers is an undisputed land mark. The town must have grown in importance and population long before to justify and

necessiate the trouble and expenses of such massive embankments. The age of the stone used therein is a pointer to the age of the town. Besides, there is a more or less agreement that the stone embankment was constructed in or about 1006 AD though there is a difference in finding about which of the kings fulfilled the urgency of building it. It is, perhaps, not incorrect to say that more opinions hold that honour to Raja Markat Keshari. In this background, the selection and establishment of this town was earlier than 1006 AD Historian Sterling has put it at 989 AD Some others, like K. C. Panigrahi has taken that to a still earlier time. Based on Sterling, we decided to observe the completion of one thousand years of the City-Cuttack—on and from the 1st December, 1989. To dig the past, the Archaeological Survey of India, on our request, started on that day the excavation of the remains of the Barabati Fort (1229), our eloquent glory of the by-gone days of Kalinga (Orissa). It is still in progress. Evidence of a massive, multistoreyed stone structure has come out. The President of the Republic of India, Mr. Ramaswamy Venkat Raman formally inaugurated the Millennium Celebration of the grounds of Barabati Stadium on the 10th December 1989. Our humble endeavour to publish this memorial compilation is a major item of the celebrations. To facilitate this, a seminar on Cuttack was held on the 28th, April, 1990 We are grateful to the scholars, researchers, social scientists, statesmen, and the other intellectuals who participated in the seminar or have contributed papers for this compilation. Any one can appreciate the labour and attention that must have gone behind the preparation of these writings. Our gratitude is due to the Chairman of the Steel Authority of India Ltd. for a helpful donation of Rs. 50,000/- towards the cost of printing of this compilation. But for the labour of my colleagues, we could not have gone through this publication. We are very much indebted to them. Our gratitude is also due to The Printoverse, Cuttack, who, in a spirit of partnership, have brought out these two volumes within a time schedule.

Our endeavours have been to collect, as far as possible materials concerning the events and different aspects of the happenings in this town in the past one thousand years, so that the future generations will be able to carry on research on any or all of them to have a more correct and meaningful appraisal. Perhaps, a thousand years after there will be the second Millennium Celebration of this City, when the then City dwellers will use this compilation as a step to stride on to reach higher heights.

There are some other ancient towns in India. But, so far, none of them has been found to have served as a capital of a region continuously for over eight centuries, as this town. Cuttack is the anglicised spelling of

the word KATAK of which two etymological meanings are Capital, Cantonment. The general meaning of the word is a town. To one, like parentage, place of birth has an emotional appeal. When it was publicly and widely known that for one thousand years or more, this town has already been the cradle for generations of people, both descendents of the original dwellers and also of outsiders coming to live here, a pleasure-to-see wave of delight and curiosity sprang from all sections of the present citizens. They wanted to know what have been the trends of this place in the past and how the present is related to them. To answer that, this compilation was thought of, different exhibitions were arranged, seminar was sponsored, public, lectures were held, painters' tour-in-the town was conducted, two hundred and fifty artists participating drama, "Cuttack City through thousand years" was staged, more than a hundred singers' sung chorus was composed. The two outstanding features that will remain visible for the generations to come, are this compilation and the excavation of the famous Barabati Fort Palace.

Present is flirting, future is uncertain, past is invisible. But man lives through them, with pride of the past, hope for the future and struggle in the present. The place where he lives, weaves the continuity of the three. Cuttack has done that for thousand years and will do so for many thousand years to come.

25 August, 1991
(Shraban Purnima)

Harihar Mahapatra

Introduction

Ultimately realising the hopes of many and belying apprehensions of some, the two-volume book on the one thousand years of the Cuttack City is being published, after continuous and strenuous efforts. We are grateful to the scholars who have so kindly contributed papers on various aspects of the history of Cuttack. The compilation is not complete because there is nothing called complete in history. It is a process which never ends. This challenge is left to the posterity who will be developing them further and further. Burdens on us are very heavy and inspite of our best of efforts we could not make the volumes cheaper. We also could not publish more number of copies which we would have liked.

Some papers could not be included as they did not reach in time or could not be translated into English.

A large number of Photographs and Maps have been included, and yet many had to be left out. Some photo prints of hand paintings were collected from the India House Library, London and our thanks are due to Sri P. K. Mahapatra for that. Collection of historical materials from Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna through the kind help from Dr. H. Newalpuri have been included in this. We are extremely thankful to Dr. A. R. Bedar, Director of the Library for this. Prices of paper went on rocketing higher and higher from day to day and the volumes hence had to be made costly. There was no way out.

Nearly three lakhs of rupees have been spent when there was no money, no grant. But we are thankful to the Steel Authority of India for their grant of Rs. 50,000/-. This amount helped us immensely to print this Book.

Sri Umesh Chandra Nayak, Sri Santosh Kumar Raichoudhury, Sri Kailash Chandra Das, Sri Sibuli Tripathy, Sri Kishore Kumar Tripathy and Sri Bibhuranjan Das etc. have worked hard to make this book see the light of the day.

A bulk of the article "Some Illustrious Sons and Daughters of Cuttack" has been compiled by Sri Bansidhar Patnaik and Sri Pabak Kanungo of Gyan Mandal and Sri Bibhuranjan Das, while some portions have been collected by several other persons. Possibly some names have not been included, some bio-datas are incomplete. There may be factual errors in the bio-datas of some. We also confess that the list is not complete. We leave it to the posterity to go on adding to the list.

Sri Siba Panigrahi has drawn the design of the cover of the book with pleasure and love. Sri H N. Das has collected the bulk of the photographs, some of which are rare. Prof. Pathani Patnaik has gone through a bulk of the materials collected for the "Some Illustrious Sons and Daughters of Cuttack" and has made valuable correction and additions. We are grateful to all of them.

We are thankful to M/s Jagannath Process for preparing the blocks and to M/s Utkal Binding Works for the Books binding in a very short time

We also express our gratefulness to the Editors of the books. It is they who delved into the documents of history and gave us the theoretical approval for the celebration of the millennium of the Cuttack City. It is they who also undertook the responsibilities of editing the volumes.

A war is fought and won by unknown soldiers who remain annonymous but for them the war is never won. Same is the case in the Publications of those volumes. There are a number of persons but for whose labour the publications could not have been possible but they have remained unknown Our gratefulness goes to these unknown soldiers. Our deep appreciation are due to the works of The Printoverse, particularly Sri Ramesh Chandra Behera and Sri Suresh Chandra Sahu, for their hard labour to publish the volumes in time.

There are many lacunaes, many lapses. We are conscious of it. But "Best is the enemy of good" We wanted to collect and print materials for an authoritative book on the history of Cuttack and deliver it to the future generations who will be interested to know our own history, and probe into the future. They will continue the work, make up the lacunaes and develop it further with the march of history.

2nd October, 1991 **Girija Bhusan Patnaik**

About the Book

The history of Orissa stretches far back into antiquity. All through this history, Cuttack has occupied a position of pre-eminence and been the city par excellence. It is one of the oldest cities of India. Present day metropolies such as Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad, bear no comparison with Cuttack, in matters of antiquity. They are recent developments.

Starting from scratch, Cuttack attained dizzy heights of imperial glory and prosperity. It glorified itself by being in the crucible of the politico cultural annals of Orissa by becoming its capital for many centuries. It was at the very vortex of the various activities of the empires whose nerve centre it was. In course of time the name Cuttack became almost synonymous with the name Orissa. People came to talk of Cuttack when they really meant to talk of Orissa. This may explain why Andrew Stirling, the first British administrator-historian of Orissa called his work the 'History of Orissa or Cuttack Proper' It is only very recently that the capital of Orissa has been shifted out of Cuttack.

The location of Cuttack is both traditional and unique. Like many other ancient Indian cities, whether religious or political centres, such as Pataliputra, Allahabad and Varanasi, it is situated on the banks of a great river, Mahanadi, the chief river of the region. But unlike these cities, it is situated on and at the head of a delta.

The city of Cuttack enjoys a superb locational advantage. It stradles the main north-south highway on the east coast at a point between the hills to the west and the flood plains to the east where it is most convenient to ford the mighty rivers of Mahanadi and Kathajodi. The river system is navigable. It has been a highway of commerce from ancient times.

The high roads from Central India, such as the ones, from Nagpur and the Amara kantak region, which traversed the valley of the Mahanadi both to the north and to the south of the river, terminated at Cuttack. It was thus a nodal point of vital importance through which the north and the south and the west of India met one another.

Cuttack thus became a magnetic point which attracted everyone to itself. Men of peace and God came here on their way to Orissa and to Puri. They include Shankaracharya, Nanak and Sri Chaitanya, and a host of others. Men of violence came here too, seeking the glory of victory and empire and inflicting death and destruction.

The city of Cuttack has learnt to live with its conquerors and destroyers. Each of its visitors has in his own way left his indelible mark on the city which it has made its own. But in the process of assimilation it has become a melting pot of different streams of culture and strands of history. So it has acquired an aura denied to many other cities.

Its nodal situation has always made Cuttack a city of commerce. It was connected through the river system as well as over land to ancient ports such as Cheli-talo, Palur and Tamralipti. So it specialised in a kind of entrepot trade. Its marts and markets were full and its artisans plied their trade to great advantage.

Cuttack played a crucial role during the years of the struggle for freedom. It was a bee-hive of political activities and a radiating centre of the policies and programmes of the movement. When freedom came at last. it continued to be the nerve centre of life in the State in all its varied spheres—social, cultural, political and economic. It was the leader, the pathbreaker in every sense of the term.

Traditions assign the founding of the city to the year 989 A D. and to king Nrupa Keshari of the Keshari dynasty. The city was liable to be inundatad by the two rivers that girt it on three sides. As protection against this, king Markata Keshari of the same dynasty is said to have constructed a stone revetment. In this connection in 1825 Andrew Stirling wrote in his book 'An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack', "Raja Nirupa Keshari, a martial and ambitious prince who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack about A.D. 989. The reign of Markata Keshari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment or embankment faced with that material to protect the new capital from inundation in A.D. 1006."

There is a divergence of opinions about the exact date of the foundation of the city. Yet a balanced consideration of the local traditions as well as the views of Stirling who based his conclusion on the Raj charita of the Madala Panji has led to the general acceptance of the date as 989. This has also been mentioned with the *"Kataka Rajavamsabali"* which was collected

by Mackenzie in the early part of the 19th Century. While giving a resume of the traditional history of Orissa from the earliest times onwards, he mentions that Nrupa Keshari founded the city of Cuttack.

Thus the city completed one thousand years of its continued existence in 1989. This is by any standards, a great event in the life of a city and the occasion demanded a befitting celebration. And it goes without saying that if something has to be done, someone has to do it. So a group of the elites of Cuttack put their heads together and decided that the millennium of the city would be celebrated in a suitable manner, Accordingly, the Cuttack City Millennium Celebration Committee was constituted in The 'Universe', Cuttack.

The programmes and projects that the committee drew up for the celebrations were quite ambitious. One of the programmes was the organisation of a national seminar which was held in April A number of scholars attended the seminar which was an interdisciplinary one. They contributed papers and took part in the discussions. The committee had decided to publish these papers in a book-form so that the publication would become an authoritative work on the history and culture of the city of Cuttack. Hence the present volumes.

The papers in the two volumes are divided into four sections, two to each volume.

Section 1 deals with the Geographical background. It not only gives an account of the present day geographical situation of the city with its river and its drainage systems, it also traces the geological history of the terrain. One interesting paper in this section gives an account of the excavations at the Barabati Fort which was one of the projects undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India from the 1st December, 1989.

Section 2 deals with the Political history of Cuttack. The papers in this sections throw a flood of light on the different aspects of this history Some shed light on the intimate details of the life in the City like its lanes, localities, drainage, market places and municipal administration and almost nostalgic in tone. Some others trace the broad sweeps of its history and give us a panoramic view of its past. They talk of what the city became through the ages, of how it grew and achieved glory and became the pulsating heart of empire after empire. There is another groups of papers which traces the administrative importance of the City during the hegemony of the various rulers that the city lived under, whether native or imposed.

There is even a peep into the Cuttack Jail. One group of papers gives an account of the eminent sons of the city and the part they played in its religious, cultural, social and political life. It tells of what history they made just as surely as history made them what they were. There is another group which traces the role of the city in the growth of political awareness and the part it played in the struggle for the freedom of the country. All told, this sections has a richness in variety.

Section 3 deals with the monuments of the city. The papers in this section delve into the past and trace its continuity into the living present. They give an account of the treasures of the past buried underground and now excavated in part and of their preservation. Some of them throw light on the monuments of the major religious communities that make up the population of the city—the Hindus, the Christians and the Muslims. A tour around with them is amply rewarding.

Section 4 deals with the cultural development of the city. It is the largest section. This is in the fitness of things, as the cultural life of Cuttack is a variegated and multifaceted one. It is in its cultural activities that Cuttack truly manifests itself. The enquiry begins with a close examination of the ancient inscriptions, continues into literature both religious and secular, and branches out into the other aspects of the City's cultural life. One group of papers traces the development of education in the city while giving an account of the important educational institutions. One group of papers talks of writers, their work and their institutions and tries to find out why they flock to this city. The performing arts, the theatre and the drama, and music and dance are the objects of attention of one group of papers. Journalism, the press and publication, radio and television are the objects of study of yet another group of papers. The arts and crafts of the city come in for close study as do its fairs and festivals, its libraries and parks, its games and sports. The section is as varied as are life and its manifold activities.

An observant reader will quickly realise that a few of the papers included here were not written either for the seminar or for these volumes. They have been called from old established works. This was done as it was thought that the volumes would not otherwise acquire the king of completeness required of such defenitive works.

A few papers could not be included in these volumes because of unavoidable reasons.

Appended to the work is a section which gives brief biographical sketches of eminent citizens of the city. The list may not appear complete or exhaustive. We ourselves wanted to include some more names, but could not do so because of certain constraints.

Cuttack is a city that has grown in course of time as life in it has impelled its growth. A lot of the impetus, to be sure, was once supplied by the fact that it was the political capital of Orissa. That impetus has now been largely removed with the shifting of the capital to Bhubaneswar, but other impulses have taken its place and the city continues to grow, sometimes bursting at the seams. It is a living city, vibrant with myriad activities, astir with passion, agog with excitement. Thus there is hope for the future. One can look into the future far as the human eye can see and see a vision of the city forever growing, forever expanding and getting enriched in the process of giving and receiving new ideas and stimulants. One can see the city one lives in and loves, or one comes to and admires, going from heights to dizzy heights of glory and achievements equal to, if not greater than, man's attainments elsewhere.

Our forefathers in ages long past were not in the babit of leaving detailed records of their lives and times forthe edification of posterity. That is why we have such great difficulty in piecing together the history of the ancient times in our country. But with the advance of time this lacuna has been filled in and careful records have been made and left for use in future. The present volumes are an exercise in such an endeavour. It is hoped that these volumes will create in all those who care to go through them an awareness of the rich historical legacy tha is Cuttack. To understand a little more the city we live in or come to this is in itself a tribute to the great city and its rich traditions. If these volumes can create a little of this awareness in the reader, our labour will be amply rewarded.

Karuna Sagar Behera
Jagannath Patnaik
Harish Chandra Das

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Section - I



Geographical Background

Geography of Cuttack City

Prof. B. N. Sinha

INTRODUCTION

Cuttack, the premier city of Orissa, is located between 20° 27′ to 20° 29′N latitudes and 85° 50′ to 85° 55′E longitudes. The name *Kataka* itself denotes town or city in Oriya. The choice of the location of the citv at the appex of the Mahanadi Delta, bounded by the Mahanadi on the north and by its distributary, the Kathajodi, on the south, was mostly due to strategic reasons, for Nrupa Keshari of Keshari Dynasty chose the site for the establishment of the city of Cuttack in 989 A.D. on the levees of Mahanadi which was then free from floods. He also connected the moat of the fort with Mahanadi through a breach in the levees on the right bank of the Mahanadi. Marakata Keshari of the same dynasty built the famous stone embankment on the left bank of the Kathajodi in 1006 A.D. to protect the city from the furry of the floods. This embankment was an engineering feat in those days. Unfortunately this historic Kathajodi *Bandha* has been burried for the construction of a Ring Road which became essential to save the city from the furry of floods and also from its natural death. This ring road will also revitalise the decaying north-western portion of Bidanasi. The ring road has been built with sand from the river beds of the Mahanadi and the Kathajodi, the schist boulders from Tapanga Hills, and laterite slabs from Khurda region. This has given a new lease of life to the city of Cuttack by providing excellent approach roads on either side of the city and also to the delta apex.

The fabled fort of Barabati which was the nucleus of the city was built in 1229 A.D. by Anangabhima Dev-III of Ganga Dynasty who shifted his Capital from Choudwar *Kataka* to *Abhinab Varanasi Kataka* i.e. the present Cuttack. In it Mukunda Deva Harichandan, who usurped the throne, built a nine storey building in 1560 A.D. Thus the city owes its origin due to strategic reasons rather than any other considerations. This fort, the principal citadel of Anangabhim Dev-III, was also well defended by two rings of satelite forts on the either side of the Mahanadi and Kathajodi as the first and second lines of defence at the time of invasions on Cuttack

by external enemies. Chaudwar, a fort, located on the left bank of the Mahanadi, on the laterite plateau is in ruins today. The Sarangagada or Chudangagarh (a fort near Baranga) located on the right bank of the river Kathajodi was well defended by a very dense forest of tropical wet deciduous trees and oxbow lake marshes of Barang. This fort was defending the city of Cuttack from invasions from the south. The Kasiagarh (a fort near Chandaka), also located on the right bank of Mahanadi-Kathajodi was defending the Barabati from invasion from the south, while Chaudwar was guarding the city in the north. The wide perennial bed of the river Mahanadi, the dry exposed sandy bed of the Kathajodi which have got to be crossed to come to Cuttack city, were also acting as natural defensive points. In the west, the river Mahanadi itself was acting as a natural defence of the city of Cuttack. The Bankigarh was a minor defensive point on the right bank of Mahanadi about 40 kms. up stream from the delta head. On the left bank of the Mahanadi Athagarh was also a strong point of defence. The Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar on the way to Puri, the fort of Khurdha at the foot hills of the Barunei Hills were located on the approach route of the invading armies from the south. Chhatiagarh, the ruins of which are still standing on the laterite plateau at the foot hills of the Eastern Ghats, was guarding the approach route from Bengal and was acting as the first line of defence of Cuttack from N.E. Bankigarh was guarding the old traditional route from Western side i.e. from Raipur-Sambalpur-Sonepur route. Baudh and Athamallik located on either side of the Mahanadi also served the purpose of defence of Cuttack. Thus the forts in the first line of defence were Chattiagarh, on the north-east, Boudh-Athmallik on the West, Khurda and Sisupalgarh on the south-west. In the inner ring of defence Bankigarh on the right bank of Mahanadi, Athagarh on the left bank of the Mahanadi were guarding the approach routes from West, Chaudwar was guarding the north-eastern approach route while Sarangagada (Barang) and Kasiagarh of Chandaka were guarding the approach routes from the South-West. Thus the fort Barabati was the natural strategic choice of Nrupa Keshari who established the city in 989 A.D. and Anangabhim Dev established the fort at Barabati in 1229 A.D. at the appex of the Mahanadi Delta and Mukunda Dev who built the *Navatala* Palace (Nine storey palace) inside the fort.

The city of Cuttack, younger than the Jagannath Puri, Tosali (present Bhubaneswar) and Jajpur, all located in a triangular form of which Puri and Jajpur forms the base while Cuttack is at the appex of the triangle while Tosali was located on the left arm of the triangle (Puri-Tosali-Cuttack).

All these towns have always been the natural choice for shifting the capital by the ancient rulers of Orissa.

CLIMATE

Cuttack is situated to the South of the Tropic of Cancer and is located in the costal Plains of Orissa for which it receives the moderating influence of the Bay of Bengal. As it is situated in the monsoonic belt the climate of Cuttack is mostly of 'monsoon type'' with a slight variation because of a strong maritime influence. Hot summers, high humidity during the S. W. Monsoons, dry winters and low diurnal range of temperature throughout the year are the chief characteristics of the climate of Cuttack. The winter is experienced from December to March, Summer in April and May and rainy season from June to September (S.W.Monsoon), while the period of retreating monsoon is from October to November

N. E. Monsoon—December—March
Hot Weather—April—May
S. W Monsoon—June—September
Retreating S. W Monsoon—October—November

(a) Temperature

The month of May is usually the hottest when maximum temperature of the day reaches 38.6°C. With the bursting of the monsoon (S.W.) in early June, the day temperature drops appreciably but night temperature remains comparatively high.

December is the coldest month of the year with the mean maximum temperature during the daytime is 37.4°C and the mean minimum temperature is 14.9°C. Thus it is obvious that there is little variation in annual normal temperature mainly because of low relief of Cuttack and moderating influence of the Bay of Bengal. The diurnal range of temperature is lower than that of the interior Orissa and it is only 2°C to 3°C during June to December and 4°C to 6°C from January to May.

(b) Rainfall

The S. W monsoon is the principal rain bearing wind during which more than 75% of the total precipitation is received. The average annual rainfall of the Cuttack city is about 144.2 cms. but the annual variations are quite wide due to uncertainties of the S. W. monsoons. During this season most of the rainfall is cyclonic, when depressions originate in the Bay of Bengal over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and more towards

the East Coast of India and enter the landmass between Paradeep and Chandabali causing considerable rainfall. High humidity prevails almost throughout the year, which varies from more than 50% in rainy season to less than 35% during the month of December to June.

(c) Wind Speed

The wind velocity is moderate throughout the year and it becomes stronger during the S.W monsoons. During the S.W monsoon the average wind speed is 15 kms. p.h. and it drops to only 5-10 kms. p.h. in October From October to January the wind direction is from N.E. to S.W. and the direction is reversed during S.W monsoons when it is from S.W. to N.E. During November to March the prevailing wind direction is from N.N.E. to S.S.W.

During the post S.W. monsoon period and early part of the retreating monsoon, storms and depressions become more frequent which originate in the Bay of Bengal and affect the weather conditions of Cuttack region. Some of these depressions intensify into severe storms with strong wind when the wind velocity often reaches 120 kms. p.h. and squalls bring heavy rainfall to Cuttack city.

POPULATION

Reliable population data is available from 1901 from the Census reports of India .In 1901 report the population of Cuttack was recorded 51, 364 and it grew at a slow rate till 1941 when it reached 74,291 mark. This slow growth is primarily due to a decline in population during 1911-21 when the city's population declined from 52,528 in 1911 to 51,007 in 1921, which was an all-India phenomenon. This decline was mostly due to war and famine when the decenial percentage variation was—2.90% (1911-21). The population growth was also very marginal which was only 2.27% during the previous decade (1901-11). The decade ending in 1931 experienced a high growth rate (27.95%) of population but again it declined to only 13.83% during 1931-41, due to world war-II. Thus during the pre-Independence period the percentile growth of the population of Cuttack city fluctuated violently.

After 1941 the city of Cuttack is experiencing a constant high growth rate and as it appears its population growth by and large has been stabilised. It was 37.98% during 1941-51, 42.43% during 1951-61, 32.64% during 1961-71 and 39.10% during 1971-81 as the city's population has increased from 102, 505 in 1951 to 269,950 in 1981. Thus the city

of Cuttack has recorded high growth rates in the post-Independence period due to high inputs and developmental activities taken up in this part of Orissa. Between 1961-71, the growth rate of Cuttack has slightly come down to 32.64% from the previous decade's 42.43% as a large number of government offices were shifted to New Capital at Bhubaneswar. This caused the migration of a large number of people from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar where housing facilities for Government employees were provided. But due to commercial activities of Cuttack the growth rate of population has again increased to 39.10% during 1971-81 as against 32.64% during 1961-71. Thus the earlier anticipation of a decline in growth rate of Cuttack has been proved to be erroneous. During 1971-81 a total of 75,882 persons have been added to Cuttack's population which is quite significant.

The male/female ratio was 855 females per 1000 males in 1911 and it came down to as low as 722 in 1961 and increased to 805 females per 1000 males in 1981. Thus Cuttack has remained a 'male city' due to acute problem of housing and very high rental values of the available houses in the city for which many are forced to keep their families in their villages. This recent improvement in male/female ratio in Cuttack is because a large number of quarters have been constructed in Cuttack.

TABLE—1

Growth of Population of Cuttack City

Year	Males	Females	Total	Variation	
				Absolute	Decennial percentage variation
1901	27,692	23,672	51,364	—	—
1911	28,504	24,024	52,528	+ 1,164	+ 2.24
1921	27,315	23,692	51,007	- 1,521	- 2.90
1931	36,357	28,906	65,263	+14,256	+27.95
1941	42,590	32,701	74,291	+ 9,028	+13.83
1951	58,417	44,088	102,505	+28,214	+37.98
1961	84,960	61,348	146,308	+43,803	+42.43
1971	109,200	84,868	194,068	+47,760	+32.64
1981	149,436	120,514	269,950	+75,882	+32.10

Source :—Census of India 1981

GEOGRAPHICAL CONSTRAINTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUTTACK CITY

Cuttack City, the oldest and largest in the entire State, is suffering from its present ills due to many geographical constraints. The very first geographical constraints is its location. This City was first located at the apex of the delta from the point of defence during the historic days. The city was protected by two major rivers, the Mahanadi and the Kathajodi, its distributary, in its north-east and south-west sides respectively. Thus the city is pressed on three sides by the rivers and hence it can only grow to the south-east. This is perhaps the most important factor for the present problems from which the City is suffering.

As it is located in the apex of the Mahanadi delta, the levees of these rivers are higher in elevation than the city core. The average elevation of the middle tract of the city, starting from Bidanasi upto Bajrakabati is the lowest portion and its level even becomes lower than that of the high flood levels of the Kathjodi and Mahanadi during the floods. During the monsoons the city is flooded with local heavy down pours. The drainage channel which takes its origin from the Barabati Killa area and flows by the side of Prabhat cinema and flows down streams to Bajrakabati area and drains the water. Then it runs parallel to the main Taladanda Canal to meet the Kathajodi near Bidyadharpur Farm. This drainage channel fails to drain the local flood waters to the river Kathajodi as its level is lower than that of the river itself. Thus the drainage has remained a perpetual problem of Cuttack City from the past and it has been aggravated by the half hazard constructions which have disturbed the natural flow of water. Further, the local pools and tanks which used to work as 'soak pits' of rain water, have also been either filled up in natural process or for construction work. This process has aggravated the problem. We predict that in the decades to come the drainage problem will be aggravated further if proper action is not taken in clearing the channel and maintaining it properly.

The second geographical constraint which has proved injurious to the Cuttack City is the former flood embankment which links Ranihat, Dolamundei, Badambari and ultimately joins the Kathajodi embankment. This embankment was constructed to prevent flood waters from rushing into the Cuttack City in the historic past. But at present it has become a major hurdle for draining the rain water from the main built-up areas, located the north and west of this embankment.

The third geographical constraints is or recent origin. The Taladanda canal and the S.E. Railway line linking Calcutta with Madras, which used to be the south-eastern limit of the City, have now practically become the dividing line between the old Cuttack City and the new developing areas near O.M.P Chhak, Chauliaganj, Naya Bazar and Bidyadharpur Farm areas. The present Cuttack-Paradip railway line has added further complications. These railway lines have created problems of commutation between the main city and the newly developed areas. This can probably be solved with an adequate number of over-bridges and under-bridges.

Since Cuttack is an old City, it is mostly an over-grown village which has conglomerated several villages by later sprawl of the city and that too again mostly after independence. These villages had very narrow winding roads, suited only for bullock-carts which were then the principal mode of transport. Such examples are many like, the Keutasahi, Baniasahi Sagadiasahi, Jholasahi, Patapol etc. Since these were the oldest built up areas, the roads have continued to maintain their original pattern and hence they are creating problems for to-day's fast automobile transportation system. This problem has further been accentuated as those old villages have remained as they were and hence they are the present day worst slums in the city of Cuttack. Even if we modernise the city of Cuttack by constructing excellent roads on the river fronts of the Kathjodi and the Mahanadi, these areas will continue to be the pockets of slums in the modern city, if they are not completely demolished and rebuilt. This is a proposition which is neither feasible due to heavy financial involvement nor practicable politically, as we are planning the city in a democracy.

The fourth geographical constraints is clearly revealed in the shifting of the C. B. D. centres from north-west towards south-east as the city has grown beyond the present railway line towards south-east. This can be proved easily by stating that the Chandnichauk area was the oldest C.B.D. area which shifted to Chaudhury Bazar and Marwari Patty complex. But at the present moment signs of deterioration are easily visible by the growth of modern shopping centres further to the south-east in and around Buxi Bazar and Ranihat areas. This shifting of the C.B.D. centres has posed several problems. The most important amongst them is the old shopping centres at Chandnichauk and Balu Bazar areas have completely declined and along with the buildings of these areas, have also shown signs of dilapidation. We would, therefore, suggest that these areas should be taken up under core-redevelopment plans.

To arrest this shifting the C.B.'Ds. from the Chandnichauk area towards south-east and the consequent deterioration of Tulsipur Chandnichauk and Balu Bazar areas, some impetus should be provided in the form of putting extra in-puts. This can be achieved if we link up Charbatia with that of Tulsipur and Purighat with that of Mundumuhan by two bridges along the old Orissa Trunk Road. This will shorten the distance between Cuttack and Chaudwar on the one hand and Cuttack and Bhubaneswar on the other. This will also greatly relieve the traffic on the existing Mahanadi and Kathjodi bridges whose capacity may soon be exceeded by the heavy long-distance traffic on N. H. 5 and local traffic, when the road bridges over Godavari and Krishna in the south are completed. The traffic increased further with the completion of the bridge over the Subarnarekha which shortened the distance between Calcutta and Cuttack and consequently between Calcutta and Vijayawada. These micro-level problems are bound to interact in micro-level planning, a factor which is very often overlooked by administrator-planners, who are more concerned in their immediate neighbourhood which come strictly under their administrative jurisdiction. Thus if these two bridges are constucted over the Mahanadi and Kuakhai the north-western part of the city will develop very fast and the economy of the people, who inhabit these areas will improve. They will also shorten the distance between Cuttack-Bhubaneswar complex, the administrative-commercial capital of Orissa, and Sambalpur in western Orissa.

The other geographical factor which will affect the city's inter-communication between the newly developed areas to the south-east of the railway line and he old city areas is the N.H. 5 by the end of the decade. It is very strange that while the by-passes are being constructed for the National Highways at major cities and towns of the country, we have allowed the N. H. 5 to cut Cuttack City into two halves. We foresee the load of traffic over this road from the Mahanadi bridge upto the Kuakhai bridge inter-communication between the western and eastern halves of Cuttack City will be almost impossible. I, therefore, suggest a fly-over from Mahanadi bridge to Taldanda bridge and from Taladanda bridge to Kathjudi bridge should be planned during this 8th plan itself failing which the cost of construction will be very much prohibitive during the twenty-first century.

STREET PATTERN

Since Cuttack is by and large an 'overgrown village' it has engulfed in course of time many villages due to city sprawl and there was no

attempt for planning the city in the past. Consequently the growth has been most halfhazard and unplanned. The very names of different localities suggest that they were villages which are named after different old occupational structure of the people of the locality. They are Keuta Sahi, Sagadia Sahi, Baniasahi, Santa Sahi, etc. Some of the villages are sufixed by 'Pur' like Tulasipur, Kesharpur Haripur, Sekharpur etc. Later some markets were established at different periods to serve the need of the growing urban community. They are like Balubazar, Chaudhuribazar, Chatrabazar, Buxibazar, Ranihat, etc. During the Muslim period, several market places were also established which were named after the persons who established them. They are Sekhbazar, Mahamadiabazar, Kazibazar, etc. Thus the city of Cuttack has grown from the nucleus Barabati Fort towards the east, due to natural barriers in west, north and south. The first settlements developed on the levess of the Kathajodi, which was comparatively of higher elevation than that of the levees of the Mahanadi, Consequently the oldest part of the city like Bakharabad, Chaudhuribazar Balubazar and Candinchauk are on the left bank of the Kathajodi and the street patterns are very narrow and winding in these areas. These areas are also very thickly populated tracks of the city even today.

Between the two levees, i. e. Kathajodi and the Mahanadi the middle portion was the shallowest part through which a major distributary was flowing to drain at the flood water This rivet originated right from the appex of the delta and was winding its course to the east. This middle low lying part remained unhabited till the post-Independence period or even upto early sixties. Consequently the major roads followed the levees, one along the levees of the Kathajodi and another along the levees of the Mahanadi, while the main road followed the middle course in a most winding, sometimes taking almost right angle turn. One such turn is at the meeting point of Maruaripatti and Chaudhuribazar and another at Howrah Motors crossing, where it has met the road which originates from Barabati-Cantonment and pass through Mangalabag upto Railway Station. From Chaudhuribazar another arterial road links Dolamundai crossing which is located on the flood protection embankment linking Satichaura on the left embankment of the Kathajodi to Ranihat and beyond this embankment the area to the east were allowed to be flooded and consequently the city's cremation ground was located beyond this embankment. This Dolamundai road goes right upto Railway yard (old Malgodown) via Chhatrabazar which is a later development. Baring these, three arterial roads all other roads join the two levee roads by crossing the middle one. This creates the real traffic problem.

The traffic problem has become further complicated after the railways linked Cuttack with Calcutta in the N.E. and Madras in the S.W. To the east of present railway line a new township developed called 'Nua Bazar' where the O.M.P. campus and the Central Rice Research Institute are located. This part used to be linked with old Cuttack through only one level crossing and through it to New Capital at Bhubaneswar after 1956, when it was established. It created considerable traffic bottleneck since the level crossing used to closed by railway shunting to the Malgodown marshalling yard frequently for quite sometime. This problem was recently solved by the construction of an over bridge at the site of the level crossing, one under bridge at the link road and another under bridge at Kaliaboda, on the bank of the Mahanadi. Thus old Cuttack and Nuabazar area are now connected by three crossings, two under bridges and one over bridge. Thus the problem of traffic mobility has been greatly mitigated.

The areas to the west of the Barabati fort, more particularly Bidanasi areas, remained undeveloped till the late seventies. Now a new township is being developed here for more than 1.5 lakh population after the construction of the ring road This part remained undeveloped as the centre of gravity of the city from Barabati Fort was being constantly pulled to the east as the greater part of the city's hinterland lay in the Mahanadi Delta. The east-ward growth was accelerated by railway station which acted as a magnet. The proposed bridge linking N.H. 43 and Mundumuhan will act like counter magnet for the west-ward growth of the city of Cuttack. The present major road pattern is like a triangle with apex at Bidanasi and the roads on the left bank of Kathajodi and right bank of Mahanadi are the two sides and the N.H. 5 is as the base of the triangle with which the railway line runs almost in a parallel manner.

SHIFTING OF CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (CBD)

One of the peculiar characteristics of Cuttack is the shifting of the CBD over the decades. In historic past Chandinchauk, as the very name suggests, was the CBD of Cuttack which was the principal centre of all activities of the city; commercial, social and religious. In a subsequent period it shifted to Chaudhury Bazar-Maruaripatti areas which still retain the hold to a great extent, specially for wholesale textile goods and the goods produced of the precious metals like gold and silver. The third shift of the CBD was witnessed to Buxibazar area during the post-Independence era in mid-fifties which rather short lived. With the shifting of the main

bus terminal to Badambadi, once a low lying marshy vacant pocket where paddy and, other vegetables were cultivated, the CBD tended to shift to Ranighat-Bajrakabati Road-Dolamundai complex where a large number of new retailing trading centres have developed along with Badambadi areas. The new link road providing an excellent approach road from Bhubaneswar before the flyover near Cuttack railway station has pulled the gravity of development to Sankarpur-Khananagar area. This wide road with three up and three down traffic lanes with a middle island is the only show piece of Cuttack. Recently the ring road along the Kathajodi and Mahanadi meeting at Bidanasi has provided the city of Cuttack another lease of life which was almost suffocating with the internal traffic circulation in the narrow winding streets.

ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF CUTTACK CITY

The city has a wide range of community and public utility services as it has the largest number of educational institutions in Orissa. All these are related to physical and cultural environment of the city. The population of Cuttack has grown very fast which was 51.4 thousand in 1901 and it experienced a five fold increase to 269. 1 thousand in 1981 in just eight decades. In 1951 in 22.89 Km² sprawl 102.5 thousand people lived bringing a density per Km² to 4478 persons. In 1961 the density figures jumped to 6361 per Km² but in 1971 it declined to 3258 persons since the area of Cuttack city increased to 59.57 Km² artificially as against only 22.89 Km² in 1951. This was possible by the inclusion of many rural villages and by the inclusion of Chaudwar. By 1981 the density increased again to 4517 persons, per Km² while the area of the city remained constant. This density of Cuttack is even more than the density population per Sq.Km. of New Delhi (4178). This is intimately related with the physical and cultural environment of the city. The abnormal population rise is mostly due to the immigration of rural population as in the city of Cuttack the pull factor is operating strongly. The reproductive age group of females constitute 20.3% of the city's population which is the primary cause of natural growth of the city.

This higher rate of population growth, compared to the increase in urban land has increased the density population per Km² is the prime cause of degradation of urban environment of Cuttack. The unplanned unrestricted urban sprawl along the narrow lanes and paths, without any firm urban land use policy, are the contributing factors for degradation of urban environment of Cuttack. The beds of the Kathajodi and Mahanadi

are a physical handicap for discharging the drain water and storm water of the city. The lack of civic ammenities in densely populated residential areas, insanitary conditions and narrow winding streets have further aggravated the environmental degradation.

TABLE—2

Population change in Cuttack City

Year	Area (in sq.km.)	Total Population	Density per sq.km.	No. of wards	Variation	Rate of growth in %
1951	22.89	102,505	4,478	13	28,214	+37.97
1961	23.00	146,308	6,361	26	43,803	+42.73
1971	59.57	194,068	3,258	28	47,760	+32.64
1981	59.57	269,064	4,517	31	74,996	+38.64
Net variation in % of 1951	260.24	263.05	100.87	238.46	–	–

Industries have developed in the residential areas, is a problem to be solved in twenty first century. The entire city presents an unhealthy look with widely scattered slums. The commercial activities of the city are dominated in the form of street shopping centre which are located in the front portion of the ground floor of the buildings on the either side of the main roads without leaving any space for parking. This is a big problem to be solved. This is one of the primary causes of the environmental degradation.

The unplanned and uneven distribution of other morphological units like administrative buildings, educational institutions, hospitals and recreational facilities have created hosts of problems and have added to the unhealthy appearance of the city. This is more particularly during rains, when most of the streets are flooded and several low lying areas remain submerged for several days. The problem is accentuated as underground drainage does not exist and the entire storm water is discharged through open drains.

The dust laiden wind from the dry exposed sandy bed of Kathajodi is the cause of air pollution where suspended dust particles in the air make it polluted. This happens mostly during the summer months of April-May.

Sometimes the wind velocity is reduced to almost zero with mercury touching more than 110°F in the afternoon. when it becomes almost oppressive due to sweating. During winter the foul smell from Choudwar industries is experienced in the posh Cantonment road when the wind direction is from the north.

The uncleaned open drains stink while the garbage from drains are allowed to dry up on the side of the narrow lanes and bylanes. They just lie there for days together in front of the door of the houses. This is a feature which is unthinkable in any city of the country.

SUGGESTIONS FOR REDEVELOPMENT PLAN

(a) Residential Areas

1. Shifting of small industrial units such as motor garages, body building industries, light engineering work shops, food processing industries etc. to the suburban areas.

2. Construction of residential buildings in the rural components and the suburban areas to provide housing facilities to the overcrowding population of the city.

3. Shifting of administrative, government and semi-government offices from the inner city to the outer peripheries of Cuttack city.

4. Clearance of slums and construction of multistoried buildings to provide housing facilities to the slum dwellers at nominal rents.

5. Construction of housing colonies on hire-purchase basis by the Government in the vacant areas.

6. Provision of low cost houses, suitable plots and cheap housing materials for the construction of houses in the suburban areas of Cuttack city.

7 To solve the congestional problems, new suburban neighbourhoods may be developed at Choudwar and Jagatpur areas.

(b) Commercial Areas

1. The street shopping should be discouraged and discontinued.

2. The retail trade activities should be reorganised on the principle of compact shopping centres and markets.

3. The practice of allowing cabins at each and every place has to be completely discontinued in the interest of the healthy growth of the community.

4. The Mahatab Road in the Malgodown area may be widened and an alternative route by means of a new bridge over Taldanda Canal from Link Road side should be constructed to solve the problem of heavy traffic congestion in Malgodown area.

5. Sufficient internal roads, loading and unloading facilities and parking places should be provided in the areas dominated by wholesale trade.

(c) Industries

1. The industrial activities may be restricted to suitable locations and to the industrial estates.

2. Those industries which have nuisance value in terms of smoke noise, dust and smell etc., like saw mills, foundry works, rolling mills and other obnoxious types of industries presently surrounding residential areas, should be shifted to industrial areas.

3. The location of obnoxious industries like saw mills in Mangalabag area which are close to S.C.B. Medical College are undesirable and they may be shifted.

4. The establishment of small scale and cottage industries may be encouraged in the rural components with government initiative.

(d) Roads

1. The main road of the city may be widened and accompanied by the footpaths.

2. The traffic of the main road may be distributed through suitable diversions.

3. The existing roads of the city may be improved and widened and new roads should be constructed to meet the traffic problem.

4. In the busy commercial areas the condition of the roads should be improved and be widened.

5. The condition of the Chhatra Bazar which is the biggest whole sale vegetable market of the city is too bad. Its road should be improved and it may be converted into three-lane traffic route.

6. The level of the roads may be raised so that rain water may be drained during the rainy season.

7 Adequate street lighting facilities may be provided and the heavy vehicles may not be allowed to enter the city especially during the peak hours.

(e) Other Morphological Structures

1. The uneven and unplanned distribution of other morphological units such as administrative, educational, medical and recreational etc. over the city creates various problems which are to be eradicated by proper land use planning. The new government offices may be located in the outer zone of the city and in the existing sites their conditions should be improved.

2. The establishment of recreational centres may be properly planned and they may be located away from the main road and commercial areas.

3. The establishment of industries and commercial centres may be discouraged near educational institutions and health centres.

SLUMS

It is quite unfortunate that industrialisation and the development of slums go hand in hand and this is also true for Cuttack. The slums have become an adjunct of industry in the underdeveloped and developing countries of the world. Due to heavy pressure on land and lack of adequate housing facilities for the labourers have led to the growth of the slums. In Cuttack there are 35 old slum pockets having 99 localities (1982) and recently 14 new pockets comprising 24 localities have been added to the old slums of the city.

These slum pockets have developed on the natural levees and open government lands and canal embankments. The problem of the slum pockets vary from one to the other. As for example, the main problem of slum dwellers is mostly physical constraints in Patapola area while it is social constraints at Gandhipalli slum pocket. About 51% of the total slum pockets are located on the river banks/natural levees, canal embankments while about 34.69% of the slums are located within the close proximity of main roads where as 8.16% have developed on sewage canal bank and 6.12% by the side of railway line.

As per slum survey conducted in 1986, in old slums 108, 893 persons are living registering a growth of 16.02% during the past four years. The survey has also revealed that there are 1185 slum house-holds with an estimated population of 7,795 which are of recent origin. Bidyadharpur area accommodates the largest number (1580) of slum dwellers which constitute 20% of the total new slum dwellers. The total population living in slums taking both new and old together is 116,685 which constitute 33.72% of the total population of the city.

THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF SLUM DWELLER

The slum dwellers of Cuttack city have come from different places of the State and even from outside Orissa. While 12.3% of the slum dwellers are of local origin, 12.6% have come from Cuttack District, 10.7% have come from other districts of Orissa and 12.7% have migrated to Cuttack from outside Orissa. About half of the slum dwellers (51.7%) could not say from where they have migrated to Cuttack. But one thing is clear that the bulk of the slum dwellers have come from the rural areas. The following table presents a clear picture.

TABLE—3

The place of origin of the slum dwellers
(Figures are in % of total)

Place of Origin	Rural	Urban	Total
From Cuttack City	—	12.3	12.3
From Cuttack District	10.7	1.9	12.6
Other districts of Orissa	8.1	2.6	10.7
From outside Orissa	—	—	12.7
Not known	—	—	51.7
Total	18.8	16.8	100.0

Source Master Plan, Cuttack City.

AGE OF SLUMS

The bulk of the slum dwellers of Cuttack have settled in the city for more than 75 years whose percentage is 56.4% of the total slum dwellers of Cuttack. It is followed by the slum dwellers who have come to the city for about 11-20 years. The recent arrivals of less than 5 years constitute only 10.4% of the total slum dwellers of Cuttack. The most of the slums of Cuttack are old in character.

SLUM DENSITY

An areawise analysis reveals that at Khan Nagar the density of slum dwellers is the highest in Cuttack city where 129 persons live per acre. On the otherhand the lowest density of only 34 persons per acre is met within Nuapada area. The average density of new slum pockets is about 74 persons per acre.

CASTE COMPOSITION

Most of the slums are dominated by the S.C. people. Out of the old pockets Tulasipur, Gopalji Matha Sahi, Pithapur, Gandhipalli, Nehrupalli, Rauspatna, Jobra. Tinikonia Bagicha and Makaraba Sahi area are dominated by S.C. population. The new slum pockets of Kazidiha, Bauri Sahi, Nuapada, Sartol, Bidhyadharpur and Khan Nagar are also dominated by the S.C. people.

TABLE—4

Distribution of Population by Caste

Caste	Old Slum Pockets in %	New Slum Pockets	
		Number of Popul.	In % of Total
S. C.	42.1	3,098	39.24
S. T.	1.2	165	2.12
Others	56.7	4,532	58.14
Total	100.0	7,795	100.0

LITERACY

The literacy rate in the new slum pockets is about 51.50%. The males literacy is more than that of the females. The literacy level at Darghapatna and Sartol areas is 68% and 65% respectively which is quite high. In the old slum pockets high literacy level (above 70%) is observed in Rauspatna, Mehendipur, Mansingh Patna and Ganesh Ghat areas.

SEX RATIO

The average number of females per 1000 males is calulated to be 824 of the slums as a whole while it is highest in Khan Nagar and Patne Sahi (1250), followed by Bidhyadharpur, Pana Sahi (1008), while Beleswar has the lowest sex ratio (474) per 1000 males.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE

Most of the people living in new slum areas are Hindus and the dominant language spoken is Oriya (74.0%). Next to Hindus, the Muslims dominate (6.6%) and the language dominated is Telugu (16.7%).

TABLE—5

Religion and Language

Religion	Persons in % of Total	Language	In % of Total
Hindu	92.7	Oriya	74.0
Muslims	6.6	Telugu	16.7
Christians	0.4	Hindi	6.7
Others	0.3	Bengali	1.8
		Others	0.8

OCCUPATION

In new slum pockets the workforce (mainly labour force) is quite low which is only 26.62% of the total population. They are mostly daily wage-earners who constitute 36.63% in new slums. It is followed by rickshaw pulling (4.82%), weaving/basket making (2.41%), maid servants (0.72%), piggery/poultry etc. (0.72%) and other categories (54.70%). But in the old slums pockets of Cuttack maximum employment is repovided by service, business etc. (36.3%), trading and business (23.3%), rickshaw pulling (17.6%), daily wage (12.7%), household industries (4.4%) and others (5.7%).

INCOME

It is calculated that about 25.30% of the workers get a monthly income of Rs. 150-300/- ; 35.18% of the workers earn between Rs. 301-500/-, 13.98% of workers earn between Rs. 501-700/- and rest 25.54% of workers earn more than Rs. 700/- per month. The average per capita income of household works out to only Rs. 129/- per month. Since Rs. 120/- is considered the subsistence level of living, about 54.30% of the slum dwellers are living below the poverty line. The average economic level of the slum dwellers of Kazidiha, Sartol, Beleswar, Tinigharia, Canal Road, Chauliaganj and Bidyadharpur is very precarious.

HOUSING

The new slum pockets have an average living area of 214.27 sq.ft. per household when the average family size is 6.57 persons. Thus the percapita living space works out to be only 32.6 sq.ft. which is even less than the average living space of the old slum pockets. Of these houses 51.4% of the roofs are thatched. 17 1% of the roofs are tiled, 10.3% are covered with asbestos, and more than 21.2% of roofs are of R.C.C. In old slum pockets 81%are thatched roofs and only ,12% are of R.C.C. roofs. It is also observed that 24% of the households have single room 30% of households have double rooms and 15% of households have 5-roomed houses. The occupancy rate per single room household is quite high (4.36 persons) per room and the average occupancy rate of new slums is about 2.48 persons per room. More than 54% of the households do not have electricity in new slums whereas it is only 67.5% in case of old slums. Bath rooms and latrines are absent almost universally. They depend on river, canal, tank, well for bathing and use open spaces as toilet space.

BASIC DATA ON SLUMS OF CUTTACK

Housing Committee Old Slums (35 Pockets)

(a) Average Living area—230.1 Sq.Ft.

(b) Type of roofs

(i)	Thatched	80.9%
(ii)	R.C.C.	12.2%
(iii)	Tile	4.5%
(iv)	Tin/Asbestos	2.4%
	Total —	100.0%

(c) Average number of living rooms—1.8

(d) % of using living rooms as kitchen—47.9%

(e) of rooms with windows—59.9%

(Source—U.C.D.P Report by O.R.O. 1982)

New Slums (14 Pockets)

(a) Population—7,795

(b) No. of households—1,185

(c) Average family size—6.57 persons

(d) Dependancy ratio—3.76

(Source—Slum Survey, 1986, Town Planning Unit, Cuttack)

CUTTACK-BHUBANESWAR URBAN COMPLEX

An urban complex may be defined as a set of economic activities occurring at a given location and belonging to a group of industries that reap external economies as a result of production, marketing, administration and such other linkages. Development of urban activities based on varied types of socio-economic characteristic also helps in the emergence of an urban-complex.

The urban-complex is one which has got many inter-dependent urban centres located closely with centralised economic or functional activities, in one centre. Such a complex has been identified in the Orissa Coastal Plain taking Bhubaneswar as the central point. Within a 60 Kms' radius of Bhubaneswar there are five urban centres, out of which two are cities having more than 100 thousand population. In between these two cities there are two important growth points.

This urban complex lies between 20° 20′ 40″N to 20° 31′ 20″N latitudes and 85° 45′ 20″E to 85° 56′ 40″E longitudes having an area of 2942. 8 Kms². This region lies in the central part of the Coastal Plain, taking Bhubaneswar as the central point and within a 40 Kms radius there are other five urban centres—Cuttack and Chaudwar in the north, Khurda, Jatni in S.W. and Pipli in S.E. on the way to Puri. This complex comprises about 225.05 Sq.Kms. of urbanised area of six urban settlements and 2717.76 Sq.Kms. of rural enclaves which can be urbanised in the process of urbanization in near future. This urbanizable rural area includes 460 villages.

In this urban complex Cuttack is the oldest urban centre as per Indian census and has maintained its supremacy till now. Though Bhubaneswar, Chaudwar and Khurda were urban centres in the historic past under various royal dynasties, their glories have now gradually faded away. It is only after independence, Bhubaneswar again came to lime light with the shifting of the State capital from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar and it became a town only in 1951 as per Indian Census, Khurda and Jatni became urban centres in 1961 and Pipli in 1981.

POPULATION GROWTH

During 1971-81 the total population of Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban complex increased by about 22.02% of total population of 1971. In this complex the urban population in terms of percentage of total population was 91.69% but it increased by 114.31%. from the base year figure of 1971. Bhubaneswar has been the fastest growing city in this complex with a

growth rate of 108.6% during 1971-81 followed by Cuttack, Khurda, Jatni and Chaudwar. In the previous decade (1961-71) Bhubaneswar was also the fastest growing city (319.6%) followed by Jatni, Choudwar, Cuttack and Khurda.

In 1981 this complex had a total rural population of 1,019,959 as against 611,616 urban population. The growth of population has been the maximum in Cuttack-Bhubaneswar corridor as compared to the other corridors between Bhubaneswar-Khurda, Bhubaneswar-Jatni and Cuttack-Chaudwar. The population potential between Cuttack-Bhubaneswar corridor is 172,000 persons per Kilometer, Bhubaneswar-Chaudwar 48,000 persons, Bhubaneswar-Khurda 28,000 persons, and Bhubaneswar-Jatni 54,000 persons and Bhubaneswar-Pipli 22,000 persons per Kilometere. An over all population distribution reveals various population cones over the urban centres which diminishes towards the rural peripheries.

The high degree concentration of population potential on Bhubaneswar-Cuttack axis may be due to

(a) Proximity i.e. 35 Km. distance between the two cities.

(b) Availability of (i) combination of rail, National Highway and other major roads; (ii) Development of land for different economic and urban uses; (iii) Hydro-electric and thermal power, (iv) Water-supply; (v) Direct phone connections, (vi) Other transportation and communication facilities.

(c) These two urban units are proceeding in the form of back to back development.

(d) Maximum interdependence on account of service, commerce and transport.

(e) Overcoming the natural barriers like a number of rivers and streams; and.

(f) Several other potential and propensity factors.

It will be an interesting exercise to attempt a functional classification of towns and see if any corroboration is possible between such a classification and the growth rate of population. There are nine economic categories under which towns can be classified. But mainly there are five main functions under which towns can be classified. These are (i) Primary or agricultural activity (ii) Industry (iii) Trade and commerce, (iv) transport and communication (v) services. One of these function may constitute the

predominant occupation of the people of a town, or two major functions in combination may represent the principal characteristic of a town, or several such functions may exist in the town. The first category is known as monofunctional, the second bi-functional and the third multi-functional. In this respect Choudwar is mono-functional with manufacturing other than household industry, Cuttack and Bhubaneswar are bi-functional with service and trade and commerce. Jatni is multi-functional with transport, service and trade and commerce, Khurda is multi-functional with service, agricultural labourer and trade and commerce while Pipli is multi-functional with agricultural labourer and trade and commerce as its their functions.

FUNCTIONAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

Functional characters of these urban places show that Cuttack, even though the largest city in this region, depends on Bhubaneswar for higher educational and service facilities, on Jatni for commercial and service facilities, on Khurda and Choudwar for service facilities. Likewise Bhubaneswar depends on Cuttack for superior medical facilities, commercial and service facilities on Khurda, Jatni and Choudwar for service and commercial facilities. Hence a system of interdependency has been developed among the six urban centres of this region.

Hence, a heterogeneous polycentric urban region has emerged which can be named as the "urban complex". It will be very difficult to analyse all the complex urban characteristics. But the analysis gives certain pertinent points which should be realised. The first point is that metropolitan regions or urban agglomeration have mixed economic elements. One central characteristic of most of the towns, either in developing or developed countries is their economic diversity and lack of any single dominant economic base. This will tend further growth of the region. The second point concerns with the inner form or morphology of this region. Here, the region is a multi-centred urban complex, where there was only one city (Cuttack) till 1951. After 1951 other towns came into existence, out of which Bhubaneswar became a city in 1971. This urban complex seems to be more viable for planning and control of developments of the present day urbanisation especially in a developing economy like India. Because it has flexibility in spatial planning and coordination with economic development. Moreover, this kind of region has got more capability of holding the large and sustained increase of population than single centred urban place. Therefore, Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban complex invites bold challenges from the regional planners. A broad strategy by adopting integrated development plans is needed to develop this urban complex.

TABLE—6

Pollution from Different Sources in Orissa

Sources	SO_2		PM		NO		CO		HC	
	Tonnes/day	In %	Tonnes/day	In %	Tonnes/day	In %				
Domestic	2.7	0.8	19.0	20.0	3.3	3.6	7.0	2.0	2.0	2.4
Commercial & Institutional	1.7	0.6	2.2	2.8	1.9	1.1	—	—	—	—
Industrial	236.0	68.1	14.4	15.0	35.7	36.6	111.0	29.0	41.6	51.4
Power generation	62.0	18.0	28.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	3.0	0.5	—	—
Transportation	40.6	11.8	30.0	32.0	27.7	28.0	263.0	68.5	37.4	46.2
Total	343.0	100.0	93.20	100.0	97.7	100.0	384.0	100.0	81.0	100.0

Sources Jusswalla, 1980, Man Vs. Environment—"Fact or Fancy" Proceeding of the Seminar on Management of Environment, Feb. 1980, Bombay.

ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION AND ITS EFFECT ON POPULATION

The perfect balance or equilibrium between the various organisms in the urban ecosystems in the urban ecosphere is known as the state of ecological balance or 'homostasis' A change or deterioration in any of the spheres causes changes in the ecological balance. Pollution of these spheres affects the human living. The urban environment has been rapidly deteriorating due to resource deterioration, biological pollution, chemical pollution, social disruption, physical disruption and visual disruption. These are due to emission of corosive and toxic gases, predominantly oxides of sulpher, nitrogen and carbon, formation of petrochemical substances, odour nuisance, suspended particles such as dust, smoke, fume and mists, dust fall, reduction of sunlight and visibility, thermal changes, climatic changes, material, damage etc. There are some interesting data on the status of pollution sourcewise for whole of Orissa which gives a clue for Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban complex.

TABLE—7

Noise in Cuttack-Bhubaneswar Urban Complex

Sources of Noise	% of noise
Private motor traffic	36.0
Public transportation	16.0
Radio and T.V	12.0
Collection and Deliveries	9.0
Whistles and bells	8.0
Construction activity	7.5
Vocal	7.0
Miscellaneous	4.5
Total	100.0

(a) Noise Pollution

Noise may be defined as un-desirable sound and an erratic intermittant or statistically random oscillation. Noise is truly a form of stress, an environmental pollutant and 'waste of energy Excessive noise in Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban complex is due to factors like machineries, radio, television, loud speakers and automobiles etc. The average human being has a sound intensity of 10-12 decibles. Medical experts agree that the greatest threat of noise pollution in urban area may be on unborn

babies and young children. The noise pollution become maximum during festivals like Dasahara, Diwali, Id, Maharam, Baliyatra etc. when loud speakers, crackers, etc. produce a lot of sound pollution. For which a man from Cuttack feels lonely in Bhubaneswar where these social festivals are very much limited.

(b) Water Pollution

One of the important parametres of quality of urban living is the availability of portable and palatable water in adequate quantity and of an acceptable quality. The desirable quantity water precapita day is 180 to 270 litters against the availability of 90 litters per capita in Orissa as a whole. The sources of drinking water for Cuttack-Bhubaneswar has been dangerously contaminated by the surface run off from the industrial complex at Chaudwar and Barang. Recently the drain water of Cuttack is being drained to Kathajodi and the polluted water from the S.C.B. Medical College is also drained to Taladanda Canal. These pollute the water, more perticularly during the off monsoon period when Kathajodi exposes her dry sandy bed and the average run off is reduced to the barest minimum. It is strange that when we have taken up cleaning the Ganga, we are polluting Kathajodi by opening drains to it to discharge the polluted water of the city into it.

(c) Industrial Pollution

Industrial establishment in Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban complex cause pollution to land, water and air specially by two large scale industries Orissa Textile Mills and Titagar Paper Mills which discharge SO_2 and H_2S to the air mass. The medium and small scale industries, of industrial estates at Chaudwar, Jagatpur, Baranga, Phulnakhara, Chandaka, Mancheswar, Jatani, Janla, Tamando, Khurda discharge solid materials, calciumchloride, zinc sulphates, pastes, and manganese to the air and water. These industries pollute mostly the water of Mahanadi, Birupa, Kathajodi, Kuakhai, Daya and Bhargavi.

(e) Impact on Water

A lot of deforestation has taken place in Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban complex region. The total area covered by the forests in 1956-57 was 4615.16 Sq. Kms. which has declined to 3917.36 Sq. Kms. Latest data is lacking but the forest coverage has declined further. This deforestation has affected climate at a microlevel so far as temperature and rainfall is concerned.

TABLE—8

Industrial wastes in the Cuttack-Bhubaneswar Urban Complex-1980*

Industry	River	Volume of waste water (m. gallon)	Intake of process water (m. gallons)
Paper	Birupa, Mahanadi	1900	1300
Textile	Birupa, Mahanadi	140	110
Chemical products	Mahanadi, Kuakhai, Kathajodi	3700	560
Transportation	Mahanadi, Daya Kuakhai, Birupa, Kathajodi	240	58
Food, dairy products, plastics and paints	Kuakhai	160	19
Machinery and Electrical	Mahanadi, Kathajodi, Kuakhai, Daya, Bhargavi	240	51

(f) Crime Rate

The rural migrant to the urban areas, who migrate mostly in search of employment, are disappointed due to lack of employment and get psychologically upset and consequently the values of life for them also get changed. This has laid to higher crime rates, mostly in the industrial estates of Chaudwar, Jagatpur, Khapuria, Chandaka, Mancheswar, Rasulgarh, Jatni and Khurda. The crime rate has also increased in the industrial suburb of Chaudwar and in Cuttack and Bhubaneswar Cities, Jatni and Khurda towns.

(g) Transport Pollution

The N.H. 5 links Cuttack with Bhubaneswar and N. H. 43 links Cuttack with Sambalpur which runs through Chaudwar. The S. H. 8 links Bhubaneswar with Puri through Pipli. The S.E. Railway line also links Cuttack with Khurda Road Via-Bhubaneswar and from Khurda Road a

* Pattnaik, K. C.; Tripathy, Anjali; Tripathy, S. N. and Sinha, B. N. : Urban Ecosystem Planning in Cuttack-Bhubaneswar Urban Complex. "Transaction", Indian Council of Geographers, Vol. 16, Janu. 1986, pp. 23-28.

branch line links Puri. Cuttack-Bhubaneswar section of N.H. 5 is the second busiest road in India only next to Bombay-Pune. In this section more than 3000 automobiles ply daily and if two-wheelers are taken into account the figure will shoot up further. These vehicles emit .carbonto the environment which is very injurious to health. The steam engines on the railways are mostly emiting CO_2 in the atmosphere by the burning of coal.

PLANNING OF THE CUTTACK-BHUBANESWAR URBAN COMPLEX

It is possible to develop these six urban centres with an aim to transform them into a planned major urban complex of the country. In this region there are a few growth points like Nirgundi, Jagatpur, Baranga, Phulnakhara and Telangapentha. The State Govt. has launched a social forestry programme with the help of Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) to establish forests in 10,000 hectares in rural areas and on road side of Cuttack-Bhubaneswar urban areas. It has also an idea of restoring 7000 hectares of barren hills. Under these scheme 8,697 and 12,458 hectares land has been covered. This will reduce the rate pollution, reduce floods and draughts to some extent.

DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR THE URBAN COMPLEX*

The proposals for the development of the urban-complex are as follows

(i) These six urban centres are to be developed with an aim to become one major urban region. It should be considered as a growth pole from the point of economic development of this region and the economic effects should be spread to the relatively backward areas of the two districts (Cuttack and Puri) of Orissa. This growth pole should serve as a central place for providing higher order facilities for the whole of the State.

(ii) The industrialization and the socio-economic facilities are to be concentrated in this region and a spatial pattern has to be evolved to develop this region in a planned manner.

(iii) To develop this region, a regional development plan should be adopted. This regional plan should be a basic structural plan which

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* Tripathy, S. N. and Sinha, B. N.: Cuttack-Bhubaneswar Urban Complex Souvenir on Prospectives for Cuttack's Development. Greater Cuttack Improvement Trust, June, 1970. pp. 69-76.

will provide basic infra-structure (roads, railways, water-supply, crainage, electricity etc.) broad functional zones (residential, commercial, industrial etc.) and the various recreational potential points within this region.

(iv) To link Bhubaneswar with Cuttack a bridge should be constructed over the Kathajodi River by the side of the Main Canal coming from Munduli or by the side of the existing railway bridge over the Kuakhai. So the N.H. 5 which is now passing through Bhubaneswar, separating the city into two parts and having a long distance from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar can be diverted through this bridge. Trunk Road which runs to Khurda directly. By this way, the distance between Cuttack and Bhubaneswar will be shortened to half (about 15 Kms.) and the N.H 5 will not run through the institutional and residential zones of Bhubaneswar city, but along the periphery of the city.

(v) From the point of view of recreational facilities and open spaces, Nandan-Kanan, and biological garden with a natural environment can be developed. With the direct access from Cuttack through the proposed bridge over the Kuakhai, this place will serve the people of the region as well as the tourists in a better way.

(vi) In between Choudwar and Cuttack, there are a large number of dipositional uplands (river islands) over the beds of the Mahanadi and the Birupa, which can be changed into parks and recreational ground

(vii) This region can be developed by providing electrified trains from Choudwar to Jatni so as to cater the mass-transportation needs of the urban sector.

(viii) Similarly proposals can be made to develop different industries at Barang, Phulnakhara, Telengapentha, Patia, Choudwar, Jatni and Khurda by which a fulfiledged urbanisation process will be possible.

To translate these proposals for the development of this complex, an effective organisation for the preparation and implementation of the plans is very essential. The town and country planning organisation may seek other possibilities to develop this region by consulting the Government or Semi-Government specialised persons of the State and to start with, Cuttack and Bhubaneswar to be brought under one corporation.

When urban agglomoration is taken into account, Cuttack is the most important city in Orissa with a total population of 327, 412 in 1981 which includes suburban outgrowths of Cuttack Industrial Estate (14,100), Central Rice Research Institute (5,938), eastward extension of the Cuttack city. Jagatpur Industrial Estate (5,280), Chaudwar (32,144), both located in the left bank of Mahanadi are the Industrial suburbans of Cuttack city in the N.E.

TABLE—9

Cuttack Urban Agglomeration, 1981

Towns/out growths	Population			Number of females per 1000 males
	Total	Male	Female	
Cuttack	269,950	149,436	120,514	805
Cuttack Industrial Estate	14,100	8,411	5,659	680
Jagatpur Industrial Estate	5,280	2,918	2,362	446
Central Rice Research Institute	5,938	3,156	2,782	472
Chaudwar	32,144	18,664	13,480	420
Total	327,412	182,615	144,797	442

An analysis of the above table reveals that Cuttack city has the maximum number of females per 1000 males followed by Cuttack Industrial Estate, Central Rice Research Institute, Jagatpur Industrial Estate and Chaudwar has the lowest female ratio (420) in the entire urban agglomeration. The female ratio of the Cuttack Urban agglomeration is 442 which is about half of that of Cuttack city. This is mainly due to the industrial suburbans of the parent city of Cuttack where housing facilities are severely lacking. Chaudwar is the most male town in Cuttack urban agglomeration as per 1981 Census. The spatial distribution of population in Cuttack has been most uneven in 1981. While the overall density of Cuttack city was only 3732 persons per Km² an analysis of ward-wise density figures reveals a different picture. The ward-wise density has varied from 6898 to a maximum of 12,478 persons. The lowest density of population was recorded in ward-I whereas in ward nos, 8, 16 and 27 the density of population exceeded 10,000 persons per Sq. Kms. in 1981. The distribution of population of Cuttack city reveals that its Western part (Ward nos. I and VIII) is very thinly populated and the same is the case in its eastern periphery (ward No. XXVI, XXVIII) but the central portion of the city is thickly populated.

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Rivers and Canals of Cuttack District

Dr. D. K. Singh

INTRODUCTION

With a purely tropical location and maritime influence, a major part of the Cuttack district embraces a coastal environment of wet and warm climate.

If we look into the overall physiographic outline of the Pre-Independence Cuttack district, i.e., before it extended in the west towards the earlier feudatory states of Athgarh, Baramba and Narasingpur, we will clearly mark that the district consists of three distinct tracts (i) a marshy jungle-covered strip along the coast, from 5 to 50 Km. in breadth; (ii) an intermediate arable tract growing mainly rice in the older part of the Mahanadi delta; and (iii) a broken hilly region along the western boundary[1].

The marshy strip on the coast has much resemblence with the Sundarbans of Bengal in Gangetic Delta so far its swamps, dense jungle and noxious climate are concerned, but it lacks the majestic beauty of forest Scenery of the Gangetic tract; it is intersected by innumerable streams and creeks, whose sluggish water deposit their silt and form morasses and quick sands. The arable plains stretch inland for about 65-70 Km. and are intersected by the large rivers that emerge from the western mountain and hilly tracts. In fact, this tract is a gift of these magnificent rivers that throw out in every direction a network of branches, which, after innumerable twists and interlacings, frequently rejoin the the parent stream before the same approaches the sea waters of the Bay of Bengal in the east.

The third tract i.e. the broken hilly region, consists of a series of hill ranges which seldom exceed 15 to 25 Km. in length, with thickly wooded slopes and lovely valleys between. Elsewhere only a few isolated hills break the evenness of the plains. The hills are not continuous and are of less height (about 150-160 metres above sea level). The most interesting hills are the Assia range containing a series of hills (such as the Lalitgiri famous

for Bhddhist shrine); Udaygiri (also famous for ruins of Buddhist monuments); and Alamgiri, the highest peak in the district rising to over 800 metres above sea level.

The three major rivers, Mahanadi, Brahmani and Baitarani, after crossing the hilly and mountainous tract in the west, pour down much water and silt and have formed an extensive compound delta which is practically considered by all, including geographers, as the Mahanadi Delta.

THE RIVER SYSTEMS OF THE DISTRICT

The rivers of the district of Cuttack constitute the most conspicuous feature in the district's geographical personality. Considered in a broad generalisation, the rivers issue in three magnificent streams through the mountains and hilly frontier on the west.

In the extreme north the sacred Baitarani, famous for its holy waters for dips by the Hindus, rises from the tableland of the Keonjhar district in the northwest. It forms the boundary between the Cuttack and the Balasore districts.

In the south the Mahanadi or 'great river' flows into the district pouring down upon the delta from between two hills at Naraj, about 12 km. west of Cuttack city, where its stream is contracted to about 1. 5 km. in breadth.

About half way between the Baitarani and the Mahanadi, the Brahmani river enters the district.

These three major rivers, whose upper channels to the west and northwest beyond Cuttack district dwindle during the dry winter season to insignificant streams dotted here and there with stagnant pools, significantly bring down, after heavy rains in monsoon period, an enormous mass of water from the table lands in which they take their rise. Towards the coast they gradually converge, and their accumulated waters rush down within about 50 km. of each other upon the level plain, with the result that the beds are altogether inadequate to carry off the floods which burst over the banks and sweep across the country (2). After much meandering and innumerable bifurcations, the three rivers enter the sea by various mouths, The Baitarani and the Brahmani meet before they reach the sea, and the combined stream flows into the Bay of Bengal at Point Palmyras, under the name of the Dhamra.

The Mahanadi, the southernmost and the greatest of the three, after many interlacing forms two great estuaries; one generally known as Devi which enters the Bay of Bengal at the southernstern corner of the district and the other bearing the name of the parent river, the Mahanadi, which empties itself into the sea at false point, about halfway down the coast.

Each of these great rivers throws off, on its way through the district, a number of distributaries, those of the Mahanadi being the most numerous and important. The chief off-suits of the Mahanadi are the Kathjori, Paika, Birupa and Chitroptala The Brahmani receives, a little above its junction with the Baitarani, an important tributary, the Kharsuan, which is itself an offshoot of the Brahmani, branching out from the northern side in Jajpur subdivision of the district.

In the Mahanadi delta swampy places on the banks of rivers and creeks near the sea have the vegetation of a mangrove forest.

The northern part of the Cuttack district lies practically south of the Baitarani and it is the river Brahmani with its tributaries and distributaries that drains there most. In many cases, however, the distributaries of Brahmani are so interlaced with the distributaries of the river Baitarani that it is not possible to clearly separate these two river systems. The southern part of the district is practically drained by the Mahanadi with its tributaries and distributaries. The overall drainage pattern in the district is interestingly radial and parallel.

With the above lay out of the major drainage lines, the Cuttack district may be easily considered as having two great valleys-one of them lying between the Baitarani and the Brahmani and other between the Mahanadi and the Brahmani. Both the valleys, therefore, are bounded by a river on either side. The central and southern part of the district, bounded by the Brahmani and the Mahanadi, is drained entirely by the Mahanadi, literally the Great River, which pours down upon the delta from a rather narrow gulley at Naraj about 12 km. west of the city of Cuttack. The northern part of the district is bounded by the Baitarani and the Brahmani, and is drained mostly by the Brahmani and its tributaries and distributaries.

THE MAHANADI RIVER SYSTEM[3]

The Mahanadi rises outside Orissa in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. Entering into Orissa in the north-west it traverses through the Sambalpur and Dhenkanal districts before entering into Cuttack district in

Baramba Police station area. It Practically forms the boundary between Cuttack and Puri for some distance in the west. Its delta formation starts at Naraj in west of Cuttack city and after traversing the district from west to east it falls into the Bay of Bengal at False Point as mentioned earlier.

On the southern bank near Naraj, the Mahanadi throws an important distributary known as Kathjori which divides itself into two outlets-the Kusabhadra in the south and the *Devi* in the north. Kuakhai is the most important river in the southern part of Cuttack district as well as in northern part of the Puri district. Outside the district of Cuttack the Kuakhai from its right bank releases its most important distributary the Kusabhadra, which flows through a very winding course in the Puri district before entering the sea. The two important distributaries branching out in further south as off-shoots of the Kusabhadra are the Daya and the Bhargavi-all in Puri district, and they enter the Chilika Lake after running diverse courses.

The main Kathjori river after running for a short course, further gets divided into two channels—the Large Devi and the Little Devi. These two after following a somewhat southerly course of about 32 kms, unite and under the name of Devi traverse with meandering and interlacing braided channel in a south-easterly course finally to fall into the Bay of Bengal at Devi Muhana in Cuttack district.

Paika, a southern distributary of the Mahanadi, branches off from the parent stream, 16 km. below Cuttack city and rejoins it again after a course of about 20 Kms. The Birupa, a north bank distributary takes off from the Mahanadi opposite the city of Cuttack. It flows for about 24 Km. in north-easterly direction and throws up the Genguti which receives the waters of the Kelu Nala further down and again falls into the Birupa. Afterwards the Birupa joins the Brahmani. The Mahanadi further to the east, about 16 km below, after releasing the Birupa, throws out another important distributary from its north bank, the Chitroptala, which after some distance gets bifurcated into the Chitropala (southern one) and the Nuna (northern one). These two again unite and join the parent river, the Mahanadi, known there as the Mahanadi Estuary near the coast...

There are some remnants of ancient meander belt in the Mahanadi system, particularly one between the main channel of the Mahanadi in the north and the meandering and braided channel of the Devi in the south and the other known as Prachi valley between the Devi in the north and Kusabhadra in the south.

THE BRAHMANI RIVER SYSTEM*

The Brahmani takes its rise in the Chhotanagpur plateau which lies outside to the north-west. Its water enters the district of Cuttack from the district of Dhenkanal and after flowing in a conspicuously winding course it gets released into the Bay of Bengal by two mouths-the Dhamra Estuary (*Dhamra* Muhana) and the *Maipara* river. The Kimiria river, a branch of the Brahmani on its right bank falls into the parent stream after mixing its water with the Genguti, Kelu Nala and Birupa. The Brahmani also receives a tributary, the Kharasuan, from the north-west. The Kharasuan has its origin as a distributary of the Brahmani at a place south-west of Korai in Jajpur subdivision of Cuttack. This distributary receives a number of channels branching out from the southern bank of the Baitarani, finally to rejoin the parent river Brahmani as a tributary, nearer the coast to form a little below the united waters of Baitarani and Brahmani draining into an estuary, in the name of Dhamra river.

THE BAITARANI RIVER SYSTEM[5]

The Baitarani which forms the northern limit of the district of Cuttack as al eady mentioned, takes its rise in the uplands of the Keonjhar district located to the northwest of the Cuttack district. Only the southern branches of this river bring water into the district of Cuttack. The principal branches thrown up from the southern bank of the Baitarani connect it with *Kharasuan* river. Further down, the Baitarani joins the combined waters of Brahmani-Kharasuan as stated above to give rise the notable estuary of Dharma river.

THE RIVERS, FLOODS AND NAVIGATION

In general, the rivers of Cuttack district are in their late maturity stage throwing out winding and interlacing channels with broad shallow valleys making them unsuitable for navigation during most of the year. Only in rainy season, i.e., from June to October, they come down in tremendous volume of water which often break through the banks causing great havocs of floods for which the district is famous. After the construction of the Hirakud Dam in the Mahanadi, up stream near Sambalpur, there has been considerable check. But, we must admit that inspite of many flood control measures t aken by the government, the river systems in the district are such, with shallow beds and winding-interlacing nature, that floods still continue to be a common phenomena occurring almost every year in some part or other of the district. In many areas the banks are artificially raised and protected by dykes.

In dry season, however, the rivers are almost reduced to a series of long shallow pools with vast expanses of sand in the beds. These sands, famous as the Cuttack sands, have been the source of sand supply to the innumerable construction works of buildings and barrages and other structures in the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Dhenkanal.

Because of the seasonal nature of the flow, in the dry season water for irrigation is not available for which construction of dams and barrages were a necessity from where canals could be dug out to provide water to the vast agricultural fields of the district and its environs in dry season.

In the past, particularly upto the time of the entry of the British, the Mahanadi was considered rather as the only means of communication between the east coastal region and western feudal kingdoms of Orissa as neither railways nor roadways could provide direct links. Officers from the east to the west and the marriage and other cultural parties belonging to the royalities for their movement from east to west, or vice versa, was mostly engaging boats towed together as rafts made of logs (locally called *Bhella*) in the Mahanadi. The navigation is seasonal, being only confined to the monsoon and post-monsoon months when adequate draft is available for movement of country craft. Even during the monsoon period, when the river is in spate, the transport has to be suspended because of the strong current. In fact, in the past, the important centres and market locations of Orissa situated in areas generating traffic were mostly depending on the waterways for flow of their goods and men controlled at Cuttack, since the waterways at that time were so important that they formed a part of the Master Plan linking Calcutta with Madras. Cuttack used to be one of the greatest inland water ports of the country, so much so that when the Old False Point Harbour was constructed in 1867, it was commissioned as the port of Cuttack[7].

Almost all the important settlement centres of Orissa for their extra-territorial trade depended on Cuttack due to the favourable geographical situation of this city on the Mahanadi where the branching out of the river starts. The only means of transport linking the then Madras Presidency and the Bengal Presidency was by the sea and it was Cuttack which provided outlet for the goods and men of the market centres of Orissa to the areas of Bengal and Madras through the inland waterways of the state. It is only after the opening of the railways and construction of river bridges, the river-borne traffic diminished gradually.

Navigation in the Mahanadi in Cuttack district is somewhat managed in the delta tract from Cuttack to Paradip Port situated at the mouth of the river in Bay of Bengal to a distance of about 104 km., this distance in this section being due to winding channel of the waterways.

THE CANALS OF THE DISTRICT

Canals have been dug out in the district in order to provide irrigation facilities as well as inland navigation. Prior to independence of India, the greater part of the Orissa canal system belonged to this district alone. Even today, inspite of the Hirakud and the major irrigation projects, the most conspicuous irrigation canals lie within Cuttack district. Canal navigation dates back to 1869 when water was supplied by the British Government through construction of barrage on the Mahanadi river and its branch Birupa.

Near Cuttack there are anicuts across Mahanadi and its branch, the Birupa river. Water from these rivers is diverted into three irrigation-cum-navigation canals. These are (i) the Taladanda Canal, (ii) the Kendrapara canal, and (iii) the High Level Canal Range—I (the Orissa Coast Canal). It may be mentioned here the High Range Canal Range—II and III suffer from siltation and have become almost defunct[5].

The Taldanda canal is the most active so far as navigation is concerned. It starts from the right bank of the Mahanadi immediately above the anicut, and runs in a south-eastern direction to Biribati, about 11.5 km. south of Cuttack city, where it gives off the Machhgaon branch. From Biribati, the Taldanda canal runs along the southern bank of the Sukapaika and the Mahanadi for a total length of 83 km. Earlier it had a discharge of about 1,342 cubic feet water per second, of which about half is taken off by the Machhgaon canal. Now the discharge has gone down due to siltation. The Taldanda canal commands over 300 Square Kilometers[9].

The Machhgaon canal coming of from the Taladanda canal, runs along the north bank of the Kathjori river and of its branch, the Alaka for a distance of 52.5 km. It had a discharge of 776 Cubic feet of water per second thereby reducing the discharge of its parent Taladanda canal to 5.66 cubic feet per second, beyond Biribati downwards. The Machhgaon canal having received more share of the discharge commands a larger areas of 395 sq. km.[10]

The next important canal of the district is the Kendrapara canal which has a total length of 62.5 km. with a discharge of 1067 Cubic feet of water per second. The area commanded by it is about 440 sq. km. and its 23 distributaries are capable of watering about 400 sq. km. of areas. Its branch, the Gobari Canal, has a length of 24 km. commandiug about 85 sq. km. but its distributaries constructed initially, could irrigate only 36 sq. km. The Gobari Canal has an extension later for another 10 km. and this Gobari Extension canal commands an area of 130 sq.km. of which, however, only 31 sq. km. area could be irrigated by its distributaries.[11]

The Pattamundai canal branching off from the Kendrapara Canal just below the Birupa head-works, runs almost parallel to the southern bank of the Birupa and of the Brahmani for a total length of 75.5 km. with a discharge of 885 Cubic Feet water per second. This canal commands an area of about 207 sq. km. capable of irrigating about 180 sq. km. area through its distributaries.[12]

The High Level Canal of the district formed part of the original scheme connecting Puri with Calcutta. But this did not materialise. In Cuttack district the High Level Canal Range-I and Range-II cover a total distance of 73 km. This canal is really very picturesque, striking the base of the wooded hills along the western boundary. The two renges command an aggregate area of about 240 sq. km. of which a very small portion is irrigated mainly due to too much of siltation.[13]

The Jajpur canal comes off from the headworks at a point northwest of Jajpur where the Baitarani bifurcates to give off its southern branch to join the Kharasuan river branching out of the Brahmani. This Jajpur Canal is a small one running for a distance of about 10.5 km. upto the town of Jajpur. It is used to have a discharge of 7000 Cubic Feet of water per second commanding an appreciable area of about 282 Sq. Km. and irrigating over 200 sq. km. of area.[14]

CANAL NAVIGATION[15]

The canals and the roads run almost parallel to each other in the district and are hence competitive. Roads carry the bulk of passenger traffic and perishable goods while the bulk of non-perishable goods traffic is through the canals since canal transport is far more cheaper. A country craft takes about 8 days to complete a trip from Cuttack to Paradip port and back. Since the ore-traffic is unperishable, the time factor does not stand on way of the canal transport. In recent years, however, the diesel trucks running on the newly constructed Express Highway have given tough

competition by road to the country crafts in the canal. Besides, after the construction of the Cuttack-Paradip railway line; the bulk of the ore traffic has been diverted to the railways from the canal waterways. Prior to the construction of the Paradip railway line, the bulk of ore-traffic was through the Taldanda canal which runs from Jobra at Cuttack and terminates at Atharbanki, about 5 Km. from the Paradip Port running for 83 Km..

The Kendrapara canal is navigable from Jagatpur to Jambu near Marshaghai fcr a distance of about 67.5 Km. owing to the lock system at Sorsia where the Gobari canal takes off, navigation of the second stage in this section is from Sorsia to Gandakia in Gobari canal for a distance of 24.3 Km. and then the third stage is from Gandakia to Alaka in Gobari extension for another 10 Km. Siltation is a big problem in the Kendrapara canal causing reduction of depth of water to about 1.5 Metre thereby not allowing bigger country crafts to ply in it. This canal links up the western part of the district with deltas of the Brahmani and Baitarani through the Gobari and the Gobari extension canals.

The Machhgaon canal is navigable from Biribati to Jagatsingpur College Road for a distance of 30 Km.

The High Level Canal Range-I helps in navigation partly from Choudwar to Jenapur in the north of the district for a distance of 53.5 Km. out of which a length of about 24 Km. is better, since the rest is badly affected by siltation.

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Age of Cuttack city
Evidence from Mahanadi Delta Evolution

Prof. N. K. Mahalik
Sri R. K. Kar

Cuttack is the oldest human settlement in Orissa and is intimately associated with history, culture and politics of the State. It has seen through and got involved with many outstanding events for which we, in Orissa, are proud of. But how much we know of its antiquity ? How exactly it evolved with time to come to its present state ? These are questions which are difficult of solution as there is no positive historical records to tell of the exact beginning. Therefore information of various sorts from different fields of human activity are to be collected, scientifically analysed and synthesised to arrive at a mutually acceptable age for the city. The present article is an attempt to unravel the antiquity of Cuttack city from a geological standpoint connecting Mahanadi deltaic evolution with the human activity along the course of important distributary systems.

Cuttack has developed on a deltaic land at the apex of Mahanadi delta and hence its beginning could be fixed to some point of time during the evolution of the delta. It is believed that the delta has come to its present shape through a sequence of evolutionary processes over the last 6000 years by deposition of sediments carried by the mighty Mahanadi river from a vast catchment encompassing parts of eastern Madhya Pradesh and western Orissa. The fluviatile forces in the rivers, the marine forces in the coastal seas and the aeolian forces have all contributed to the distribution and deposition of sediments to form the delta. During this time many distributaries were born, did their work, became defunct and dead and new distributaries appeared in some other parts. In tune with these dynamic changes in the fluviatile sector the marine sector was being continuously pushed offshore due to the formation of beaches, spits barrier bars etc. Thus the delta grew with time.

Mahanadi river which has its origin in the highlands of Madhya Pradesh and passes through the central mountainous part of Orissa has to divide into branches as it met a coastal depression at Naraj where its gradient was lost and so also its carrying capacity. Some of the load was shed to build the apex and the remaining load was distributed through two major channels, the Mahanadi in the north and the newly formed Kathjodi in the south. The primitive delta was built by these two channels which include the area now occupied by Cuttack. Suitable land in this primitive delta provided opportunity to build human settlements.

Later, with time, many offshoots of Mahanadi and Kathjodi channels were formed and added to the delta building in the north and the south. Study of satellite imageries and aerial photographs indicate the existence in the past of very important distributary systems which are now dead or burried and contributed extensively to the deltaic growth. Some of these important systems are Sukhbhadra system originating from Mahanadi branch and flowing north eastwards to meet the Bay of Bengal around Chandbali Burdha and Alaka system originating from Kathjodi branch and flowing in easterly direction to meet Bay of Bengal at the present Jatadhar Muhan; and Prachi, originating from Mahanadi at Naraj and passing through Barang, Phulnakhara, Bhingarpur, Naiali, Madhab and Kakatpur meets the sea in a southeasterly direction. All these rivers were mostly contemporaneous which is evident from the geomorphic features they have left behind. These rivers extended the deltaic terrain in the north and south. They were followed by the present set e. g., Kuakhai, Bhargabi, Kushbhadra, Daya, Debi, Birupa etc. which are the distributaries of the main trunk channels, the Mahanadi and Kathjodi.

In the conext of study of age of Cuttack city the history Prachi river and the associated civilisation along its course is of significance. It may be stressed that the deltaic land around Prachi developed later than the deltaic and in Cuttack area as Prachi is a later addition to Mahanadi-Kathjodi system. Hence human settlement activities in Mahanadi-Kathjodi sector would be earlier than that in Prachi sector.

The glory of Prachi valley civilisation is well known to Oriyas. It is along the course of Prachi several historical monuments are well preserved and history of these features are known to some extent with certainity. Some of the temples and deities in the area are dated as of 6th century A.D. In the book "PRACHI VALLEY" compiled and edited by Sri P. K. Ray and published by the Orissa State Archaeology Dept. monuments like

Brahma idol (6th century) and Astabhujachamunda (8th century) of Arkatirth the near Niali, the Iswardev temple of Jiunti (8th century) and Lakhminarasingh temple (6th century) etc. have been referred to as the earliest monuments of Prachi valley. From these records in Prachi valley we can think that human activity was agog in the valley some 1400 years ago atleast, if not early.

We have hinted earlier that the deltaic land around Cuttack formed earlier than those around Prachi river. Hence we can feel that human settlement developed in Cuttack much before 1400 years from now. Though it is not possible to tell when exactly the pre-existing settlement around Cuttack took the shape of city but it is very likely that the primitive settlement grew into a city sometimes before 1000 years from now.

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Drainage—The Need of Cuttack City

ER. M. L. J. Jachuck

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Cuttack perhaps developed from the word 'KATAKA' etymologycally means army Cantonment and also the capital City. It started as a military cantonment because of its impregnable situation and then developed to be the Capital of the state of Orissa by the kings of Keshari Dynasty. Being bounded by rivers Kathajori and Mohanadi it was once named as "Abhinaba Bidanasi Cuttack" during reign of Ananga Bhima Dev-III. It's situation is compared with the City of Baranasi which is situated between the rivers Barun and Asi. From the studies of history, it is said that Raja Nrupakeshari of Keshari Dynasty had planted this City in 989 A.D. and a stone revetment of embankment was constructed to protect the City from inundation. After wards, due to its strategic location Ananga Bhima Dev-III shifted his Capital from Choudwar Kataka to Bidanasi Kataka and built a magnificent palace in the site of Barabati fort adjoining the town of Cuttack where afterwards he held his Court chiefly.

Then the City developed in respect of both physical and economic status by different rulers upto 1803 A.D. and in thar year it came under occupation of Britishers.

At that time there was not a road in the modern sense of the term in existence. The roads were fair weather, cart tracks, without bridge and without proper ferry arrangements for crossing the numerous water courses which they intercepted. By 1818 the physical boundary of the town was bounded between river Kathajori and the main drain in the north south direction and between Ramagarh and Bajrakabati road in the east-west direction. The other portions were apparently being used as 'Officers' bungalows. Areas like Jobra, Telisahi, Sagadia Sahi, Sankarpur, Khannagar, Daraghapatna, Chauliaganj, Sikharpur and Khapuria were un-integrated with Cuttack propper. Managalabag and Buxibazar were detached from the town. The areas last of Kadam-Rasul was almost open. Tulashipur was a village separated from the town and the fort. At that time

Bajrakabati road was working as a continuation of the protective embankment along Kathajori.

In 1862 the newly started East India Irrigation company perceived its capabilities for import of stores and an enterprising French farm in Calcutta shortly afterwards established an agency for export of rice. The excavation of canals was given due attention by East India Irrigation Company not only for irrigation and navigation but also for flood protection,

Then in 1919 introduced the Bengal Nagpur Railways which connected Cuttack with Madras and Calcutta and that Railways is presently known as South Eastern Railways. So to say, from 1916 onwards development of the Town was with high degree of acceleration. Construction of bridges on Mahanadi, Birupa, Brahmani, Baitarani etc. and implementation of the plan for the National-High ways shooted up the economy of the town substancially as its hinterland was extended towards west as well as to north-east of Cuttack. From then till now Cuttack is enjoying the unique privilege of being administrative and commercial centre of Orissa.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITION

Cuttack is located on 20°-29''N latitude and 85°-52'' longitude occupied a commanding position in the coastal region of Orissa. The City is saucer shaped and is built up from the spills of the rivers and is the head of birds foot delta formed by Mahanadi and Kathajori. The nature of the soil of this region is alluvial deposits predominantly sandy with different clayee pockets inside the City. Mostly the levees are sandy soils where as the back swamps are of clayee soils. The average annual rainfall is about 1540 mm with tha relative humidity varrying from 59.50% to 80.00%. The maximum temperature varies from 11.3°c to 25.0°c. The highest temperature is observed in the month of May where as the lowest temperature is observed in December.

At present the drainage water of the City flows into the river Mahanadi and Kathajori river. The capacity of the existing drains are even insufficient to cater to a storm of less than two months frequency and therefore severe inundation occurs often in the City, Besides, where river stages are high due to flood in the sorrounding rivers the discharge of the storm water into these rivers is practically impossible. Thus there happens a flood lockage and duration of inundation becomes prolonged which paralises the life in most of the lower pockets of the City and poses great inconvenience to the City population. To over come such inconveniences and with a view to improve the storm water drainage of the City a

comprehensive scheme need to be prepared. This scheme should provide complete relief from storms occurring upto 80% confidence band and partial relief in case of storms occurring in higher confidence band.

From the good old days the storm water is carried through the open drains and discharges into nearby rivers and Taladanda canal. From the out fall of view the drainage are classified as mentioned under.

(a) Outfalling into the river Kathajori

The main drain No. I, starts from Tulashipur and passes through the heart of the City covering the areas such as Sutahat, Patapola, Rousapatna, Bajrakabati, Chhatrabazar and finally reaches Matagajpur where through a sluice drains the storm discharge into the river Kathajori. This drain caters the entire area of the City situated between the Mahanadi and Kathajori and right bank of Tala-danda canal except Medical areas. Many other branch drains join this drain and augment its flow.

(b) Outfalling in to the river Mahanadi

(i) 'The main drain No. 2 is from O.M.P. square to Bidyadharpur farm. This drain starts from OMP Square and runs parallel to Cuttack-Paradeep road and passes through CRRI at Bidyadharpur. This crosses the Mahanadi right embankment through Gulguli sluice near Bidyadharpur and drains the storm discharge into river Mahanadi.

(ii) The area between Mahanadi, Taladanda left and College Square road drain into Mahanadi through Kaliabuda sluice.

(c) Out falling into Taladanda canal

(i) S.C.B. Medical College and Hospital situated in the right of Taladanda canal and this area drains into Taladanda canal.

(ii) South of college square road and between left of Taladanda canal drains into Taladanda canal through a number of sluices.

(iii) Area between Cuttack Paradeep road to the left of Taladanda canal drains into Taladanda canal through a number of sluices.

The drainage through above drains is not proper since the gradient and section are not sufficient to carry the storm runoff, thereby inundation takes place. Also the rivers are in spate and the drains can not be discharged into them. Besides there are a number of low pockets in the City which does not get drained away through these main drains.

Keeping all these facts in view action should be taken to drain out the storm water of the city in an effective way. Some of proposals for improvement should be considered as follows

(i) Regular clearance and removal of all silt, debris and obstructions from the drain should be done.

(ii) The existing drains are to be brought to suitable hydraulic section by remodelling section type and providing the proper gradient so as to drain the maximum of storm water and alongwith this a few link drains are to be constructed as found suitable.

(iii) Some more sluices are to be opened into the rivers or into the Taladanda canal so as to drain out at suitable points only during heavy rainfall to avoid congestion of a branch drains.

(iv) In low laying areas where gravity flow is not possible pumping arrangement is to be resorted to drain out the water.

(v) Direct pumping of low pockets and land locked areas to the nearby branch drains.

CHOICE OF PROJECT

Studies are required to be made to correlate the flood levels in the rivers Mahanadi and Kathajori with the precipitation in drainage area to establish the requirement of pumping at higher stages of the river. It should also be studied to pumping into rivers or resort to gravity discharge into Taladanda canal. Alternate locations for pumping stations should be considered if necessity arises. This should early be used during heavy rains.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

It may be considered to develop the drainage scheme in four stages chronologically each being independent of the other. Benefits to the city dwellers will commence with beginning of stage-I and will go on increasing to attend the maximum on completion of stage-IV.

In the first stage of development, silt, debris and other obstructions of flow are to be cleared up. The link drain No. I near Rajabagicha Sweeper colony and construction of a sluice at the outfall of this link drain into river Kathajori with construction of pumping station and installation of pumping sets at this outfall.

In the second stage of development the drain from Sutahat to Chhatrabazar railway crossing for a length of about 4.48 K.M. is to be

remodelled and reconstructed. Also in this stage of development the storm water of chronically affected-low pockets of the areas such as Tulashipur, Pathana Sahi, Idiga and Hadigadia near Satichaura etc. is to be directly pumped into the nearest rivers. Remodelling and reconstruction of Matagajapur sluice is to be made in this stage.

In the third phase of implementation pumping arrangements is to be made for draining water of other low pockets. Remodelling of Gulguli and Kaliabuda sluice out fall into river Mahanadi and remodelling of other sluice outfalls into Taladanda canal is to be made

In the last phase of development, pumping arrangement is to be made at Matagajpur for final pumping. Other main drains and branch drains are to be remodelled with concrete sections where possible with laterite store masonary sections.

This scheme will generate public enthusiasm since it will benefit them directly. No additional levies should be realised from the beneficiaries of this scheme.

Apart from the storm water drainage of Cuttack town, another burning problem of the City at present is to dispose off the sullage water of different localities. This was not posing any major problem in the past since the quantity of water supplied to the town was very less, and the sullage water developed from this was also negligible. In the past, disposal of this sullage water was being made mainly through existing natural ditches and ponds without creating any environmental problem. But rapid growth of the City took place in the recent past when water logged areas including the ditches and ponds were filled up and new colonies were developed on these sites making it habitable.

On the other hand the quantity of water supplied to the town has increased to 16 mgd. which was only 6 mgd. in 1980. Thus the quantity of sullage water has gone up. In addition to this, new water supply schemes are also under progress after completion of which more quantity of water will be supplied to the public to cater the need of the ever growing population. This will also result in formulation of more sullage water. If this sullage water will be allowed to flow into the afore-said drains it may pollute the storm water channel which in turn will pollute the water in Taladanda canal and Kathajori river which is being used by the public in down stream areas for bathing and other purposes. Special measures therefore should be taken up to treat the sullage water before its' final disposal to the river at Matagajpur.

To face the present drainage problem of the City and looking to the growth of the City in near future, sincere effort should be taken to work out a comprehensive drainage scheme to safeguard the environmental condition of the City.

Also a separate scheme is required to be prepared for utilisation of sullage water for cultivation purpose at Matagajpur. Unless a rightearnest effort is made to face the growing drainage problem of the City it may create health hazard to all the city dwellers in near future. Drainage has a major part to play in over all problem of slum abolition, resettlement and urban development. Financing of the scheme will not be a problem because loans and grants can be arranged from the Central Government and if required from the World Bank. When we are celebrating 1000 years of our historic City the preparation and implementation of the drainage scheme will definitely generate public enthusiasm and will give direct benefit to all the city dwellers at large. This venture will be a right step to commomorate 1000 years of our City.

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Cuttack as Known from Persian Sources

Dr. Hafizullah Newalpuri

In the words of Dr. M. A. Haque, "Orissa more famous in the name of Kalinga and Utkal in ancient and mediaeval times is acknowledged as one of the prominent regions in the Indian subcontinent with a distinct political and cultural heritage. The Muslim Political contact with Orissa lasted for more than five centuries. For the first three centuries the contact was in the nature of invasions and the last two centuries saw a direct involvement of the Muslim rulers in the Politico-administrative affairs of their conquered territory. During the phase of invasions the contact did not lead to any permanent result. But during the phase of administration the contact yielded inevitable consequences."[1]

Cuttack had been the Capital of Orissa. The historical evidences are absolutely lacking as to the foundation of Cuttack as observed by Syed Aulad Haider Fouque Bilgrami in his monumental work "Tarikh-i-Jadid-i subah-i-Orissa" (1915) where in he records that, "Cuttack is the capital of Orissa for last one thousand years."[2] He states that, "Raja Nrupakesari founded Cuttack in 950 AD".[3] This is one of the important sources regarding the foundation of Cuttack City. For the study of socio-economic and cultural history of Orissa specially the source referred to above is a precious source of information of the Moghal, Maratha and British period.

Muslim invasion against Orissa started as early as 1205 AD and Raja Raja III father of Anangabhima Dev III was ruling from his Head Quarters at Chowdwar Kataka.

Mirhaj in his "Tabaquat-i-Nasri" records that Ikhtiyaruddin Mohammad Bin Bakhtiyar Khalji sent for the invasion of Orissa two amils namely Mohammad-e-Sheran and Ahmad-e-Sheran and both the amils were opposed by Raja Raja III. Both of them returned without achieving anything as by that time Ikhtiyaruddin Mohammad was killed by his commander. Mirhaj however states that when Giasuddin Iwaz Shah became the master of Muslim Bengal

in 1212 AD, he realised tributes from Banga, Kamrup, Tirhut and Jaya Nagar. Although we can not identify Jaya Nagar with modern Jajpur, still then there is scope for further scholarly investigation with regard to the controversial problem.

Mukunda Dev was the last independent Hindu ruler of Orissa, who occupied the fort of Varanasi Katak in 1560 AD and ruled efficiently upto 1568 AD. During his short rule of only eight years Cuttack witnessed many sided developments as recorded by Abul Fazal (1554-1602), Minister and advisor to the Moghal Emperor Akbar a man of profound learning and commanding intellect, he wrote Akbar Namah and Ain-e-Akbari among the earliest chronicles of its kind of Akbar's rule and his Court. Both the works are price-less source of information for the study of the history of Cuttack during the Moghal period. He in his Ain-i-Akbari records that "Katak, the city has a stone Fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus and the Kathjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six Kos round the fort during the rains the Country is under water. Raja Mukunda Dev built here a palace with nine quarters. The first was meant for elephants, and their stables, the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and residence for attendants. The third by Patrol and gate keepers, the fourth by the workshops, the fifth by the kitchen, the sixth contained the public reception rooms, the seventh the private apartments, the eighth the women's apartments and the ninth the sleeping chamber of the ruler."[4]

The statement of the Ain-e-Akbari convincingly indicates that Cuttack was a flourishing capital city during the time of Mukunda Dev. He appears to have enlarged the fort which was originally built by Ananga Bhima Dev having nine quarters. It may be mentioned here that Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi by Shams Siraj Afeef contains a detailed account of the fort of Barabati at Cuttack.

Orissa was annexed to Akbar's empire in 1590 A.D Raja Mansingh who finally subdued Orissa in 1592 A D. made settlement of the province with the help of Raja Todarmal, the great minister of Akbar The settlement records find mention in the Ain-i-Akbari. During the Moghal rule, Orissa was included in the Subah of Bengal and there were in it five sarkars, namely Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Katak, Dandpat and Raj Mahendri. Cuttack continued to be the capital of Moghal Orissa and Abul Fazal clearly mentions that a Moghal Governor was residing in the city which had a stone fort of great strength and a masonary palace within.

We have discussed about that Orissa was annexed to Akbar's empire in 1590 A.D Akbar Namah by Abul Fazal contains vivid description of this episode. It is known from the above source that Dawood the son and successor of Suleman Karhani was stupid enough to defy the powers of Akbar at which the Moghal emperor sent Munim Khan, an aged General to deal with him. The Moghal army occupied Patna in 1574 A.D. and in the next year Dawood was defeated at Tukarwi near Baleswar. Dawood was finally defeated and slain as a result of another campaign in a battle fought near Rajmahal.

Siyar-e-Mufakherin by Syed Gholam Hussain Khan is another important persian source which throws new light on the history of Cuttack city during the Governorship of Murshid Quli Khan II. It is known from the source referred to above that after the death of Md. Taqui Khan, Shujauddin, Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa appointed his son-in-law Murshid Culi Khan II as Deputy Governor of Orissa in his place. A vivid description of the fort of Barabati is available from the source. It is known that, "The fort of Barabati was situated on the Mahanadi. It was constructed of stones, bricks, mortar and lime and was surrounded by a pucca wide ditch. The city was situated between the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjuri protected by strong stone walls called "Pushta", the width of the protected walls varied from two yards to half a yard. Both the rivers were fordable except in the rainy season when the width of Mahanadi became two Kos while that of the other became half of it. The population of the city was about two kroh. The City contained houses and lofty buildings. Beyond the river Kathjuri, there was a vast open space with pleasant atmosphere, beyond this a dense forest, and chain of lofty hills. The people of Cuttack thus had the privilege to enjoy three different types of scenary."[5]

We get the reference of Cuttack from another important Persian source "BAHRUL ASRAR" written by Mahmud Bin Amir Wali Balkhi (1595 AD). This is fully borne out from the author's narrative in the course of his journey lasting six to seven years. He visited Kabul, Peshawar, Hasan Abdal, Lahore, Sarhind, Delhi, Mathura, Allahbad, Benaras, Patna, Bardwan, Jagannath (Puri), Hyderabad, Bijapur, Ahmedabad, Telangana, Vijaya Nagaram, Ceylone, some unidentified islands towards the east of Ceylone, Cuttack, Agra, Ajmer, etc.

The author's longest sojourns in India were at Cuttack where he stayed about two years. Only two manuscripts of the travelogue are known to exist in the world. Of these two, one is in the India office Library in London and the other is in the Tashkent Library and the same has been edited by

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The author, Mahmud Bin Amir Wali Balkhi, after spending two years at Cuttack from March 1627 to February 1629, left for Agra in the company of Mirza Husain, brother of the Governor of Orissa.

He describes about Cuttack in the following words.

"Cuttack, situated on the peninsula formed by the Mahanadi where it throws off the Kathjuri. It was the provincial capital of Orissa under the Moghals".[6]

He also describes of the "Shahar-Band-i Katak"—evidently the city wall of Cuttack following with a very interesting description of a peculiar dervish who stayed in shahar-band-i-Cuttack. His name was Shah Azmat. His disciples were coming around from far off places. He was really a miraculous person. He used to bring out a handful of fresh dazzling ashrafies (coins) and give away to the needy disciples. He was not accepting any thing in cash or kind from any body, rather inviting every one including the viceroy to join in his "lunger".[7]

Now coming to another important Persian source, the Seir Mutakherin can be referred to. It was written in Persian in 1780 AD by Syed Gholam Hashim Khan who used reside with his father at the court of Nawabs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The work has been spoken of in high terms.

In 1119 Hijra, Jafar Khan was entrusted with Bengal and Orissa where he had already acted as Diwan. In course of time Shuja Khan was informed that Jafar Khan had hardly five or six days to live. He set out from Cuttack along with Aliverdy Khan and hastily proceeded to Murshidabad, leaving behind Md. Taqui Khan as his deputy at Cuttack.[8] Aliverdy Khan once again set out on an expedition against Cuttack, the capital of Orissa, a Province which he intended to recover from Murshid Quli Khan, its actual owner.[9]

We find description of enormous oppression at Cuttack after the defeat of Murshid Quli Khan. A number of officers and commanders who had made their fortunes with the dispossessed Governor, were suffered to remain in the city of Cuttack. They secretly cherished on attachment to their old master and especially to his son in law Mirza Baquer. At the very time a faquir named Shah Yahya came to Cuttack who was a school mate of the young prince at Shahjehanabad. He instilled into the mind of the young prince notion of investing accusation against richmen and ferreting out elegant shaped beautiful women from their homes. The residence of

the young prince at Cuttack had become the tribunal where scourging and torturing went on regularly. This excited general indignation among the citizens of Cuttack and they resolved to get rid of so much oppression and joined together unitedly.[10]

On the other hand Mirja Baquer Khan attached a number of people to establish regular correspondence between himself and Cuttack while living in Deccan. There was an unanimous desire among the people of Cuttack to get back their old master, Mirza Baquer.

Shah Murad who had once saved Murshid Quli Khan's family made a vital conspiracy against Nawab Saulat Jang (son-in-law of Ali Verdi Khan). Mirza Baquer entered "Shaher-Band-i-Cuttack" with the help of his talented men. Immediately going to the palace he seized and confined Sayed Ahmed Khan and after sitting on the latters masnad, sent the prisoner's Begum, children and family into the confinement at the Barabati Fort.[11] Aliverdy Khan was badly perturbed with this information. He sought the suggestion of Saulat Jang's mother whom he kept in high esteem. She was of an opinion to leave the Government of Orissa to Mirza Baquer. But Aliverdy Khan proceeded to Cuttack heading twenty thousand horses and troops and after entering Orissa he declared that he would give one lakh rupees to whosover would rescue his nephew Nawab Saulat Jang and bring him to his camp. This alluring advertisement could not long remain concealed from Mirza Baquer. He came out of the City of Cuttack with his forces and chose a spot across the Mahanadi to confront with Aliverdy Khan.[12]

When British Government arrested Syed Mohammad Razi Khan Alvi Known as Muzaffar Jang, Deputy Subedar of Bengal the people of Bengal younger and elder were badly sorry for him. At that time it came to the mind of Karam Ali to write down the detailed description of the high officials of Bengal from the period of Nawab Mahabat Jang to 1132 Hijra whatever was heard and seen.

In Muzaffar Namah a few very important references are found about Cuttack. Regarding Barabati Fort we find that Habibullah Khan proceeded with the Maratha Soldiers and entered the province of Orissa. He reached Barabati Fort which is well known for its story construction and a ditch encircles the fort from both sides and is connected with the river (Mahanadi). It is very difficult to conquer the fort.[13]

No doubt Cuttack had become the centre of all political activities during those days, as the Muzaffar Namah high lights on it.

On his arrival Nawab Saulat Jang was handed over to Aliverdy Khan. Baquer Ali Khan had fled away. Aliverdy Khan thanked God on getting Saulat Jang alive. The army relaxed for a few days in Cuttack and Aliverdy Khan conferred power of the province on Mukhlis Ali Khan and when he reached the port of Balasore he got the information of Marathas arrival and the illness of Mukhlis Ali Khan. He appointed Shaikh Masum as the commander and Raja Dullabh Ram son of Raja Janaki Ram as Subedar of Orissa.[14]

The persian sources highlighting the mediaeval history with special reference to Orissa and Cuttack can not be overlooked, but it is not possible to go deep into them all in this abridged article. References of Cuttack are found in Tabaquat-e-Nasiri[15], Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi[16], Tarikh-e-Mobarak Shahi[17], Tabaquat-e-Akbari[18], Mantakhabul Lubab,[19] Maasirul Omeral,[20] Ain-e-Akbari[21], Mantakhabut Tawarikh[22], Akbar Namah[23], Baharistan-e-Ghaibi[24], Tarikh-e-Salim Shahi[25], Seirul Mutak herin[26], Riyazus Salatain[27], Tarikh-e-Firishta[28], Makhzan-e-Afghani[29], Tabsaratun Nazerin[30]' Padshah Nama,[31] Moraqqat-e-Hasan,[32] Tarikh-e-Jadid Subah-e-Orissa[33], Burhan-e-Maaseri[34], Wiqaya,[35] Ruqat-e-Jehangiri,[36] Tarikh-e-Dawoodi[37], Akbar Namah[38], Ahkam-e-Alamgiri[39], Maasir-e-Alamgiri[40], Ahwal-e-Aliverdy Khan[41], Munassaf-e-Mehru[42], Amal Swaleh[43], Iqbal Namah Jahangiri[44], Hadiqatus Salateen[45], Padshah Namah[46], Haft Iqlim[47], Muzaffar Namah[48], Sadr Jahan[49], Bahrul Asrar[50], Safar Namah Ibn Batuta[51] etc.

Thus the importance of Cuttack as the capital of ancient Orissa has been mentioned with vivid description by the contemporary persian scholars as mentioned above.

During the Muslim rule in Orissa from 1568 to 1751 AD, various mosques, tombs, Graveyards, residence for Governors were constructed in Cuttack. Cuttack enjoyed the position of the metropolis and as adorned with numerous beautiful buildings.

The Dewan Bazar Mosque is the oldest of these monuments constructed by Diwan Murshid Quli Jafer Khan,the trusted friend and administration of Aurangzeb in 1666 AD. The mosque as it stands today was not constructed at any single period. The Jama Masjid of Cuttack was constructed by Nazim Ikram Khan in 1689 AD by the orders of Aurangzeb Alamgir.

The Qadam-i-Rasool enclosed on all sides by high stone walls is the main burial ground of the Muslims. Here lies the grave of Nawab Mohammad Taqui Khan, the Deputy Nazim of Orissa who died in 1735AD. Among other notable graves are those of Fateh Khan (died in 1720 AD) Azam Khan (died in 1776 AD), Generals of Maratha regimes, Orissa's premier Urdu poet

Amjad Najmi and the most renown mathematician Moulavi Rahmat Ali have also been buried there, A few tombs of the saints can also be seen in the Qadam-i-Rasool.

The Qadam-i-Rasool including the Naubat Khana covers 57 acres of land. The foot print of prophet Mohammad engraved in a circular stone is placed in the central monument. This sacred foot print of the prophet was brought by one Haji Syed Alimullah from Najaf in Arabia when Kala Pahad was busy in conquering Orissa[52].

Lalbagh Palace, at Cuttack was built in 1636AD, the first important Muslim monument, was meant for the palace of Moghal Governors. The Riazus Salateen for the first time mentions the Lalbagh in 1724 AD when Aliverdy Khan came to rescue his nephew Saulat Jang who was imprisoned there.[53] Now the children's Hospital 'Shishu Bhavan' is situated in its campus.

The Muslim political contact with Orissa which lasted for more than five centuries lead to Hindu Muslim cultural assimilation which left the permanent mark on the soil of Orissa. It may be said that though the Muslim population in Orissa is the smallest in comparison to other regions in India, yet the legacy of Muslim rule are in no way in considerable. Muharram at Cuttack had been celebrated in as grand a scale as in Lucknow where a large number of shias live.

Cuttack as the heart land of Orissa became the centre of Hindu Muslim Cultural assimilation. Therefore it will not be out of place to emphasise the contribution of Cuttack to the socio cultural and religious life of the people of Orissa.

In brief,the study of the mediaeval Persian chronicles leads to the conclusion that Cuttack not only remained the capital of Orissa during the Muslim rule, but also played a vital role in the political sphere.

Today, though the capital has been shifted from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar, even then Cuttack remains the political heartland of Oriassa. The excavation of Barabati Fort has revealed many interesting discoveries adding to the historiocity of Cuttack and on the completion of excavation the true significance of this ancient city can be ascertained on the basis of archaeological evidences.

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Excavations at Barabati Fort, Cuttack, Orissa, 1989-91

Dr. B. K. Sinha

The Excavation Branch-IV of the Archaeological Survey of India, from December 1st '1989, undertook excavations at the high mound situated inside the Barabati Fort, Cuttack, Lat 20° 29'N Long 85° 52', in district Cuttack, Orissa. The aim of the excavations was :—

(1) To establish a cultural sequence at the site with the aim to determine the earliest occupation at the site.

(2) To conduct an area excavation at the mound in order to expose the remains of various cultural periods.

INTRODUCTION

The city of Cuttack lies between the two rivers Mahanadi and Kathjuri at a distance of about 25 kms North of the State Capital Bhubaneswar. Tradition attributes the founding of the city of Cuttack to Raja Nrupakeshari of the Somavansi dynasty in 989 A. D. The account of Madalapanji, Puri Temple chronicle, is perhaps the only evidence mentioning this fact. This evidence is not corraborated by any other source.

Some scholars are of the opinion that King Anangabhima Dev III (A.D. 1211-1238) of the Ganga Dynasty founded the city of *Abhinav Varanasi Kataka* and built a fort at the village of Barabati and a temple of Jagannath inside the fort. The deity of the temple was known as Purushottam and was of stone. According to Tarikh-e-Firozshahi, Ferozshah Tuglaq, Sultan of Delhi (1351-1375) invaded Cuttack in A. D. 1361, during the reign of Bhanudeva III, destroyed the temple, disgraced the idol of Purushottam and carried it off to Delhi. The rule of the Gangas lasted till 1434 A.D. anc was succeeded by the Suryavansi Gajapatis who ruled till 1540. After the fall of the Gajapatis, there was a short rule of the Bhoi dynasty (till 1560) who were succeeded by Raja Mukunda Dev (1560) who died fighting the Bengal Sultan Sulaeman Karni in A.D. 1568.

Of Mukund Dev, we find mention in Ain-i-Akbari wherein Abulfazal mentions to a nine ashiana palace built by Raja Mukunda Dev inside Barabati Fort at Cuttack.

From the Sultan of Bengal, Sulaiman Karni, the Barabati Fort passed into the hands of Moghuls in A.D. 1595 and Marathas in 1751. The British conquere Cuttack in A.D. 1803.

William Brutom visited Cuttack in 1633 and among other things mentions a square sloping bastion of stone inside the fort.

Thomass Motte, who visited Cuttack in 1766 also refers to a very large bastion along with three smaller one's within the fort.

Sterling visiting Cuttack in 1818 also speaks of a square sloping tower inside the fort area.

The Fort at Barabati was demolished by the British, after their occupation of it, in 1803, and the stones retrieved were used in the construction of the Cantonment Road at Cuttack and the false point light house at Paradip.

Available evidence says that bulk of the stone recovered after demolishing the structures were sold by the British to the locals at the rate of Rs. 6/-per hundred.

SITE AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

Barabati Fort is situated on the right bank of river Mahanadi, in the western part of Cuttack City. The fort, roughly square on plan, having an area of over 102 acres is surrounded on all sides by a stone lined moat having a width of 10 metres on its northern and western sides and 20 metres on the eastern and southern sides. The fort wall with the exception of the gate, on the eastern side is missing. The entire area of the fort was declared protected vide a notification in the year 1915.

However in spite of the notification, in 1940, the State P.W.D. constructed staff quarters and workshop in the northern part of the fort while the entire southern part of the fort has been occupied by Satyabrata and Jawaharlal Nehru Indoor Stadium.

In the centre of the fort exists a high mound to the west of which is a tank. The area covering the high mound and some flat area around it measures about 15 acres. Part of the high mound on its northern side is encroached by kitchen gardens belonging to the inhabitants residing in

Government quarters. Towards the east of the high mounds stands a mosque known as Shahi mosque while to the west of the tank is the mazar of Hazrat Ali Bukhari.

The high mound, inside the Barabati Fort presented a strange or rather curious appearance. From the surrounding flat plain a steep rise of about 7 metres leads to an area which has a flat appearance on top, barring the ravines created by downrushing rain waters. In the south-western corner of this flat area, there was again a steep rise from three sides i.e. east, west and south of about 10 metres, while on the northern side existed a gentle slope, suggestive of a ramp leading to the highest point wherein sits a Bench Mark recording 40.6 metres above M.S.L.

Excavations were started on 01.12.1989 at the foot of the mound on the southern side and also in the south-western corner where some laid blocks of dressed khondolite stone were visible. Trenches taken at the highest point, adjacent to the bench mark, showed the existence of loose filling upto a depth of about 5 metres. This loose filling, at places was stabilised by layers of boulders. Below the filling was found a square structure of dressed khondolite stones profusely pointed in lime mortar.

Finds from inside the filling pointed it to be of recent origin and in order to ascertain the facts inquiries made from the Director, Survey of India, Bhubaneswar, revealed that the filling was done by the Survey of India, originally in 1854 to establish a triangulation station at a hight of 40.6 metres above M.S.L. and subsequently attended to in later years as the Triangulation Station also served as bench mark and pendulum station. The station being of importance, care was taken that during excavations it suffered no damage.

Excavations revealed a square structure built up of dressed khondolite stones available to a height of over 3 metres and having one side measuring 20 metres. The Structure had two phases, in the first phase, it was a simple square structure 18 metres on the side in which offsets were used to decorate the exterior. In the second phase, an addition of about 2 metres was made on all the four sides and a ramp was added on the northern side. The later addition had tapering inwards on the exterior as against the offsets of earlier phase. However, the structure was available to a height of 5 metres on the eastern side and at places lime pointing was observed. The total thickness of the structure was 4.10 metres on each side and the central area had a filling of greenish compact earth. The inner side was exposed on all the sides along with a portion of the filling. The structure

in the second phase was approached by a gentle ramp from the northern side. The ramp had walls of dressed stone in between which earth was filled. The ramp was inter-locked with the second phase of the structure and was available to a length of 25 mts North-South. The walls of the ramp measured 1 metre in width and the central area, consisting the filling, had a width of 7.6 metres.

The ramp and the structure, of the second phase, were both pointed in lime mortar all around. Associated in the north-eastern corner with the structure, was found a lime flooring having a width of about 5 metres and was available to a distance of 20 metres, along the eastern side of the ramp.

In the construction of the structure and the ramp architectural fragments and sculptural panels, extracted from the destroyed temple in the area, were used along with dressed khondolite stone blocks. In the filling cleared from over the structure, two mutilated heads of female deities and other small and big architectural fragments numbering about one hundred were found.

Excavations at the foundations of the structure, all around, revealed that the structure was built over an area which was cerefully prepared by filling, upto about 5 metres, the earlier remains at the site, with sand and malba and thus preparing a fairly big flat area. Dressed stone paving and traces of lime flooring were found an all sides of the structure hinting at the possiblity of the structure being a Samadhi or a Memorial of some sort, around which the paved area and the lime floorings were meant for congregations.

Trenches taken on the eastern side of the structure, mentioned above revealed a filling of sand and malba. In this malba filling were found 32 pillars built of laterite blocks, roughly square but varying in size. On plan these pillars formed rows running east-west and north-south. One pillar excavated down to its last course showed a hight of 7.25 metres and had 35 courses, others stood at varying heights. The pillars in the south-western corner have been subjected to thorough stone robbing in recent times, which was attested to by the robber trenches which were seen running down right from the top.

These pillars 32 nos found so far, on plan showed a Central Hall having a width of 10 metres north-south and a length of about 25 metres (approx) east-west, with 7 openigs each from the northern and southern

sides and possibly 3 each from the eastern and western sides, the western portion of the hall is lying under the ramp leading to the top of the Samadhi, and hence could not be excavated. Around the Central Hall on the southern and eastern sides, there were corridors with pillars on the exterior while a plastered wall formed the exterior on the northern side. The plastered wall forming the exterior of the corridor on the northern side was excavated upto its foundations and it was only from this wall that the working level of the corridor was observed. The floor of the corridor made of laterite slabs was completely removed but bits of slabs were found projecting from the wall and as a rerult of blocks being removed the plaster of the wall showed a straight line cut which represented the joining point of the floor with the wall. From the floor level of the corridor the tallest pillar stood about 6 metres high which pointed to the fact that the height of the hall must have been more than 6 metres. Some pillars showed two stages of construction and these possibly might have been the parts of an earlier structure reused in the later period. From the filling chunks of lime plaster showing polychrome paintings were recovered. One chunk showed three layers of thick lime plaster, showing polychrome designs superimposed on another.

In the north-eastern corner of the mound, underlying the pillars, in that area, were found the remains of what once was a temple. The remains consist of the base of a temple made of whitish sand stone over foundations of laterite blocks. Three mouldings of the base of this temple are identitiable. Part of the inner lime flooring possibly associated with the base is also available. The floor, though severely damaged due to the construction of the laterite pillars, of subseqent period, consists of a patch of lime floor over a paving of laterite slabs. There are indications that the floor had earlier phase also. In the debris covering the temple a good number of fragments of mouldings akin to those found in the temple were recovered. More than four hundred fragments belonging to the temple and some mutilated pieces of sculptures were recovered from the filling between the laterite pillars. The mouldings of the temple were found to a length of 4.25 mts east-west, but beyond this, on both these sides the temple is hidden by the overlying laterite pillars.

Excavations on the eastern and southern side of the mound revealed the existence of a citadel wall built of laterite blocks. Four building phases in the citadel wall have been identified. In the earlier phase the wall appears to have a basal width of around 8 metres while in the last phase the width is reduced to 4.25 metres. The wall has been traced upto a

length of 50 metres on the southern side running east-west. Its south-eastern inner corner has been found and on the eastern side it has been traced upto a length of 20 metres. Work on the citadel wall has been suspended for as it runs further into the area occupied by the P.W.D. quarters. Till such time these encroachments are cleared resumption of excavation in this area is not possible.

ANTIQUITIES

From outside the citadel wall on the southern side, the antiquities recovered consisted of seven iron arrow heads and one iron cannon ball. Besides these about four hundred architectural fragments belonging to temple parts and pieces of sculptures depicting erotic couple, musicians, standing female figures, heads of females showing ornament and different hair styles and mutilated images of Ganesa and Surya were recovered from the filling in the palace. From the deposits over the stone paving associated with the memorial was recovered a silver coin belonging to Moghul Emperor Shah Jahan (1627-1658) minted at Surat.

Some fine pieces of Chinese porcelain datable to medieval period possibly 16 century A.D. were recovered from the filling in the palace along with a good number of areca-nut shaped beads which are datable to 15th-16th century A.D. and a stone cannon ball.

Some lead bullets representing the British period along with pieces of glass goblet were also recovered during excavations.

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest structure found during the excavations within the Barabati Fort is the small portion of a temple showing three mouldings of the base over a foundations of laterite blocks. The temple rested on the sandy soil in which no habitational deposit was seen. Associated with the foundations were, of course, some sherds which may be dated to around 13th century A.D.

At three other places water level was reached but no structure earlier in date than the temple was encountered, which suggests the possibility that the temple, found during the excavations, is the earliest structure within the Barabati Fort excavated so far and datable to Circa 13th cent. A.D. Most of the sculptures though badly mutilated show close resemblance with those of Konark.

The temple was thoroughly destroyed and the fact that it was covered with debris and that the pillars of later period are resting over it, at one

place the small lime plaster which may be a later flooring associated with the temple was seen damaged by the foundations of these pillars, shows that when the palace, to which these pillars belong, was built the temple was completely forgotten. Such an evidence suggests a gap of more than a century between the construction of the palace and the destruction of the temple.

No evidence has been found which may conclusively establish the identity of the temple but the evidence that the temple belongs to the earliest phase at Barabati read with the Nagari inscription of King Ananga-bhima Dev III (1211-1238 A.D) of the Ganga dynasty, referring to a temple of Jagannath the deity of which was known by the name of Purushottam, points to the possibility of the temple unearthed during excavations at Barabati Fort being the one built by the Ganga ruler. This identity of the temple is further strengthened by the description in Tarikh-e-Firozshahi by Afif, a somewhat contemporary account of Firoz Shah Tuglaq's reign, wherein the destruction of the Jagannath temple during Feroz Shah's occupation of Cuttack and carrying off the idol of Purushottam to Delhi has been mentioned.

All these evidences read together tend to establish that the temple found, during excavations at Barabati was the one built by the Ganga ruler Anangabhima Dev III between A. D. 1211 and 1238 and destroyed by Firoz Tuglaq in A.D. 1361.

Pillars of the palace i.e. those belonging to the eastern corridor, resting above the temple and the laterite flooring associated with it, suggest that the palace was built after the destroyed temple had faded out of people's memory. No attempt seems to have been made to rebuild the temple. This suggests a time gap which may well be between 100 to 200 years. This may well place the date of the palace somewhere in the 1st half of 16th century A.D. A long time gap can be presumed from the fact no Hindu ruler will build his palace over a temple and therefore the assumption may not be far removed from the fact that when the palace was built the temple had completely been obliterated from the memory of the people as well as the builder.

In some pillars, i.e. those which are the tallest among the 32 recovered so far, two building phases have been seen. No change in the plan of the palace has been observed which bears out the fact that the palace has been rebuilt at least once. This second phase of the palace, wherein either some repairs have been executed or hight of the rooms has been raised may

well be in the second half of the Sixteenth Century and may correspond with the eight year reign of Raja Mukund Dev (1560-1568). Abul Fazal in Ain-e-Akbari refers to a nine ashiana palace built by Raja Mukunda Dev and since the period of Raja Mukunda Dev's reign was only 8 years, it is possible that instead of building a new palace the Raja enlarged the existing palace.

We know from records that the Governor of Sultan Karni of Bengal who occupied Cuttack in 1569 after the death of Mukunda Dev refused to stay in the palace of Mukunda Dev and instead stayed at Rambag. There is no evidence of a Muslim palace at Barabati Fort prior to 1569 when Cuttack was occupied by the forces of the Sultan of Bengal.

It is evident that the palace thus remained unoccupied and hence turned into ruins. It is also evident that at some time possibly towards the end of 16th century or so the entire palace was filled with sand and malba collected from the neighbourhood. It also appears that whereever visible the dressed stone blocks of the temple were also extracted and in doing so the floors overlying these blocks were also damaged.

The whole area of the fort was thus converted into a big mound of sand with a flat top and over this in the south-western corner a square platform was built with the dressed khondolite blocks extracted from the ruined temple which again at a later date was enlarged on all sides and an approach ramp was provided.

There are traces of stone pavings and lime plastered floor all around this structure and from the deposits over the paving on the eastern side a coin of Shahjahan (A.D. 1627-1658) was recovered.

In 1803 British occupied Cuttack and stone robbing was excessively done to build the Cantonment Road and false point light house.

In 1854 Survey of India carried out filling operations over the square structure and the ramp and established a bench mark, triangulation station and pendulum station. The square structure was thus completely covered by the filling carried out by the Survey of India in 1854.

We have no records which may help us in providing the identification of this structure built of dressed khondolite blocks on top of the palace after filling it with sand but the results of excavations and the records left by foreign tourist help us in arriving at some conclusions.

William Brutton visited Cuttack in 1633 i.e. during the period Cuttack was under Moghul rule and mentions of a big square sloping

bastion of stone, the existence of which is attested to by Thomas Motte in 1786 and Sterling in 1818.

The triangulation station covering the structures was built by Survey of India in 1854.

In the construction of the structure and its approch ramp architectural fragments, sculptural panels, recovered from the temple have been used. The square structure, when built was conceived as of great importance for a great amount of labour was spent in filling the structural remains of the earlier period and thereby creating a big mound, flat at the top, rising about 7 metres from the surrounding plane. The square structure built atop this flat area was intended to dominate the sky line of Cuttack city. Brutton's reference in A.D. 1633 gives us an idea that the structure was built before 1633.

Though no absolute identification of the structure is possible but (1) its date being prior to 1633 and (2) from the nature of the structure it appears as a Samadhi or Memorial of some important person. The paved area and later the lime floor around the structure give ample support to this point for these may have been used for congregations etc.

However, the most remarkable discovery, during the last two sessions work at Barabati Fort, has been the recovery of the temple from the earliest levels.

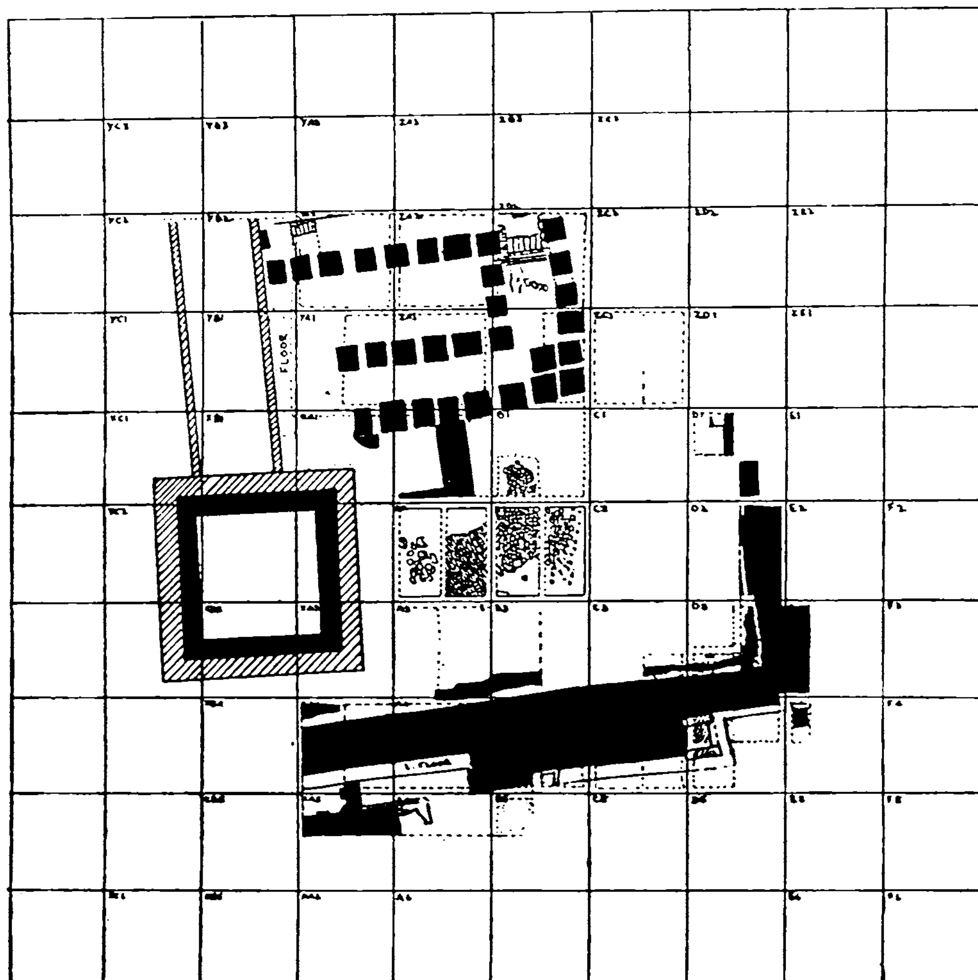
According to the results of the excavations till todate, the beginning of Barabati Fort is assignable to circa 13th century A.D. and nothing has been recovered which points to an earlier date.

No evidence of a multi-storyed structure has so far been found.

The citadel wall has been only partially excavated and it is hoped that further excavations at Barabati Fort will provide a complete plan of the citadel and its components.

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PLAN OF EXCAVATED REMAINS
BARABATI FORT DIST CUTTACK, ORISSA
SCALE 1 cm = 4 mts



Section - II



Political History

Pancha-Kataka

Sri Debaraj Pradhan

The compound word Pancha-Kataka signifies five military camps, military garrison or seat of administration. The name Kataka is derived originally from a camping ground. Thus "Pancha-Kataka" symbolises five different military camping stations or five forts.

The word "Pancha" is a very commonly used auspicious form in ancient Indian literature. Some of the best examples are known as Pancha-ksetra, Pancha-Kanya, Pancha-Devata, Pancha varahi, Pancha-Nadi, Pancha-Bhuta, Panchanana, Pancha-linga etc. In other words Kataka is a fort having generic significance. The ancient and medieval history of Orissa relates that Orissa has been a land of forts and military strongholds. From the reports of archaeological exploration and excavation we come across the remains of numerous forts in this land right from the time of Asoka. The forts of Orissa, as elsewhere, were built in accordance with the systems prescribed in the *Arthasastra* and in the *Puranas*. The original epithet of the fort is *Gada* or *Durga* which in the later period became more popular as the epithet of *Kataka*.

Gada or *Durga* or *Kataka* played significant role in the Indian warfare from the pre-historic period. The *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas*, the *Jatakas* and other canonical texts and literature provide a graphic picture of the forts including their types, methods of their construction, places of their encampment, their use etc. We find five types of forts from the *Mahabharata* such as *Dhana-Durga*, *Mahi-Durga*, *Giri-Durga*, *Manusya Durga* and *Jala-Durga*.[1] Alexander at the time of invasion in C. 326 B.C. was surprised to see numerous fortified towns of the Hindu Chiefs. Meghasthenes who paid a visit to the court of Chandragupta Mourya described in lucid language the city of Pataliputra which to him located on the confluence of the Son and the Ganga, was by far the largest fortified city of ancient India measuring about 9½ miles in length and 1½ miles in breadth. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* one of the earliest important and authentic texts on fortification indicates that fort was considered as one of the seven constituent elements. On the basis

This Kataka was in flourishing condition till the Gajapati rule and acted as main military-garrison for onward march to the north. Gajapati Prataprudra Deva built the Varahanath temple in realising the religious importance of the place.

Amaravati Kataka

Amaravati Kataka located near "Chhatia Matha" is one of the Pancha Katakas occupied by Chodaganga deva. This fort on account of its strategic location acted as the second line of defence to Jajpur Cuttack from the south and third-line of defence to the Varanasi Kataka, the capital city. The remains of the fort (rectangular in size) in the shape of several stone-cut wells, the main gateways, the palace and some Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures are still to be seen. It is most unfortunate that the entire fort was denuded to construct the present vast complex of Chhatia math and a Jagannath temple inside the fort. The stiff hills to the northern side of the structure provided the natural defence. A beautiful image of Indra and his counterpart Indrani after whom the fort might have been styled as Amaravati are placed in a modern niches.

The fort has no recorded history nor tradition. From the archaeological treasures found in the fort and in the Chhatia math its history can tentatively be reconstructed. According to the Madala Panji, Chodaganga occupied it and rebuilt naming it second "Amaravati Kataka", the first Amarabati being on the bank of Krishna. We do not have any record to indicate its earlier name. Whatever may be its earlier appelation the sculptural remains bear the Bhauma art tradition and its workmanship similar in style of those sculptures found at Jajpur and from this ground, the fort may be assignable to the Bhauma and subsequently it continued to remain successively under the Somavamsis, Gangas and the Gajapatis. The temples of Somavamsi rulers found at Jalauka, about 6 K.m. south of the fort further substantiate our view point.[5]

In course of our survey of the area we surprisingly came across the remains of a vast stronghold on the other side of the hill locally known as Teligarh. The remains comprising fort-walls, brick-bats, stepped wells etc. hidden under thick bushes prompt us to conclude that this was another fort, subsidiary of the Amaravati Kataka. Further investigations of these two forts followed by excavations may bring to light the history of the forts.

Chaudwar Kataka

According to Madala Panji, the Raja used to stay during his early part of reign in the Nahara or palace called Chaudwar Kataka. Anangabhima Deva

shifted his capital from Choudwár Kátaka to Barabati Kataka after constructing a fort there. This account of shifting the capital is also corroborated by the'Nagari copperplate.

According to Dr. Panigrahi the name "Chaudwar" is not so old. The people after noticing the ruins of a fort consisting of four gateways started calling Chaudwar. The earlier name of the fort was Jajan Nagar or Jajnagar. Jajnagar finds mention in the accounts of Muslim historians, and travellers. In the Muslim record whole Orissa is depicted as Jajnagar. During the reign of Narasimha-I Tughril Tugha Khan of Bengal attempted to invade Jajnagar and thereby Narasimha-I the Raja of Jajnagar in A H. 641 or 1243 advanced towards Lakhnoti (in Bengal). Large number of Muslims were killed while Tugha Khan saved his life by taking flight. Sultan Ghyiyasuddin Tughluq also invaded Jajnagar in 1361 A.D. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq invaded Jajnagar and destroyed innumerable temples. During the reign of Bhanudeva or Matta Bhanu, Sultan Hashan Shah of Malwa came to Jajnagar in the guise of horse merchant and surprised the king into captivity. How this great fort was destroyed has not been referred to in any authentic texts. Probably this fort was abandoned after shifting of the capital from this place to Abhinava Varanasi Kataka.

In refering to Muslim records some scholars identified Jajnagar with the mythological name Jajananagar. This view appears to be erraroues. Sarala Das in his Oriya Mahabharat has given the location of Jajan Nagar. According to him the Pandavas went to heaven from Orissa as is indicated in the following verses.

ଶୁଣ ବୈବଶ୍ୱତ ମନୁ ବଦନ୍ତି ଅଗସ୍ତି
ପାଣ୍ଡବମାନେ ରହିଲେ ଯେ ଅମରାବତୀ
ସୁହାଣୀ କନ୍ୟାକୁ ବିଭା ହେଲେ ଧର୍ମସୁତ
ରହିଲେ ଯେ ପଞ୍ଚତ୍ରୟ ବର୍ଷ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ।
ପରୀକ୍ଷିତେ ରାଜ୍ୟ ଦେଲେ ଯଜନ ନଗରୀ
ପଞ୍ଚ କଟକର ମଧ୍ୟେ ଏକ ଅଧିକାରୀ ।

(ସ୍ୱର୍ଗାରୋହଣ ପର୍ବ)°

According to this narration Jajan Nagar is no other place than Chaudwar Kataka. In this connection we can refer to the popular tradition current in Chaudwar area that Janmejaya performed snake sacrifice at Jajan Nagar. Sarala Das taking into account the local tradition recorded the fact in his Mahabharat further adding that Yudhisthir handed over the kingdom to

Parikhita and made him the possessor of the famous Pancha Kataka. It is thus clear from the above facts, that Chaudwar in the name of Jajan Nagar continued till the 15th century. K. C. Panigrahi went further identifying Janmejaya with Janmejaya-I of Somavamsi dynasty. Most probably while establishing capital at Jajan Nagar he must have performed a sacrifice in accordance with the traditional rites.

The extensive remains of Chaudwar scattering over several square miles indicate the significant role played by this fort in the mediaeval period. Several stepped wells, Saivite temples, four gateways and scattered Brahmanic and Buddhist images speak of its political and sculptural history. Kittoe's report in this connection is attracted here. "The road was very good as far as Chaudwar where are turned off and passed over the ruins of that ancient city, which extend for many miles. There are very few ruins above the ground, but the foundation of many are visible, particularly of the walls and moat which were faced with stone, there are numerous reservors also and the remains of temples, the stone was removed in the former years to build the fort of Cuttack and the revetment" [7]

Sarangagarh Kataka

One version of the Madala Panji edited by A. B. Mohanty relates that Chodaganga occupied and re-built Angadesa and Kasi Kshetra as fifth and sixth katakas. It is interesting to note that no forts in the name of Angadesa and Kasi Kshetra are in existence. K. C. Panigrahi in survey of the sites identified Anga Desa with Sarangagarh or Chodangagarh and Kasi Kshetra with Kasia garh located very near to Sarangagarh on the bank of the Kuakhai river. The remains of Kasia garh about 6 miles in perimeter with walls of sand stone of 10 feet in thickness fixed with gates and bestions are to be seen near the village "Dalua". This subsidiary strong-holds was the second line of defence to Sarangagarh. The interior of the fort does not indicate any sign of occupation, possibly this was used for temporary encampment.

Sarangagarh is situated at a distance of 9 Km. to the south-west of Baranga Railway station. The present 'Kanjia-Jhil' and a part of the present Baranga canal originally formed the natural moat of the fort. Unfortunately the major part of the fort has been incorporated in the elephant-sanctuary of the Government of Orissa oblitaring the archaeological significance of the fort. Chodagangadeva remodelled the fort and named it after him. Sarala Das records Chodangagarh in his Mahabharata in connection with Bhima's wrestling in the palace of Virata.

ଶାରଂ ଚୂଡ଼ଙ୍ଗ ନଗର ପଶ୍ଚିମରଂ କୋଣେ
ବଜ୍ରବାନ୍ଧୁ ପଡ଼େ ନବ ସହସ୍ର ଯୋଜନେ ।
ପଞ୍ଚ ସହସ୍ର ଯୋଜନେ ଯେ କଟକ ସ୍ଥଳୀ
ଯେ ମାଳ ପଡ଼ିଲା ପାଞ୍ଚ ଯୋଜନେ ଦୁଗୁଳ ॥
(ବର୍ଞ୍ଚ ପର୍ବ) ॥

This was a gigantic fort consisting of 8 mahalas, outer and inner walls, tanks etc. Major part of the fort walls has been used in construction of Katjodi Railaway bridge and embakment and cretain portion levelled to ground.

The outer wall served as the first line of protection. This was made of laterite stone joined by iron hook. The wall was so broad and so strong, the army, elephant and horses could march over it. The portion of inner wall is still existing to the height of 6.3 metres with the breath of 7 mts. at interval; the remains of watch towers are visible.[12] This fort was the second line of defence to the Varanasi Kataka and continued to play vital role till the advent of British rule. Firoze Shah marched over Sarangagarh in 1360 during the reign of Bhanudeva III.

During the reign of Mukundadeva, Ramachandra Bhanja was the chief of Sarangagarh Kataka. Taking the opportunity of Muslim attack Ramachandra Bhanja declared himself the king of Orissa. Having been informed of the incident, Mukunda Deva concluded a treaty with Suleman Karani and rushed to Cuttack. On way back he had to confront Ramachandra Bhanja at Gohira Tikiri and was killed. Thus the independent Gajapati rule ended in Orissa.[13] It is irony of fate that the traitor Ramachandra Bhanja met a tragic death in the hands of the Afgans. Sarangagarh thus came under the occupation of the Afgans and was used for garrison of soldiers against the Mughals. After Orissa was occupied by the Mughals in 1578 one Sri Ramachandra Deva came in possession of the fort and in this way the fort continued to flourish till the advent of the Britishers in 1803. The British army occupied the fort alongwith the fort of Barabati. During the Paik rebellion the Paiks fought from this fort and finally lost. With the declined of the great citadel one glorious chapter of military history of Orissa was closed.

Varanasi Kataka

Varanasi Kataka of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, the mainstream of Pancha-Katakas, situated in the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi and its

branch Kathjodi, has the recorded history since 989 A.D. This is perhaps one of the important fortified cities of India having its history continuously for 1000 years experiencing the rule of the medieval dynasties such as the Somavamsis or Kesaris, the Gangas and the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, the Muslims, the Mughals, the Marathas, the British and finally the democratic Government. The archaeological remains of the past, the narrow and congested streets and lanes, the traditioned bazars, secular and religious architecture furnish an atmosphere of the mediaeval period with the touch of modernity. It has a living present full of cultural glamour. According to the available information, Cuttack sprang up as a capital cantonment under the Somavamsis and continued as such till 1989.

From the ancient time Cuttack commanded the high road (Rajapatha) running from the north to the south of India along the eastern coast. The invaders, pilgrims, merchants and travellers had in the past no alternative but to cross the Mahanadi and Kathajori near about Cuttack while travelling from north to south and vice-versa. The Rajapatha from central India also run along the Mahanadi valley and terminated at Cuttack. The river Mahanadi itself offers convenient water-way for commerce and communication with the hinterland. It was in the past connected both by land routes and water-ways with the great ports like Chelitalo, Palura etc. which served as the gateway for spread of Indian culture abroad The city could maintain its cultural and commercial relation with different parts of India as well as outside world, particularly with the south and south-east Asian countries. Such an important place was naturally suitable for a capital of the prosperous state. This has also been a flourishing centre of eastern-trade since the remote past though its cultural history is not known before the rise of the Bhaumakaras.

The historians has accepted the year 989 A.D. as the year of installation of Cuttack capital based on the authority of the Madala Panji and other corroborative evidence. Stirling was perhaps the first scholar to have brought to light the fact of establishment of capital city on the basis of Madala Panji. All other historians who have touched upon Cuttack have unanimously accepted the date of Madala Panji. Grounded upon this the Millennium Celebration Committee decided to celebrate one thousand years of Cuttack city.

Now I touch upon briefly the history of the fortified Cuttack city or the Varanasi Kataka. It is interesting to note that one thousand years' history of Cuttack is evidently interwined with the history of Orissa. The far-reaching events of Orissa are connected with Cuttack. As the Ganga

and Gajapati emperors assumed the high-sounding titles Varanasi Kataka which later on came to be known as Barabati, occupied the highest rank among the forts of Kalingan empire.

Similar to the epithet of Orissa as the land of temples it has the right appeliation of land of forts. Right from the time of Asoka (3rd century B.C.) till the Gajapati perio l (16th century A.D.) Orissa was honey-combed with numerous forts. Through the vicissitude of time many such citadels including Barabati have crumbled down nibbling the story of their rise and fall. Abul Fazal, Minister of Akbar during his march to Orissa has recorded a list of seventy two forts which he came across in five sarkars of Orissa. He also further mentions the name of 129 forts possessed by the Gajapatis.[14]

Before shifting of his ancentral capital from Kalinganagar to Varanasi Kataka by Chodaganga Deva (1078-1150 A.D.) this functioned as a capital of the Somavamsis though they had the major capital at Jajpur Kataka. They installed several other Katakas including the present Cuttack on stretegic ground. According to the history of the Somavamsis we find that where ever they have shifted or marched on invasion have established capitals or the fortified towns. Hence the history of Cuttack evidently starts from the time of the Somavamsis. The Gangas ruled from this centrally located capital for long 14 generations with full dignity, honour, valour and glory.

We understand from the Madala Panji and Nagari copper plate of Anangabhimadeva-III that he laid the foundation of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka in the village Barabati. The Varanasi Katak (at Vidanasi) was outdated and hence was the necessity of a second Kataka. Tarikh-i-Firoz shah of Shan-i-Siraj relates that there were two forts at Baranasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmanas and it was held to be a religious duty that everyone who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large.[15] It is thus clear that there were two forts. Anangabhimadeva installed his family deity Jagannath and Purusottama in the Barabati fort. The temples are no longer in existence. The remains of a temple brought to light recently through excavation by the A.S.I. might have been meant fo: one such deity. The headless image of colossal Vishnu in seated position recovered from the moat of Barabati fort and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar is identified by K. C. Panigrahi as Purusottama of the fort. The lone image of Gadachandi worshipped in a modern temple within the fort area stands as the mute witness of the past glory of Cuttack.

Purusottam Deva Gajapati of Suryavamsi dynasty installed within the fort the famous images of Sakhigopal and Ganesa brought from Kanchi as war trophy. Sri Chaitanya met Prataprudra in this historic fort and stayed for a night in the fort of Chaudwara.

Mukundadeva, the last independant Hindu monarch of Orissa re-built the fort and erected the legendary nine-stroeyed palace (Navatala Prasada). Abul Fazal visited the fort with Mansingh in 1592 and its location at the bi-furcation of two rivers, Mahanadi and Kathjodi. The Raja built a palace of nine-storys. He further indicates the use of each storey. We also come across ' from his account an ancient temple to the south of its palace.[16] William Brutton and R. Cartright who visited the fort 63 years after the death of Mukundadeva were surprised at the splendor of the fort and described it as the "court of Malcandy".[17]

This was the seat of administration under the Afghans and Marathas, while the Mughals used Lal-bagh as their palace. The king of Khurda Ramachandra Deva was imprisoned in this fort by Takki Khan in 1725 A.D. In 1742 Bhaskar Pandit, the leader of the Marathas, attacked the fort and in 1745 Raghuji Bhonsala occupied it. Thus by 1751 A.D. the fort and Cuttack came under the occupation of Marathas.

The report of T. Mottee[18] in 1766, the accounts of Sterling in 1818, the description of fort by J. Fergussion give vivid accounts of the then condition of the fort of Barabati and the city of Cuttack. Since other scholars must have given the accounts in detail I did not like to repeat here.

Under the Marathas the fort being the centre of their administration was remodelled and well-protected with deepening of the moat and fortification of the compound wall. A portion of their magazine house converted to a part of Cuttack club is still visible. The modernised military forces stationed at Cuttack particularly within the fort and the present Chauliaganj area protected the city from Muslim attack. The British attack and bombardment of the fort in 1803 signalled its death knell. The fort was damaged wreklessly utilising the stone-blocks in construction of the light house in Jobra, Cantonment Road and various other British structures and selling away of the cut stone at a very cheap rates. Thus Barabati lost its traditional military glamour for ever but Cuttack remained the headquarters of the province under the British Government and the democratic Government.

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A study on the formative phase of Abhinaba Baranasi Kataka

Dr. Kailash Chandra Dash

Cuttack, the metropolis of Orissa, is one of the ancient towns of India. It is situated at the bifurcation of Mahanadi and its main branch Kathjori. It is located in Lat. N 20′ 29″ and Long. E 85′ 50″ and has an area of about sixteen square miles. The town is also surrounded on the three sides of its horizon, north, west and south by forest clad hills. The geographical location of Cuttack is unique in India.[1] The early name of this city was *Baranasi Kataka*. It became famous as a small rural town in the early centuries of the Christian era, then as a centre of maritime trade, as a military camp in the early mediaeval period and lastly as the capital seat of the Ganga-Gajapatis of Orissa. Cuttack remained the main centre of Orissa politics during the period of the Mughals and the Marathas. It is amazing to note that with a continuous urban life in the whole course of the mediaeval period and containing the happiness and the misery of the Oriyas for centuries, Cuttack has not been given proper treatment in our historical studies. We have few studies which give an outline of this metropolis. But from the point of view of its significance as a political and cultural centre during the reign of the mighty Ganga-Gajapatis (a regional power in the mediaeval phase in south-eastern India), it needs an elaborate study. Of course paucity of source materials at the disposal of the historians deter in presenting an exhaustive study on this ancient city. Still we have to attempt an elaborate analysis of the early phase of this city with the help of the ruins and debris of old structures, the narrow lanes and the historic temples as well as with the informations culled from the legends and the epigraphs. The present paper is based on the facts culled from the epigraphical records and the traditions in Orissa. It aims to give an account of this city from its formative phase upto its growth as the imperial capital city of the Ganga-Gajapatis in the mediaeval period.

The term *Kaṭaka* is very ancient. It means an army cantonment, a small town, a rural town, a capital city and even a kingdom.[2] Hence in the

ancient period it was probably a rural town and also an army cantonment. The Orissan tradition (as recorded in the *Madalapanji*, *Odradesa Raja-vamsavali* and *Katakaraja Vamsavali* and other Vamsavali texts) definitely states that *Raja Nrupa Kesari* and *Markat Kesari* were the main architects of the town.[3] Andrew Stirling in his "Account of Cuttack" states

> Raja Nrupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince who was always fighting with his neighbours is said to have first planted a city on the site of modern Cuttack in about A.D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment or embankment (probably the ancient one, of which the remains are yet to be seen) to protect the new capital from innundation in A.D. 1006.[4]

On the basis of this information contained in the traditional literary texts like *Vamsavali* and *Madalapanji* known to him, Striling stated that there seems good reason to think that it became a capital city as early as the 10th century during the reign of the Kesari princes. The view of Stirling has been accepted by the other historians like Hunter, P M. Acharya, Krupasindhu Mishra and Jagabandhu Singh [5]

K. C. Panigrahi has given an analysis of this legend on the origin of the Cuttack town.[6] He states that Nrupa Kesari and Markat Kesari are not known to us from any other reliable records. Still then the legend cannot be rejected as unhistorical. In some manuscripts of Madalapanji Markat Kesari is stated as Marakata Kesari. There is no such word "Markat". The word is "Markata" Hence there was no king in Orissa bearing the name "Markat" or "Markata". In the *Madalapanji* the names of the Orissan kings have been distorted or even wrongly written by the composer. There was one *Unmatta Kesari* (belonging to Bhauma royal family). His name is also stated in the copper plate grants of the Bhauma period.[7] This *Unmatta Kesari* has been accepted in the tradition as Markat Kesari because the Sanskrit *Unmatta* is in prakrit called *Unmatta*.[8] On the basis of this view K. C. Panigrahi states that the present Cuttack town was completed in the 8th-9th century A.D.[9] This was the period of the Bhauma-Kara kings in Orissa. Panigrahi further confirms his view on the basis of the fragmentary archaeological remains in the present Cuttack town belonging to the Bhauma-Kara period.[10]

The existence of a fortified town in the pre-Somavamsi-Kesari period at the present site of Cuttack had a military purpose. It was the time when the Panduvamsi kings were ruling in Sripura in Madhya pradesh and the Eastern Gangas in Kalinga on the border of South Orissa. Hence any expedition from these directions would have been foiled by the Bhauma kings first

at "Kataka" before marching to the real capital seat near the Viraja zone. We cannot deny the existence of a fort town at Cuttack in the pre-Somavamsi period or in the early phase of the Somavamsi rule in Orissa. The Bhuma kings might have also made the city a secondary capital which would have served the purpose of a military cantonment.

Janmejaya-I was the first Somavamsi king to conquer the Bhauma kingdom (the *Odradesa*). The Brahmeswar temple inscription of the period of the Somavamsi king Udyota Kesari definitely states that Odradesa was occupied by Janmejaya-I after the death of its king in the war by the *Kuntagra* (Lance) of the enemy.[11] There is a tradition in Orissa which claims that Janmejaya had performed some sacrificial rites at Chaudwar It is stated in the Oriya Mahabharata of *Sarala Das*.[12] The local people point out a place named *Agrahat* near Chaudwar where the great sacrifice was believed to have been performed. This Puranic Janmejaya may well be taken to be the historic Janmejaya, the earliest known Somavamsi ruler in Orissa who appears to have made Chaudwar one of the seats of his authority during his reign. The place was called *Jajanagara-Chaudwar*. It became the head-quarter of Janmejaya-I for his conquered areas in Odradesa Our tradition states the existence of a city in the present site of the Cuttack town before Janmejaya-I.[13] So Janmejaya-I after his occupation of *Odradesa* might have occupied *Baranasi-Kataka*. In that case he should have chosen this site as his capital seat for Odradesa. It indicates that either Janmejaya had to no intention to establish a permanent capital in Odradesa or he chose the Chaudwar zone as a better place which had a near route to the Bhauma capital (his enemy capital). Whatever the cause may be, the site of the present town was not utilised by the imperial Somavamsi kings starting from Janmejaya-I for a capital seat of their Orissan kingdom, although it was an ideal site for military cantonment. This view that the site of the present Cuttack town was only a military cantonment and did not serve the purpose of a capital seat during the early phase of the Somavamsi kings in Orissa can be further strengthened by the references in Madalapanji as well as by the evidences furnished by the records of the Ganga king Chodaganga.

Madalapanji states that Chodaganga occupied *Kataka* in the guise of an actor.[14] It was also called *Baranasi Kataka* one of the five Katakas *(Pancha Kataka*) in Orissa.[15] G.S. Das states :

> As Calcutta grew out of three villages, Govindapur, Sutanati and Kalikata, Cuttack also developed into a city out of five villages existing in this area at a distance from one another.[16]

In a foot-note we are informed by this learned historian that Cuttack is sometimes known as *Pancha Kataka* for this reason. The word *Pancha-Kataka* may also mean five different Katakas (cantonments viz. *Chaudwar Kataka, Baranasi Kataka, Saranga-garh Kataka, Kasiagarh Kataka* and *Amaravati Kataka.*[17] We may accept *Baranasi Kataka* as one of the Katakas. But all these five Katakas were not in the same area and the whole area comprising the five Katakas was not called Kataka in a general sense. *Baranasi Kataka. Chaudwar Kataka* and *Amaravati Kataka* existed at many miles distant from one another *Saranga-garh* and *Kasia-garh* were situated on the other side of the river Kuakhai in the dense Chandaka forest But in the pre-Chodaganga period all these sites were the important military centres and were probably under the control of one or two sub-ordinates of the Somavamsi family. There are references in *Madalapanji* about the association of the Kesari kings with the Saranga-garh zone.[18] A side of Mahanadi from Saranga-garh to Puri was under a feudatory of the Somavamsi family of Orissa. We find one *Madhava,* the ruler of this tract, whose name is not only found in the *Madalapanji* but also in the Sobhaneswar temple inscription in Niali (a part of the Prachi zone).[19] So in the early years of the 12th century A.D. Chodaganga, with the support of the sub-ordinate rulers, at first occupied this extensive military zone from *Saranga-garh* to *Amaravati Kataka* (Chhatia) and he made this area a base for his further military operation against the Somavamsi king Karnadeva and his capital seat Yayatinagara.[20] The gradual process of the occupation of the Samavamsi Kesari kingdom in Orissa by Chodaganga in the early years of the 12th century A.D. has been stated in the *Madalapanji* as his conquest of Kataka first and then the conquest of Yajpur-Kataka, the capital of the Somavamsi king.

The whole area from Sarangagarh to Amaravatipura (Chhatia) was under the direct control of the Ganga king Chodaganga during his prolonged period in Orissa. Almost all the historians agree that Chodaganga shifted his capital city from Kalinganagara in the last phase of his rule to Cuttack town and that from that period Cuttack became the imperial capital.[21] This view of the learned historians is based on a wrong interpretation of the source materials at their disposal. We may agree that Chodaganga had a new capital in this direct controlling zone in Orissa, but it was definitely not situated in the present Cuttack town. Also he didnot desert his ancestral capital Kalinganagara.[22] He made a new capital seat in Utkala for the consolidation of his rule over this tract. Some inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh refer to *Kataka* which has been unmistakably accepted as the capital of the Ganga king Chodaganga. The inscription of the Choleswar temple at

Nidubrolu of Baptala taluk of the Gunter district of Andhra Pradesh dated in the Saka year 1054 (A.D. 1132) describes that Velananti Gonka had defeated *Karnata-Marata-Lata-Kataka.*[23] The-term *Kataka* here does not refer to Cuttack city of Orissa. It refers to the kingdom of Lata or kingdoms of the *Karnata-Lata-Marata*. The inscription on a pillar in the Mulastaneswar temple at Nadendla in Andhra Pradesh states the phrase *Krida-lodita-Gauda-Lata-Kataka.*[24] It is probably used as the capital of Gauda and Lata. If we accept *Kataka* as a separate word it may refer to *Ganga-Kalinga-Kataka* which is definitely not the Cuttack town. It refers to the whole kingdom. Besides this wrong interpretation of the term in the Telugu inscriptions, the historians also wrongly interpret the version of *Madala-panji* about Chodaganga's capital in Orissa.

According to *Madalapanji* Chodaganga built many forts in Orissa and he had a new capital seat in Yajpur. The forts were either constructed or renovated or were occupied from the sub-ordinates of the Somavamsi royal family. These forts *(Saranga-garh, Kasia-garh, Baranasi-garh, Amaravati-garh* and *Chaudwar-garh)* helped him in the expansion of his kingdom towards the zones on the banks of the Ganges. Two other references in the *Madalapanji* can be interpreted here; (I) Chodaganga reached Yajapura-Kataka according to the first Panji.[25] (II) He made his first *Nabara* (Royal Residence) in Yajpur according to the second Panji.[26]

Taken together it indicates that Chodaganga occupied Yajapura-Kataka; but he made his new capital seat in Yajpur deserting the Somavamsi capital. The Panji from Ganjam credits Chodaganga with the construction of *Kataka* (Rajadhani) along with the forts.[27] Hence these varsions give unmistakable evidences about the construction of a new capital seat in Utkala. But the view of the existence of this new capital seat in Yajpur can now be exploded. The composer of the varsions of the *Rajabhoga Itihasa* in *Madalapanji* was conscious of the existence of Yajpur as the capital seat of the Somavamsi king whom Chodaganga defeated. Chodaganga had also control over this Yajpur. The composer was also conscious that Chodaganga built his *Nabara* (Rajadhani) in Utkala. But since Yajpur was the capital seat of the dynasties in Orissa for many centuries before Chodaganga, the composer had doubtlessly accepted this place as his capital seat in Orissa. But it has to be questioned why did Chodaganga construct a new capital seat at Yajpur when already the old capital was occupied by him ? A prudent king like him must have thought over the matter. From this point of view we may partly accept the version of *Madalapanji* that Chodaganga constructed his new capital seat in Utkala; but it was definitely not in

Yajpur. Yayatinagara or Yajpur existed during the period of Chodaganga, but probably he had not thought it safe to declare it as his capital seat because he was an outsider and Yayatinagara was the capital.[28] An important point about Chodaganga's construction of a new capital seat in Utkala should be considered. The area around the capital seat receives royal favour. But the records of Chodaganga do not inform us about his association with the Yajpur zone.[29] But surprisingly the records of Chodaganga inform us more about Puri and a part of the Cuttack district (quite near to Puri). Nothing so far has come to light connecting Chodaganga with Yajpur. It indicates that Chodaganga's first capital seat in Utkala was not siteated at Yajpur.

A copper plate grant of Chodaganga of A.D. 1129 states about the existence of the royal residence *(Rajadhani)* of the Ganga king in Orissa.[30] The place has been described as *BUALI*.[31] *Bualigarh* is in the dense Chandaka forest about twenty kilometres from Bhubaneswar near *Sarangagarh* on the bank of the river Kathjori, on the other side of the present Cuttack town. The ruins of a royal palace *(Naharathali)* consisting of several houses and a fort which is supposed to be a supplement of *Sarangagarh (Chudanga-garh)* in this zone help us in locating the capital seat of Chodaganga for his Utkala kingdom. Chudanga-garh is associated with the name of Chodaganga and according to *Sarala Mahabharata* there was *Chudanganagara* (the city of Chodaganga) in this zone.[32] The reference in the *Madalapanji* about Chudanga-garh and the reference in the Oriya Mahabharata help us to conclude that the area was associated with the political activities of Chodaganga in Orissa. The copper plate grant of A.D.1129 gives the unmistakable evidence of the lacation of the capital seat of Chodaganga in the area near Saranga-garh.[33] We may now suggest that during the period of Chodaganga the Cuttack zone starting from Bualigarh to Amaravati-Chaudwar-Chhatia was under the direct control of the Ganga king. The extreme limit of this area was Bualigarh where Chodaganga built his *Nabara* (Royal Residence) It was supported and connected by the forts which covered Chudanga-garh, Baranasi Kataka, Chaudwar and Amaravati fort. The kingdom of Chodaganga was very extensive which could cover vast territories from the bank of the Ganges to Godavari. Hence the capital area and the protecting forts should be in the central part of the kingdom.

From this discussion we may conclude that during the prolonged period of the illustrious Ganga king Chodaganga the areas of Cuttack came to the focus of Orissa politics. But the present site of the Cuttack town on the bank of Kathjori could not be utilised as the capital seat of this

Ganga king. It only served the base for the military operation of the king Chodaganga who had continual military activities during his reign.

The original *Baranasi Kataka* was very narrow in the early period. K. C. Panigrahi states that there were two sites, one Baranasi and the other Barabati. The first area Baranasi in course of time was called *Bidanasi* and *Banarasi*. Baranasi Kataka was older than Barabati Kataka. About the name of Baranasi Kataka Panigrahi states that Bisweswar Mahadeva was an important deity of Cuttack in the early phase before the Ganga rule in Orissa.[34] In North India Bisweswar and Biswanath are identical. Since Baranasi is the seat of Biswanath it is called Baranasi Kataka. P. Acharya has also this line of argument about the name Baranasi Kataka.[35] He states that in ancient time Mahanadi was called *Kalau Chitrotpala-Ganga* (in the Kali Age Mahanadi or Chitrotpala is also called Ganga) and that the *Siva Linga* worshipped on her bank was called Bisweswar.[36] It was done by the Oriyas to make the site as popular and sacrosanct as Kasi Ksetra.[37]

Baranasi Kataka on the bank of Kathjori was a military centre as well as a religious centre in Orissa in the pre-Ganga period. But the Baravati area near it was not very significant during the period of the Somavamsi-Kesari kings. The wide area (Barabati, 12 batis of land) was utilised for the first time during the period of the Ganga king Anangabhima III (A.D. 1207-1234).[38] *Madalapanji* states that Anangabhima used to reside at the town called Chaudwar-Kataka. While he was residing there, one day, the king crossed the Mahanadi and on the southern bank of it, in the vicinity of Bisweswar-Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, he saw that a heron killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this unusual event and laid the foundation of a Kataka in the Barabati village and after building the palace and making it a Kataka called the place Baranasi Kataka and left Chaudwar-Kataka.[39] Two epigraphical records of the period of Anangabhima-III also refer to the capital seat *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka.*

(I) Nagari copper plate grant of 1230 A.D. refers to *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* on the bank of Mahanadi which was the seat of Chitreswar and Bisweswar.[40] The record refers to the grant of land to the Brahmins in the village called Bilaspur in the *Kudinda Visaya* for the worship of the deity Purusottama in the *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka.*[41] It confirms the view of *Madalapanji* about the location of Baravati in the Kudinda Dandapata. The record of 1230 A.D. definitely states that *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* was the capital seat of the Ganga king Anangabhima-III much before that year.

(II) An inscription in the *Arulal-Perumal temple* at Kanchipuram which refers to *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* is dated in about 1226 A.D.[42] The date of the accession of Anangabhima-III has been calculated on the basis of Ragolu grant of 1207 A.D.[43] Hence the 19th regnal year of Anangabhima-III, the date of Arulal-Perumal temple inscription will correspond to A.D. 1226. Thus *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* came into existence before A.D. 1226.

In the beginning of his reign this Ganga king engaged himself in a war with the Kalachuri king of Ratnapura in Madhya Pradesh for the possession of the Sambalpur-Sonepur area.[44] Hence during that phase Chaudwar might have been the capital seat of the Ganga king. But after that when he became victorious in his war with the Kalachuris he had probably built his new imperial royal residence at Baravati.

About the name *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* there are interesting views.

(I) K. C. Panigrahi states that the place was named as *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* to distinguish it from the old Baranasi of North India.[45]

(II) G. N. Dash states that the Ganga kings starting from Chodaganga to Anangabhima took steps for the popularity of Purusottama-Jagannatha as the presiding deity of the extensive Ganga kingdom. This aroused the suspicion of the Saivas who had before that dominated the religious thought process of Orissa. Hence Anangabhima-III tried to satisfy the Saivas (like the Vaishnavas) by naming the new capital Abhinava Baranasi.[46]

One point should not escape the notice of the scholars. The name Baranasi Kataka was in vogue in the pre-Ganga period; because it was the seat of Siva-Biswanath-Bisweswar which has been clearly stated by Panigrahi.[47] Hence the addition of *Abhinava* to the already existing name Baranasi Kataka has another reason. It was so named not only to distinguish it from the old Baranasi Kataka (traditional Baranasi) of North India; but also to distinguish it from the old Baranasi Kataka on the bank of Mahanadi which existed in the pre-Ganga period. The name *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* reminds us *Abhinava Yayatinagara* in Yajpur of the period of the Somavamsi king Chandihara Yayati II. This name was given to the new Somavamsi capital to distinguish it from the old Somavamsi Capital Yayatinagara on the bank of Mahanadi built by Yayati I, an early member of the Somavamsi family. Hence Abhinava Baranasi Kataka on the site of Barabati gained popularity from the period of Anangabhima III while the old Baranasi Kataka lost its importance. There is still another political implication in the name of the imperial Ganga capital. The period of

Anangabhima III witnessed the victorious emergence of Islam in India. Almost all important religious and political centres of the Hindus were under the Muslims. On the border of the Ganga kingdom the Muslims had already entrenched themselves and they had a plan to enter into the powerful Ganga kingdom. Anangabhima by naming his imperial capital *Abhinava Baranasi Kataka* aimed to unify the local forces (Hindus) against Islam; because the name (Abhinava Baranasi Kataka) would attract the Hindus to fight against the Muslims. Hence such a traditional name to the imperial Ganga capital during the period of Anangabhima III helped him in the consolidation of his power as well as in its legitimation.

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Lanes and Localities of Cuttack City

Dr. Jasobanta Narayan Dhar

An old proverb says that Cuttack town consisted of 52 bazars and 53 lanes (Kattak Şahar—Baun Bazar Tepan Gali). Now a days one can see hundred different lanes and localities in this town of Cuttack. Then, was that proverb false ?

A letter written in the year 1814 A.D. by the then Acting Magistrate of Cuttack Mr. M. Ainsle to his higher authority devided Cuttack town in to Six units (Mohallas) and gave a list of 53 areas of Cuttack in toto. The letter is reproduced in an appendix to this paper.

During the first few years of English rule in Orissa the administration tried to prove that they were strengthening law and order mechinery and asserting their effectiveness in the grassroot lavel of society. Towards achievement of this objective, appointment of 'Chowkidars' in newly conquered areas and collection of a chowkidari tax was considered as the most important method. In Cuttack also this was implemented. In one of his letters the then Acting Magistrate gave various imformations about the demographic structure and names of localities of the then capital town of Orissa.

History of Cuttack is very old and place names of different areas of Cuttack town, like a price tag or information tag on a consumer's comodity in the daily market, supplies us various informations on the history, heritage and culture of Cuttack city.

The city of Cuttack is so rich in its composite culture and heritage that every lane, locality or market place has a story of its own. Place names of Cuttack can be devided into following linguistic and cultural categories.

(1) Tribal Names
(With phonological changes, in shortened or corrupted form)

(2) Oriya Names
(Clearly intelligible and words of these names are found in any standard Oriya dictionary)

(3) Sanskrit Names
(Of Tat-Sam̐a or Tat-bhava nature)

(4) Names of other Indian Languages
(These names are used as a consequence of long association of this town with South Indian Provinces, Maharastra and Bengal)

(5) Perso-Arabic Names
(A number of place names were given or assumed during Muslim rule. They are mostly of Islamic origin)

(6) European (or English) Names
(This type of names were inherited as the legacy of British rule in India)

(7) Post-Independence Names
(These place names are either in Oriya or in English language or in both but of patriotic nature, such as Gopabandhu Park, Sardar Patel Sisu Bhawan etc.)

Study of names is known as Onomastics. But place name study in particular is called TOPONOMY. Panini, the greatest grammarian of India is known to have started this study long long ago in his famous work Astadhyayi.

This study suggests to analyse place names from linguistic (Philological), historical and geographical points of view. This study follows a scientific methodology. But, at times it is simple, where as in most of the cases, it is difficult to find out the truth behind a place name. Older place names are comparatively difficult to decipher and the new names are easier to understand. In the city of Cuttack we will find all types of place names, mystrious and meaningful at first sight.

Some important place names of Cuttack City are listed below with its possible etymology and history.

Alamchand Bazar

Dewan Rai Alamchand was serving under Shujauddin in Orissa. This Bazar was named after him in the second decade of 18th century. In the year 1724 A.D., when Murshid Kuli Khan died, his son-in-law Shujauddin was appointed as the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Rai Alamchand along with Haj Ahmed, Aliverdi Khan and Fateh Chand (Jagat Seth) were acting as advisor to Shujauddin.

He was Naib Subadar of Orissa during rule of Aurengzeb since 1704 A.D. He was a generous and kind hearted man. The 'Satyapira' upasana was started in Orissa in his time.

Azam Khan Bazar

In the year 1774-75 A.D. one 'reputable' officer was burried inside the graveyard of Qadm-i-Rasool, his name was Azam Khan. These facts were engraved in his tombstone. This Bazar was named after him.

Bajrakabati

The road running from Ranihat to Dolamundai is known as Bajrakabati road. This was previously an embankment. Therefore, it is inferred that this Bajrakabati name was derived from the sluice gate of that old embankment.

Bakharabad

Bakhar Khan Nazan Sani or Baquir Khan was appointed as Subadar of Orissa in the year 1628 A.D. He was a great warrior, who had led Orissan army against Qutab Sahi kingdom in 1630 A.D. Bakhar Khan had also attacked Sun Temple of Konark in 1628 A.D., when the idol of the temple was removed from this temple.

This Subadar was retained by Shah Jahan after Jahangir died. Bakhar Khan was removed from his office in the year 1632 A.D. after some complain were lodged by a local Zamindar.

Balu Bazar

This area is situated in the near vicinity of Orissa High Court Building. In the past, when a Person was thretening to some body to drag somebody to High Court, he used to say "I will show you Kathjodi sand" (Mun tote Kathjodi bali dekhei debi), which implied that before construction of concrete roads in Cuttack town this area was full of river sand. Most probably, the name of 'Balu Bazar' was derived from the Marawadi corruption of Bali (sand) word.

Some people, however opine that 'Balu' was a name of a person and this Bazar was derived from that personal name. But, no evidence of such a person is available.

The famous Jam Masjid or Jumma Masjid is situated in this area.

Bana Bagicha

This is an area near Mansingh Patana. In the good olden days, when Cuttack was full of marsh and low lying areas the people of nearby areas were holding their farming land and farm houses in this place. For that

reason a number of toponomy having suffixes like 'Bag' or 'Bagicha' are still found in Cuttack.

Barabati

This was the name of the village where Anangabhima Deva-II, the Ganga king constructed a mighty fort in the year 1230 A.D. and named it after the earlier fort (Abhinav Baranasi Katak). The Nagari Copper Plates had revealed the truth. But at the same time this copper plate had created confusion and allowed some questions to be raised on the antiquity of this great ancient urban settlement. Some feel it difficult to believe that this town is older than 13th century A.D., i.e. time of Nagari Copper Plates as no trace of earlier Abhinav Baranasi Katak is available. Niether there is any epigraphical record.

However, circumstancial evidence have proved that there was a fort at Bidanasi area.

Name of the village or fort Barabati literally means 12 Batis or 240 Bighas.

The history of present Cuttack was actually a tale of two forts. One obscure and the other known.

Bhasakosh Lane

A Lane near Neemchoudi of High Court area. This lane was named after the elaborated "Purna Chandra Bhasakosh" of Gopal Chandra Praharaj. Sri Praharaj was residing in this lane.

Bidanasi

At present a suburb of Cuttack town. It is believed to be the corrupted and shortened form of the first and most ancient name of this town, i.e. Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. This was built in the year 989 A.D. by a king called Nrupakesari. But neither the name of the founder nor the year of the foundation is supported by any historical evidence. However, according to tradition this was a famous fort or Katak among the five great forts (PANCHA KATAK) of Orissa during the invasion of Chodaganga Deva before 1112 A.D.

Temple of Bisweswar Mahadeva was in this Abhinav Varanasi as the temple of Viswanath is situated in Original Varanasi. In Madala Panji 'Viranasi' name was also found as a corruption of Varanasi.

Bihari Bag

An estate presently owned by The Prajatantra Prachar Samiti. Earstwhile this area was of Biharilal Pandit and named after him. It was purchased by Dr. H.K. Mahtab for publication of Daily Prajatantra from Cuttack.

Buxi Bazar

Buxi or Bakhsi is a Persian word which means a Military Officer in charge of disbursement of wages to the army. Almost all believed that this Buxi Bazar was named after the great fighter of Paika rebellion of Orissa in 1817 A.D., Sri Baxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar. He was side to be kept under house-arrest in this area of Cuttack. But the name of this bazar was such, much before the beginning of Paika Rebellion. A letter of the then Acting Magistrate of 1814 A.D. and a map of 1818 A.D show that the name "Buxi Bazar" was there much before coming of Baxi Jagabandhu to Cuttack.

Cantonment Road

A road and an area of Cuttack is known as such but at present there is not a single Cantonment even in whole of Orissa. But immediately after establishment of British raj in Orissa in 1803 A.D. a Cantonment or military base was established here. Now there is police line and state Police Headquarter is situated in this area.

Cantonment Road is one of the most beautiful and important streets of Cuttack town. A post office and Police Station are named after Cantonment Road.

Chakkarchand Maidan

This old place name is no more in the town of Cuttack. However, till the last part of 19th century there was a race course in Cuttack. This field and sorrounding area was named as Chakkarchand Maidan, probably because the horses were circling round the field. This field has been converted to Ravenshaw College premises when it was shifted to this place in 1921.

Chandini Chowk

Chandini Chowk was an integral part of Moghul town planning. So according to Moghul fashion a Chandini Chowk was established in front of the royal residence, i.e. Lalbag palace. A market area was established at

this site for sale of rice in the year 1806 A.D. when scarcity of food grain was felt during the initial years of English rule.

Chandini Chowk means an island at the cross-road to enjoy moonlit night.

Chauliaganj

This place of market was developed by the Marahatta as a suburb of Cuttack. It litterally means a foodgrain market or Paddy market.

Chowdhury Bazar

One of the most important business centres of the city of Cuttack. This bazar was named during Marhatta period after one Manjinath Chowdhury, who also constructed the Jain temple at this area.

Dagarpara

The meaning of this place name refers to it being a place of residence of royal messengers, informers or spies in the past.

Dargha Bazar

This place name is so because "Dargha" of Muslim Community is located here.

Deula Sahi

This is name of a locality towards the Bidanasi area. But no temple (Deula) is found here.

As per Nagari copper plate, Ananga Bhima Deva II had built a temple of Sri Purusottam (Sri Jagannath) in the year 1230-1231 A.D. near Abhinav Varanasi Kataka. A muslim chronicle Tarikh-i-firozeshahi gives us information that Firoze Shah Tughlak destroyed the Sri Jagannath Temple of Puri in the year 1360-61 A.D. Historians opined that Firoze Shah had hot gone to Puri but destroyed a temple of Sri Jagannath at Cuttack.

So it is accepted that the temple built by Ananga Bhima Deva was destroyed after 130 years by Firoze Shah Tughlok during his so called Jajnagar (Cuttack) expedition.

This place name of Cuttack is derived from that temple, which is no more.

Dewan Bazar

There is a mosque in this area, which has two inscriptions in it. In one of these inscriptions it is written that 'during the rule of Shah Alamgir

(Aurengjeb) the foundation of this mosque was laid by Mirza Zafar, the Dewan of Orissa in the year 1069 Hizra (1658-59 A.D.). This Bazar was named after this Dewan or Wazir-ul-Mulk. His successor was Rai Alam-chand. The other inscription of the mosque reveals that this mosque was completed in the year 1578 ? A. D. by Azad Mohammed.

Dola Mundai

'Dola' or the swinging ceremony or festival of Lord Sri Krishna was very much popular after preaching of Vaishnavism in Orissa by a number of saints including Sri Chaitanya. Almost all the villages of Orissa have a 'Dola Mandapa' where the villagers confer and during the festival time the idol of Lord Krishna is placed there. The present place name 'Dola Mundai' though close to Dola Mandap in pronunciation but this is treated as different. As there are other place names with 'Mundai' suffix (such as Pattamundai, Bhuta Mundai etc.) and this suffix is a tribal word which may mean either a settlement of Mundari people, or a pond so we may infer that the Sanskrit word 'Dola' was joined with the tribal word 'Mundai' and both the words have formed the place name.

This place name might have some relation with Vaishnavism of Fifteenth century.

Firingi Bazar

History of modern India says that the Portugese are the first traders to come to India as well as to Orissa. They were called 'Firingis' by Indians then. Subsequently all the foreigners, especially the English people were called as Firingi. Interestingly it is known that all the European traders including English were talking in Portugesse with native Indians and that was their Lingua franca.

In the year 1633, during the reign of Shah Jahan the English traders under the leadership of Ralph Cartwright came to Cuttack to get permission to trade in Orissa. William Bruton, a trader also accompanied him along with some other Europeans. He had written about their journey to the court of Subadar at Cuttack. They were given permission to trade in Orissa They, firstly established a factory (go-down) in Cuttack. That part of Cuttack became known as Firingi Bazar.

Ganga Mandir

The geography of Cuttack town has made it a place full of watery areas and ponds. More-over the Fisher man castes have choosed this place

as their place of living as it suited to their profession. A number of place names give witness regarding the geology and geography of the place.

Along-with the people their gods and goddesses were also placed for worship. The Ganga (Holiest river treated as a goddess and consort of Lord Shiva) and Gangeswar are popular deities of fisherman castes. So the place name has been derived from the temple of same name.

Also written as Ganga Manzil in some old records.

Gopabandhu Park

A place (park) in Cuttack town named after the most famous nationalist leader of Orissa Utkalmani Pandit Gopabandhu Das. There are some other places and office of the Samaj (Daily News paper) are named after this great leader.

Gora Kabar

The name of this graveyard is so because it was used by the Europeans (Gora Saheb) as a place of cemmetry.

Gourishankar Park

Named after famous social worker, Leader and journalist Karmavir Gourishankar Ray, who edited Utkal Dipika news paper. This paper was virtually a mouthpiece of the pioneering group in Orissa in the first few years of 20th century and last part of 19th century. Gourishankar is remembered for his untiring effort to safeguard the interests of Orissan people, their language and culture.

Jagannath Ballava

This is a place name which was connected with the visit of Sri Chaitanya to Orissa and Cuttack. It is said that Sri Chaitanya had stayed here within a garden.

Now a days a portion of this area is popularly known as Rovers street.

Jagir Saura Sahi

This place name is no more found in the city of Cuttack. A scholar Sri S. C. De believes that this place name has been renamed as "Sagadia Sahi". However, the names of various places including this have given evidence that tribal people were living in this area before it turned to be a military strong-hold.

This place name, now for-gotten was mentioned in a letter of 1814 A.D. (See Appendix). This name was in all probability derived from the word "Jagili Saura" caste name. "Jagili" as a Sub-Caste of Soura tribe as mentioned in the Sora-English Dictionary compiled by Late G. V. Ramamurty of Paralakhemundi.

Jhanjiri Mangala

This place name is that of the Goddess of the place. Regarding the origin of the Goddess name and place name, there are some legends which can hardly be believed. However, it appears that two Goddesses one of tribal origin and the other a popular hindu Goddess "Mangala" are found together in one.

"Jhanjiri" the first part of the place name is probably derived from the village protecting folk tribal deity 'Jhankiri" found in various villages of Orissa. A god named "Jakeri" is also worshipped by Kondh tribe of Orissa. This might be a case of acculturisation where an anicient tribal or folk deity has been accepted by the subsequent group of inhabitants and treated as equal to their own mother goddess "Mangala".

This deity and place name of Cuttack alongwith some other place name conclusively prove that Cuttack was once upon a time, inhabited by tribal community. But, in course of time they were out numbered and extincted by a group of well-to-do people, who settled here.

A very important place name from Socio-Cultural point of view.

Jobra

In sora (Language of Saura tribe) and Kurukh (Language of Oraon tribe) "Jabrah" is a word which means marshy place. The place name in Cuttack town is in all probability derived from this tribal word as this is situated near Mahanadi and till to day it is a low lying area.

Kaji Bazar

Kaji or Quazi was a designation of legal and religious authority in muslim rule. From the history of India it is known that during the rule of Aurengzeb a Muhtasib was appointed for the first time in Orissa whose work was to oversee the religious and legal affairs. His name was Shaikh Junaid. Under the Muhtasib two Quazis were appointed.

This place name is connected with the institution of Quazi.

Kalia Boda

This is a place at the outskirt of Cuttack town, where there is a Gurudwar (Monastery of Shikh religion.)

This place is connected with the pilgrimage of Guru Nanak to Srikshetra, (Puri). Guru Nanak's father Kalu Bedi also came with him. They stayed at this place near Cuttack and established a Guru Dwara (Dantan Saheb). The place was named after Kalu Bedi, father of the great saint. In course of time Kalu Bedi name has been corrupted to Kalia boda by the local people.

Some other religious instiutions are situated here at Kaliaboda.

Kathagada Sahi

In Cuttack people used to collect logs from the river. Logs were fastened together and despatched commercially from the jungles of Garjat areas by river.

Probably this is the place where logs were collected and stored. Hence the name of the place is such.

Keonjhar Colony

An estate of earstwhile Raja of Keonjhar now sold to other people.

Keuta Sahi

As it is well known, Cuttack was a suitable place for acqua-culture and therefore best suited to the fisherman castes. Several place names give testimony about it. This particular place name means directly that it is colony of fishermen.

Khan Nagar

This place name is connected with Muslim Surname "Khan". This place is now famous for crematorium.

Killa Fort

A peculiar place name. Both the words of this place name means same thing. This place name is referred to the fortified campus of Barabati Fort

Kila Maidan

This is the name of the vast open ground adjacent to the ruins of Barabati Fort. At this place historical "Bali Yatra" is observed every year.

Lal Bag

The Lal Bag palace was built by the muslim Subedar in between 1633 A.D. and 1636 A.D.

At present a police station located in between Orissa High Court building and Chandini Chowk is named as Lal Bag Police Station. The palace in front of it (Now Sisu Bhawan) was named as Lal Bag Palace. It was used as Governor's Residence, when Orissa became a separate province in 1936. Before that the Commissioner of Orissa resided there. Some historic events such as the merger of princely States was planned and implemented in this house by Sardar Patel, Dr. H. K. Mahatab etc., immediately after independence. Therefore the present building, where government of Orissa is running a children Hospital, has been named as Sardar Patel Sishu Bhawan. Governor's residence-Raj Bhavan has been shifted to Bhubaneswar.

Link Road

A street name of comparatively recent past. This road was constructed lastely to give an south-ward passage to town traffic via an under-bridge from Badambadi to Madhupatana Square (N.H·5).

Machhua Bazar

A place name of Cuttack which means "fish market" or fishermen's market. Like some other place names such as Keuta Sahi, Ganga Mandir etc, this place also denotes inhabitation of fishermen caste.

Madhu Patana

The Industrial Estate of Cuttack named after the great leader of Pre-Congress era in Orissa. To create an atmosphere of industrial revolution he had started establishing Industries of Leather, Horn and Filigree. He ensured quality control. Heavy financial losses brought to a close. This place is named after him.

Mahtab Road

This road leads to Chhatra Bazar. It is named after Dr. H. K. Mahtab.

Makarba Sahi

Shortened form of Makarbagh Sahi. Most probably this place name has been derived from a deity name.

Maruadi Patti

An area of residential ·colony of Maruadi Community, mostly businessman.

Mastân Dargha

Place name of an area derived from a Dargha of muslim saint.

Matamath

A place on the bank of Mahanadi River derived from a monastery (Math) established by a Nun.

Mehendipir

As in some other place, in Cuttack town and Orissa this place name also denotes Hindu-Muslim unity.

Meria Bazar

This place name can be interpreted in two ways as in the old records the name is also found as "Mahurea Bazar". "Meria" means offering of human being in Kondh Language. So this place might have been a place of assembly of "Meria"

The other word "Mahuria" can be denoted into two meanings. (1) The person who plays a wind instrument, similar to sahanai is called as Mahuria. (2) The persons who used to castrate male calf are also called as Mahuria.

This place name needs further examination to find out what it actually meant.

Mahammadia Bazar

There is a mosque in this area near Darpani Kothi. This mosque was built by one Muhammed Ali in the year 1713-A.D. Probably the name was Muhammed Ali Bazar but in course of time it is corrupted to the present name.

Naya Sarak

At the time of construction of Lal Bag palace in Moghul period a new straight road was also constructed in front of this palace. Thomas Motte, an English trader who visited Cuttack in the latter part of the 18th century has given description of this. A portion of this road is called as Naya Sarak (The New Street) till today. Cuttack town was rennovated repeatedly

by Moghul, Marahatta and English to suit their town planning and requirement. Therefore in Cuttack town there are another 3 to 4 places with 'New" prefix, such as Naya Bazar, Nuapara, etc.

Naya Sarak is a business centre.

Neemchouri

A small portion of Naya Sarak-Chandini Chowk Road was named as Neemchouri. The Marahatta people had planted Neem trees in this avenue during their rule.

In the modern town planning also roads are named according to avenue plantation.

Old Secretariate

Cuttack was the capital of Orissa, from the days of its separate provincehood in 1936 till construction of New Capital at Bhubaneswar after 1950 A.D. This area was housing the heads of Departments and Ministrial offices during that period.

Pithapur

"Pitha" or the base is found in a number of place names which was once upon a time the first settlement of a particular community. This word was also used in "Piddha" form in some other place names of Orissa.

Professor Para

A near vicinity of Ravenshaw College. As this place was inhavited mostly by college Lecturers, it was named as Professor para.

Purighat Road

This was the gateway to and from Cuttack, for the Puri and Bhubaneswar journey. Before construction of bridges over Kathjodi and Kuakhai river for road and railway traffic all the pilgrims used to cross the river by ferry-boats at this point.

In summer, a fair-weather road was connecting Cuttack to Mukameswar, at the other side, which was used as a throughfare for vehicular traffic and people.

Qadam-i-Rasool

The name of the place is derived from the mosque Qadam-i-Rasool which means the feet of the prophet.

Raja Bagicha

As it is told on some earlier occassions that Cuttack was a low lying area old therefore people used to have their farm houses here and place names having words like 'bag' and 'bagicha' are plenty in number.

This place name means "Garden of the King".

Ranihat

This place name literally means the market of the queen or established by the queen. As there were other instances of market place established by or in the name of queen, so here also one queen might have founded a public market. This proved that this place was a regular "hat" in ancient days. There are other place names in Cuttack such as "Sutahat" These names contradict the claim of British administrators that before their coming there was no public market here in this town of Cuttack. And they for the first time organised public market system in Chandini Chowk area in the year 1806 A.D. But a number of place names having suffixes of Bazar, Ganj, hat etc. contradict this claim.

In Bengal the "Odisikirtan" is known as "Renniti Kirtan" This "Renniti Kirtan" name is most probably derived and corrupted form of "Ranihati Kirtan" It is believed that this Kirtan was developed at this place.

Saanta Sahi

The name is a derivation of Samanta Sahi place name. In Orissa feudatory chiefs were known as "Saanta". This place might have been related to one or more Saanta's family in ancient days.

Sapna Jheel

This place is no more in Cuttack town. There was a lake in the first part of 19th century near Telenga Bazar-Ganga-Mandir area, named as Sapna Jheel. This was included in the estate of one Kanhu Acharya, Zamindar residing nearby. My own investigation shows that either jail pond or Municipality pond is the residue of this Jheel (Lake).

Sardar Khan Bazar

This area was also named after one muslim officer Sardar Khan who built the "Masjid" at this place. He was son of Rahman Khan, a horse trader by profession who settled here at Cuttack. He came from Iran.

Sati Choura

This is a funeral ground of the Hindus. The "Sati" practice (Widow immolation in their husbands pyre) was in vogue in Orissa as reported by historians. This funeral ground has derived its name from that heinious practice.

Seminary Chhak

This name is after the Syed Seminary School, an educational institution established by the Muslim community in the town of Cuttack.

Sutahat

Literally it means a market for strings for weaving purpose. Now, this is a place mostly inhavited by christian people.

Actually in the past this trade of selling and purchase of strings and handloom cloth are very much in practice in Orissa. These clothes were known as calico in European market. Still there is brisk trade on this particular item in Orissa.

Telenga Bazar

Since long Telugu speaking people have developed a cordial and close relation with Orissa. In history a number of kings had subjugated land beyond river Godavari These Oriya Kings had invited Telugu people to come to Orissa and settle in its various parts. This trend can also be witnessed in northern Orissa, i.e. Mayurbhanja District and even in Medinipur, where there are Telugu settlements.

Dynasties of southern India had their sway over Orissa and more than one of them had their kingdom in the heart land of Orissa.

Place names like this remind us about our past relation.

Thoria Sahi

This place name is related to the trading history of Orissa. "Thoria" means pack-bullock or the trading community who transact business with the help of pack-bullocks. These bullocks were called as "Thoria Balada" in ancient past, as we know from the "Jataka Galpa" and other sources, that Oriya people use to carry items of commercial importance to the several farflung areas of India and having a brisk trade of clothes, medicine and gemstone etc. These people were named as "Sarthabaha" from which the word "Sadhab" had taken its origin.

Tulsipur

Some people relate this place to the visit of saint Tulasi Das to Orissa. During the rule of Akbar, Tulsi Das came to Orissa and visited Puri but there is no evidence to prove that he stayed at Cuttack and this place had any relation to his name.

There are 67 names in this list with remarks. But, there are hundreds other names which can be similarly analysed. In the appendix we reproduced a letter written by an acting Magistrate giving detail list of Cuttack's different localities. Some of these names are wrongly written (even with spelling Mistakes), however it is not difficult to identify these place names in most of the cases. Let us turn over to the appendix to take stock of Cuttack town of 52 bazar and 53 lanes of those days. This letter contains 53 place names in toto.

APPENDIX

To

George Dowdeswell Esquire,
Chief Secretary to Government.
Fortwilliam.

Sir,

I have now the honour to transmit the form which accompanied your circular letter of the 24th of June last filled up with the information required and beg leave to submit the following observations for the consideration of the Hon'ble the vice President in Council.

2. The Town of Cuttack is divided in to Six mohallahs named Baloo Bazar, Telingah Bazar, Kafeelah Bazar, Gunga manzil, Jallaupoor or Kuddumrassool, and Buxshee Bazar.

3. The first Mohallah or Baloo Bazar formed of that part of the Town specified in the margin contains a greater number of respectable and substantial householders, then any of the other remaining Mohallahs. The Principal Mahajins reside in Baloo Bazar and Chandnee Chouk. In Sahibzadah Bazar and Jahauabag known also by the name of Zimabad. There are many opulent individuals. Duggraparrah Hasembad and Duggaraparah on the countrary are inhabited by the lower classes and have been attached to the four above mentained Bazars, in consequence of the poverty

Baloo Bazar, Chandnee Chouk, Sahiba-Zadah Bazar Jchamdbaud or Zimabaund, Durgraparrah, Hosinabaud, Duggraparah.

which prevails there and because owing to their contiguity to those more wealthy portions of the Town, the Chowkeydars established for the security if the dwekkings and property of the rich can also afford protection to the poorer inhabitants of these two Bazars, in which the number of persons who contribute to the maintenance of this system is too few to render it expedient that those Bazars should from a distinct mohullah, or be attached to any other mohullah more distantly situated than Baloo Bazar.

4. There are twelve Chowkeydars appointed for the protection of 1199. Houses and receive 3 Ruaces per mesem as I have not considered it proper to allow a large sum to any chowkeydar it will not be necessary for me to draw your attention to that point again but having held out an increase of salary as a stimulous to exertion and activity, an addition will be made to their pay, as opportunity offers of circumstances require.

5. The 2nd mohallah of Telingah Bazar composed of that part of the Town detailed in the margin requires a greater number of Chowkeydars than any other mahallah in consequence of the thick and extensive jungle which pervades i· Telingah bazar to which the observations contained in the 11th and 12th Paragraphs of my letter to your address dated the 20th ultimo particularly referred, will through the exertions of the Zamindar of whose Estate in forms a porton, be cleared in the course of a few days of its improductive Jungle I confidently expect that this secluded spot will lose its notoriety and be rendered secure from the depredations of theives vistas and pathways as well as a considerable part of the Jungle have been already cut and that you may be enabled to from some idea of the obstacles which a Chowkeydar would encounter in this part of the Town. I heg leave to state that the Jungle cannot be cleared way in less than 15 days more, even with the assistance of 40 labourers.

Telingah Bazar, Kisheenpoor, Buggutpoor, Bengaly Sahi, Bokheerabad, Bahornul, Manick Gaose Bazar.

6. This portion of the Town would probably be considered as coming under the provision of the letter part of Section III of Regulation 13—1813, as the Inhabitants are poor and the population necessarily scanty but having invariably found that in this part of the Town alone, thefts have been committed since I have had charge, and bearing that this portion has always been more remarkable than other parts of the town, on account of offences committed therein I could not consider Telingah Bazar as a place which ought to be exempted on the countrary I conceive that

it required particular attention and that it was most desirable that a sufficient number of Chowkeydars should be entertained in that division.

7. The principal Bazar in this mohallah is Bukshee Bazar in point of wealthiness in regard to the number of Houses and Inhabitants there is not much difference between the Bazars—in which there are 1612 Houses and 15 Chowkeydars.

8. The 3rd Mohallah or Kafeelah Bazar is formed of the Bazars specified in the margin and is inhabited principally by the lower classes. The streets are in general narrow, extensive and winding but the mohallah being compact in itself and no wealthy mohallah being adjacent to it, and not having found on experience or from report that this part of the city has ever been remarkable for thefts of other crimes committed therein, it has not appeared to me advisable either to alter the extent of formation of this Division or to appoint a greater number of Chowkeydars.

Kafeelah Bazar, Mohumudjaun bazar, Jagganath Bullub, Shaikhbazar, Allecha bazar, Maunsigh patna, Mungla sehaye, Booteen sechaye Kutgsrrah sechaye, Koochu alleeshah Bazar.

9. This Mohullah contains 1040 Houses for the protection of which there are 7 Chowkeydars. Mohummd Jaun Bazar possesses the greatest number of rich inhabitants.

10. The fourth Mohullah or Gunga Munzil composed of the portion of the town stated in the margin contains 722 houses and few opulent individuals.

Gunga Manzil, Chowdry Bazar, Banka Bazar, Soothetha Sehoye, Dugra Bazar, Ooreca Bazar, Cauzze Bazar, Khuttin Sehoye, Tasarkhan Bazar, Suppajeel Cosma Bazar.

11. Chowdhury Bazar is the principal part of this Mohullah in which six chowkeydars have been appointed—a geater number could not be entertained and being of opinion that existing circumstances do not require a more numerous body of chowkeydars and satified that the number appointed is sufficient to afford security and protection to the inhabitants of this mohullah I have not deemed it advisable to increase the number.

12. The Inhabitants of Bankabazar Soothutha Schoye, Khutbin schoye, Tatar Khan Bazar are extremely indigent. The Mohullah is however compact being formed of Bazars contiguous to each other.

13. 5th Mohullah of Kuddumrossul contains the Bazars specified in the margin is inhabited chiefly by the poorer classes—no one Bazar being remarkable for its populousness or wealth-it contains 622 Houses and there are five chowkeydars a number sufficient for every purpose of police.

Jallaulpoor or Kuddumrassol, Hurrepoor, Petohpoor, Bura Schaye, Nemah Schaye, Mohurrea Bazae, Bazar Orzum Khan Sawert Schoye.

14. It would be extremely difficult to add to the number of chowkeydars stated in the foregoing paragraph. The mohullah is as compact as circumstances would allow and the portions of the Town of which it is formed could not be attached with equal public convenience to any other Mohullah.

15. The 6th Mohullah or Buxshee Bazar is composed of the Bazar stated in the margin. It contains a considerable number of Houses and many opulent individuals as well as a large proportion of indigent inhabitants.

Buxshee Bazar, Mullah Sehaye, Putna Markanul, Patna Marjumeer, Mungla Bagh, Meerza Patna, Kesurpoor Kusko, Pakee Mollee, Jagheer Sayurra Schaye, Ranu Kunt, Jabrah, Marod Khan Patna.

16. This Mohullah has been fixed in extent and formation on due consideration of vicinity of the different Bazars which compose it and also with reference to the poverty of some of the Bazar which at though not very continuous to the principal bazar or indeed to any one of the bazars yet are nearer to them than to the bazars which form the five preceding mohullah.

17 There are 1190 houses and 12 chowkeydars which number might be increased if necessary as many individuals have not been assessed to the amount authorized by the Regulations. I have how ever appointed a number which I trust will afford ample security to all the Inhabitants of this Division of the Town.

18. It appears then, from the foregoing statement that the City of Cuttack contains 6391 Houses for the protection of which there are 55 chowkeydars whose monthly pay amounts to 155 rupees.

19. In many Districts the above number of chowkedars would be considered perhaps inadequate to afford protection to the houses and property of 6,00 house-holders but this number has been fixed on a consideration of the capability of the mohullah-if the capability had been greater-the houses less compactly or less regularly built-or if they had beee merely cheaper and juttee (a) Buildings which are easy of entrance, instead of being of brick and masonary which 15 the case in the more opulent Mohullahs or if the present police Establishment had been less efficient or the commission of offences more frequent in the Town-a greater number of watchmen might have been placed upon the Establishment.

20. I am convinced that the number of Chowkeydars is not only fully adequate but that any increase to the number at present is unnecessary. It is an establishment always capable of alteration and improvement—and indeed necessarily subject to the former as the means of the Inhabitants of the different mohullahs vary-so must the number of chowkeydars, whom they support—The number of houses also will form a smaller or greater aggregate in nearly the same proportion as the houses charge their inhabitants, many will be levelled to make room for a large house and the hut destroyed to admit the erection of a brick-built house.

21. As an increase to the number of chowkeydars which have been appointed can be effected when considered necessary and expedient in consiquence of many in individuals being under assessed and as I am decidedly of opinion that at present any addition to the Establishment is not necessary. I should hope that the compliment for the reasons detailed above would also be considered by Government sufficient good and adequate to effect the object of their appointment.

22. No person has been exempted from assesment whom the Mohullahdars have thought proper to assess, except Burkundozes and other officers attached to the police Establisament.

23. The entire exemption of the above class has been adopted on the principle that it is particularly expedient that they should receive subject to no deducation of the pay which they are allowed by Government. They might be tempted to make up the defficiency by extortion of other malpractices if their pay should be made liable to deminution.

24. Under the discretionary power vested in the Magistrate by your letter of the 9th September last regarding the form of the Churprass to be given to the Chowkeydars, they have received badges of the form and size

annexed which contains the information required by your letter above quoted.

25. In conclusion I request permission to draw your particular attention to the second.mohullah named Telingah Bazar—and to the exertions of Knnoye aucharge the person of whose Estate it forms a portion. Supnajeil a branch of the fourth Mohullah forms also part of his Zemindarre and like Telingah Bazar is improvious from jungle and which he would willingly clear away but it would be attended with some expense not however exceeding fifty rupees which sum would also defray the expense he has incurred optionally in clearing away the jungle of Telingah Bazar. I beg leave to recommend that the disbursement of the above sum on the part of Government be sanctioned for the purpose above stated. The consequence will be most benificial.

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A Peep into the History of Cuttack

Dr. Lakshman Kumar Panda

Cuttack, the nerve centre of Orissan politics, Culture and economy, stands at the apex of the extensive delta of the Mahanadi in the north and its tributary Kathajodi in the south, covering an area of about sixteen square miles. The town is also surrounded by forest clad hills on three sides, north, west and south. This geographical position of Cuttack as a town at the bifurcation of a river is unique in India. From remote past Cuttack served as the only narrow strip for the land route through the country and as such people coming from north to south or from south to north had no other alternative then to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack. This Mahanadi herself also offered convenient water ways for Commerce and Communication with the hinterland. As Cuttack seems to have been connected with the ancient and medieval Orissa sea ports like-Che-li-ta-lo, Palur, Dantapura, Tamralipti etc. by both the land as well as the sea routes, it flourished as an important centre of trade and Commerce in the past. It also served as the gate way for the spread of Indian Culture abroad. The dilapidated old structures, the narrow lanes and bye-lanes, the historic temples, mosques, churches and other monuments bear eloquent testimony to its glorious and mysterious past.

The word Cuttack is derived from the Sanskrit word *'Kataka'* which etymologically signifies the military camp or the fort or the capital or the seat of the Government protected by the army. Probably Cuttack was started as a military cantonment because of its impregnable situation and then developed as the capital of the state of Orissa. In the early medieval period, as many as five *'Katakas'* were built at Jajpur, Amaravati (Present chhatia in Cuttack district), Choudwar, Sarangagarh (near Baranga), and Varanasi Kataka (present Cuttack). From military and strategic point of view, this Varanasi Kataka enjoyed the predominent position among these five Katakas. On the north and south of Cuttack are situated respectively the sites of Choudwar on the left bank of the Virupa, and Sarangagarh on the right bank of the Kathajodi where there are ruins of big forts. Thus as the geographical location of Cuttack was unique in the whole of India,

it was considered suitable to be the capital of different Orissan empires and dynasties in the by-gone days.

Historians have been divided in their opinions about the exact date of the foundation of this historic City of Cuttack. Its history is definitely wrapped in oblivion before the advent of the imperial Ganga dynasty in Orissa. The Gangas were ruling supreme in the Ganjam and the Godavari valley between the 6th and the 11th Century A.D., having Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh) as their Capital. But with the occupation of Utkal by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva in 1112 A.D., the Ganga Capital was shifted from this Kalinganagara to one Vāranasi Kataka on the Mahanadi Valley which was more centrally situated in his vast Kingdom. Here the Gangas ruled continuously for fourteen generations. Anangabhimadeva III of this dynasty had issued one copper plate from, *Kataka* and named it as *'Abhinava Varanasi Kataka*. This indicates that Cuttack was definitely in existence before the advent of the Gangas to Orissa. Stirling, on the authority of the Madalapanji, the temple chronicle of Lord Jagannath and other sources, writes that "Raja Nirupa (Nrupa) Keshari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about 989 A.D. The reign of Markata Keshari of the same Keshari dynasty was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment or embankment to protect the new Capital from inundation in 1006 A.D" He also confirms that Kataka Varanasi became a capital city as early as the end of the 10th century during the reign of the Keshari Princes. But this view seems to be untenable in view of the established fact the Somavamsi-Kesharis had their capital at *'Abhinava Yayatinagara'* or the modern Jajpur. It is possible that their was a place called *'Kataka'* on the Mahanadi valley but it was not given the status of a metropolis by the Somavamsi rulers. On the otherhand, Dr. K. C. Panigrahi has placed his arguments that Cuttack was a place of importance during the Bhauma rule in Orissa between 736 A.D. to 930 A.D. In this connection, he has tried to identify Markata Keshari of the Madalapanji with that of king Unmata Keshari or Unmata Singha of the Bhaumakara family. His view has, to some extent, been corroborated by the existence of a few sculptural and structural remains of the ancient temples of the 8th-9th century A.D. belonging to the Bhaumakara period. This opinion of Dr. Pānigrahi regarding the foundation of *Kataka* during the Bhauma period seems to be more convincing. But it is still doubtful if it enjoyed the status of a metropolis. It was probably a military cantonment. However, it requires more documentary evidence to arrive at any definite conclusion about it.

The Madalapanji further records the tradition on Cuttack that "Anangabhimadeva used to reside at the town called Choudwar Kataka. One day the King crossed the Mahanadi and on the southern bank of it in the vicinity of Visvesvara Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, saw that a heron had killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this unusual event and laid the foundation of a *Kataka* in the Barabati village and after building the palace and making it a *Kataka*, called the place as *"Abhinava Varanasi Kataka"* and left Choudwar Kataka." These traditions are no doubt genuine and is corroborated by the Nagari plate of Anangabhimadeva III, which was issued by him in the Saka year 1151 or 1229 A.D., from *Abhinava Varanasi Kataka*, his new capital. Hence the establishment of the capital between the Mahanadi and the Kathajodi by Nrupakeshari and the building the protective revetment by Markata-Keshari long before Anangabhimadeva III do not find support from contemporary records. As such, this great engineering work may not be as old as the time of the Keshari rule and it was possibly constructed some times after the foundation of the Abhinava Varanasi Kataka by Anangabhimadeva III. He, being a devoted Vaishnava, built a gigantic temple for Lord Jagannath (Purusottama) at this new capital on the southern bank of the river Mahanadi. One headless image of Narayana, discovered from the central part of the Cuttack town, is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. This was probably the image of Lord Purusottama who was installed and worshipped at this new capital of Anangabhimadeva III. The temple was probably destroyed during the mughal rule in Orissa. It was probably during this period that Narahari Tirtha, the leading disciple of Madhavacharya, visited Varanasi Kataka and exercised considerable influence both in the religious and political activities of this territory. This Anangabhimadeva III is also believed to have built the fort of Barabati at this Varanasi Kataka.

The Ganga rule in Orissa was replaced by the Suryavamsi Gajapatis who continued their administration from the same Varanasi Kataka. Kapilendradeva, the founder of the dynasty, was a great empire builder and he extended the Orissan empire from the Ganges in the north to the Kauvery in the South. After him, his son and successor Purusottamadeva was successful to bring the image of Krishna (Gopal or Sakhigopal) from Kanchi and installed it in Varanasi Kataka. This image has been placed at present in Satyabadi but it was in Cuttack as late as 1510 A.D. when Sri Chaitanyadeva visited the City. During the reign of Prataparudradeva, the empire of Orissa fast began to decline due to anarchy, murder, treachery and lawlessness. After his death, his minister, Govinda Vidyadhar of the Bhoi

dynasty usurped the throne at Varanasi Kataka by murdering the two sons of Prataparudradeva. But he was subsequently dethroned from power by his governor Mukunda Harichandan who ruled over Orissa from Cuttack between 1560 to 1568 A.D.. He was the last independent Hindu ruler of Orissa and during his short rule of only eight years, Cuttack witnessed many-sided developments. Abul Fazl writes in his Ain-i-Akbari about Cuttack that "it had a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, Mahanadi and Kathajodi, where Mukundadeva built a palaca, nine storeys in height" Mukundadeva appears to have greatly enlarged the original fort of Ananga-bhimadeva and made it nine storey high. The existing remains of the ruined Barabati Fort was, perhaps, a part of that nine-storeyed palace built during the time of Mukundadeva. He was a natural enemy of Sultan Sulaiman Karrani, the Afghan Sultan of Bengal, who was ambitious enough to occupy Orissa This chaotic and troublesome time warranted these defensive activities and on the eve of the Afghan occupation, Cuttack was found a well-guarded and heavily fortified capital. In spite of this, the muslim army advanced upto Varanasi Kataka and occupied the strong fort of Barabati Kalapahada, the Afghan general of Sulaiman Karrani, invaded Orissa in 1568 A.D. In the midst of this disaster, Rama Chandra Bhanja, the commander of Sarangagarh, revolted against Mukundadeva. Mukundadeva met him at Gohiratikri, north of Jajpur, where he fell fighting with him in 1568 A.D. Rama Chandra, in turn, was killed by the Afghan invaders on the same day. Thus the independent existence of the Hindu Kingdom of Orissa with its nerve-centre at Cuttack, came to an end in 1568 A.D. Orissa, thereafter, successively entered into an era of bondage in the hands of the Afghans of Bengal, the Mughals, the Nazims of Bengal, the Marathas and finally the British.

Though the Muslim rule in Orissa lasted from 1568 A.D. to 1751 A.D. yet the whole of Orissa was hardly brought under complete muslim subjugation. From 1568 A.D. to 1575 A.D., the Afghans were in possession of Cuttack and they settled on the border districts to the north of river Mahanadi. Under Akbar, the Mughals established their authority only on the northern portion of Orissa. However, during the Mughal rule, Orissa was included in the Subah of Bengal with five *sarkars* named Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Katak, Kalinga Dandapat and Raj Mahendrai. Kataka (Cuttack) continued to be the capital of Mughal Orissa and Abul Fazl clearly mentions that the Mughal Governor was residing in this city which had "a stone fort of great strength and a masonry palace within" In spite of the fact that the muslim rule lasted over Orissa for two centuries, the muslims were never able to consolidate their position in this distant eastern province.

In 1751, Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, was forced to conclude a treaty with the Bhonsla because of a strong rebellion at Cuttack. This treaty shifted the administrative responsibility of Orissa to the Marathas of Nagpur from 1751 to 1803 A D. During this period, Orissa was administered by a number of Maratha subedars, having Cuttack as their main centre of political, economic and religious activities.

During the Maratha rule, the fort of Barabati was improved considerably. They not only strengthened the ramparts of the fort but also widened and deepened the ditch around the fort. Magnificent arrangements were also made for strategical fighting inside the Barabati fort. Cuttack also emerged as a major centre of trade and commerce and it became the central market of exchange between the Marathas and the British. The area of the town also extended considerably by this time upto the Chauliaganj area where the Marathas had their military camp for commanding the high roads passing towards north and south. Probably this Chauliaganj was named after the name of the Maratha Subedar Chimna Sah who built a market or 'ganj' there. The Marathas, being Hindus, were much interested in the worship of Hindu gods. They beautified Cuttack by building some temples and Mathas. The Amaresvara temple at Baxi Bazar, the Mastaram Math at Shaikh Bazar and the Raghunath Jew temple are the examples of such philanthropic works of the Marathas at Cuttack. They were also not indifferent to the muslim institutions. The Kadam Rasul of Cuttack was a regular recipient of financial aid from the Maratha Government. These together with the Maratha stables, the eastern facade of the Barabati fort, the ditch round the fort and a few resident Maratha families are the only remnants of the brief period of Maratha rule in Cuttack. Nothing, however, remains at present excepting the long line of the Maratha stables to indicate their military stronghold in the present Cantonment area of the Cuttack town.

Thus it goes without saying that right from the days of the Bhaumakaras, Cuttack has all along been enjoying the unique privilege of being the administrative and the commercial nerve-centre of Orissa. During the muslim and Maratha rule in Orissa, the importance of Cuttack remained unabated. It also enjoyed a unique position during the British administration in Orissa from 1803 onwards. It was the seat of the commissioner, Orissa Division till the formation of the separate province of Orissa in 1936 and thereafter, it was also exalted to be the headquarters of that new province of Orissa for a long time. Though Bhubaneswar has been the New Capital of modern Orissa after the merger of the feudatory states with this new

province in 1948, the commercial and cultural importance of Cuttack still remains untarnished till to-day. Cuttack has been greatly sanctified with the footprints of a good number of saints, reformers and travellers in the past. It has also seen the birth of a good number of celebrated social reformers, intellectuals, writers, poets and statesmen who have inspired the people of Orissa with the spirit of nationalism and dedication. Thus Cuttack ranks as one of the most attractive and old cities in the eastern coast of India with her effectful life spread over more than thousand years. It is not merely a city with a magnificent past, it has a living present and a still more glorious future. In fact, it is a bridge linking together the past, present and future of Orissa.

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History of Cuttack

Prof. G. S. Das

Like Rome, Cuttack also was not built in a day. History has recorded on the past of this ancient city the stories of the rise and fall of several empires and dynasties. Although its roots do not go into the dim and distant past, it still can rank as one of the old cities of India with her effectful life spread over the last one thousand years. Its age is writ large on its face. The ruins and debris of old structures, the narrow lanes and the historic temples, mosques, churches and other monuments fill the city with the atmosphere of the medieval age. However, it is not merely a city with a history, it has a living present and a still more glorious future.

Cuttack, the metropolis of Orissa, is situated at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and its main branch the Kathjori. It is located in lat. N. 20° 29′ and long. E. 85° 50′ and has an area of about sixteen square miles. The rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori form an extensive delta of which the Bay of Bengal serves as the base and Cuttack as the apex. The town is also surrounded on three sides of its horizon—north, west and south—by forest clad hills and thus, the geographical location of its unique in the whole of India. This city, as the Nagari plates of Ananga Bhima the third (1211-1238 A.D.) record, was originally known as "Abhinava Baranasi Kataka" Just as the city of Baranasi is situated between the rivers Barna and Asi, similarly Cutttack is situated between the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori and was therefore named as "Abhinava Baranasi".[1] The word "Kataka" etymologically means army, cantonment, and also capital city. The History of Cuttack amply justifies its name. It started as a military cantonment because of its impregnable situation and then developed to be the capital of the State of Orissa. As Calcutta grew out of three villages Govindpur, Sutanati and Kalikata, Cuttack also developed into a City out of seven villages existing in this area at a distance from one another.[2]

From remote past Cuttack commanded the high road running from the north to the south of India along the eastern coast, and invaders, pilgrims, merchants and travellers alike had in the past no alternative but

to cross the Mahanadi and the Kathjori near about Cuttack while travelling from north to the south and vice-versa. The high roads from Central India also ran along the Mahanadi valley and terminated at Cuttack, while the Mahanadi herself offered convenient water-way for commerce and communication with the hinterland. Cuttack is likely to have been connected both by overland routes and water-ways with the great medieval ports like Che-li-to[3] Palura[4] and Tamralipti[5], which were great centres for overseas trade and served as the gateway for the spread of Indian Culture abroad. Cuttack, therefore, could maintain its cultural and commercial relations not only with all parts of India, but also with the outside world. Such a place was naturally suited to be the capital of a prosperous State and was sure to be the centre of trade and commerce in the past. In fact, Cuttack has been a flourishing mart of eastern trade since the remote past although its political importance before the 8th century A. D. is not so well-known at present.

Historical evidences are absolutely lacking as to the foundation of Cuttack. Madala Panji, the Jagannath temple Chronicle, throws some light on this problem, but its accounts are based more on tradition than on historical facts. Stirling had to rely upon this dubious authority while writing the accounts of Cuttack early in 1822. He thus states "Raja Nirupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about A. D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with tnat material (probably the ancient one, of which the remains are yet to be seen), to protect the new capital from inundation in A. D. 1006"[6]. For confirmation of his views, the same scholar states elsewhere as follows—"Authorities vary as to the date ot the foundation of Katak Baranasi, but there seems good reason to think that it cecame a capital city as early as the end of the 10th century, during the reign of Kesari princes."[7]

The early History of Cuttack is, therefore, connected with the history of the Kesari dynasty of Orissa, of whom very little was known at the time when Stirling wrote his accounts. He writes—"No information whatever, is afforded as to the origin and pedigree of the Princes called the Kesari Vansha or Kesari Bansha. The founder of the new dynasty was Jajati (Yajati) Kesari, a warlike and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came, we are not apprised. He soon cleared his dominions of the Javanas who then retired to their own country. His court was held at Jajapur where he built a palace (Nour) and castle, called Chaudwar or

mansion with four gates".[8] This clearly indicates that Chaudwar, situated to the north of Cuttack on the left bank of the Virupa was one of the seats of early Kesari rulers, who are also known to us as Soma Vansi Kings. A number of copper plates issued by these rulers came to light during the decade from 1872 to 1882 and many more were also unearthed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The evidences gathered from these plates differ to a great extent from the writing of Stirling, but they go to corroborate his views in connection with Chaudwar being an early seat of authority of the Kesari Kings. The earliest ruler of this dynasty, known to us, is Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya, who ruled at least for a period of thirty four years duriug the second half of the 8th Century A.D.* During the 31st year of his rule he issued three of his copper plate charters from a place named Cataka which has been identified by Pt. Binayak Mishra,[9] and Dr. H.K. Mahtab[10] with modern Choudwar and if this identification is taken to be correct, this Janamejaya should be regarded as the founder of the town of Cutteck (Chaudwar Kataka). A tradition prevailing in Orissa reveals that Janamejaya of Puranic fame performed the Snake Sacrifice at Choudwar, and the local people point out a place named Agrahata near Chaudwar where the great sacrifice was believed to have been performed. This Puranic Janamejaya may well be taken to be the historic Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta, the earliest known Somavansi ruler of Orissa, who appears to have made Chaudwar one of the seats of his authority during the later part of his reign.

Yajati-I Mahashivagupta, son and successor of Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya, founded a town called Yajatinagara on the Mahanadi near Sonepur and soon after that Chaudwar was known as the Abhinava Yajatinagara. The name Abhinava Yajatinagar is mentioned in the Madalapanji and the Muslim Historians, from the 13th to the 15th centuries A.D. invariably described Orissa as Jainagar probably after this town (Chaudwar).

The importance of Kataka (Cuttack) rapidly increased after the occupation of Orissa by Chodaganga Deva early in the 12th Century A.D. In 1135 A.D. Chodaganga referred to his "newly made conquests of three quarters, northern, southern, and western"[11] and it was this year that he transferred his Capital fram Kalinganagara to Kataka, which was then considered to be the centralised place of his far-flung empire. Chodaganga is known to have built a new seat of authority on the right bank of the Kathjori, which was known after him as Sarangagarh Kataka and Stirling adds that "tradition also ascribes to him (Churanga, or Saranga Deo) the

building of the forts and palaces both at Sarangarh and Cuttack Chaudwar".[12]

Ananga Bhimadeva III (1211—1238 A. D.) built a new town called Baranasi Kataka on the left bank of the Mahanadi, opposite to Chaudwar, and subsequently he transferred his headquarters from the Abhinava Yajatinagara (Chaudwara-Kataka) to the Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. The transfer of his seat of authority has found mention in the Madalapanji as follows:—

"Anangabhimadeva—This King used to reside at the town called Chaudwar Kataka. While he was residing there, one day, the king crossed the Mahanadi and on the Southern bank of it in the vicinity of Bisweswara Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, he saw that a heron killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this unusual event and laid the foundation of a Kataka in the Barabati village, and after building the palace and making it a Kataka, called the place as the Baranasi Kataka and left Chaudwar Kataka."[13]

Stirling also refers to this episode and writes as follows, probably basing his accounts on the Madalapanji.

"He (Raja Anangabhim Deo) resided during the early part of his reign in the Nour or Palace called Chaudwar at Jajapur, but was induced by some omen to build a magnificent palace on the site of Fort Barabati, adjoining the town of Cuttack, where he afterwards held his Court chiefly. The construction of the present castle of that name should in all probability be referred to this period, though a later date is generally assigned to it."[14]

The traditional account of the shifting of the capital from Chaudwar to Baranasi by Anangabhima, is also corroborated by the recently found Naragi Copper plate that was issued by him in the Saka year 1151 or A.D. 1229, from Abhinava Baranasi Kataka.[15] Anangabhima, being a devoted Vaishnava, built a gigantic temple for Lord Jagannath at this new Capital and the images were installed in it on the 9th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, which was a Sunday in the Saka year 1151. The Nagari inscription noted above was granted to a Brahmin, one Pandit Sankarsan Nanda of Silo who had taken part on the occasion of the consecration ceremony of this temple.[16]

Although the evidence of the Madalapanji regarding the transfer of capital from Chaudwar to Baranasi Kataka finds corroboration in the Nagari record, its other accounts as to the foundation of Cuttack by Nrupa Keshari

in between the Mahanadi and the Kathjori and the building of the protective revetment by Markata Kesari long before Anangabhima Deva, cannot be regarded as authentic, so long as, corroborative evidence in the shape of copper plate is not discovered. The very fact that Anangabhima Deva III founded the Ahbinava Baranasi Kataka (Bidanasi) on the south bank of the Mahanadi sometimes during the period from 1211 A. D. to 1229 A.D. dismisses any other possibility of its having been founded by Nrupa Keshari. There is also nothing to show in favour of the fact that the stone revetment of the Kathjori was constructed as early as the Keshari period. This revetment which runs in a horse-shoe pattern starting on the left bank of the Kathjori from near Khannagar and stretching westward upto the Chahataghat of the Mahanadi and after that extending on the right bank of Mahanadi as far as the Jobraghat suggests that it was constructed at the bifurcation of the Kathjori from the Mahanadi and that this bifurcation at the time of the construction of this revetment was not far away from the Chahutaghat. Since the time of the construction of this revetment the Kathjori appears to have receded as far as the rock of Naraj.

Even as late as 1790 the Kathjori was flowing off the Mahanadi at a place south of Dhabaleswar and Mr. Leckei who crossed this river that year states "About two miles from Cuttack, to the West, at the foot of a Hindu temple the Cutjora, separating itself from the Mahanaddy, flows to the Southward of the town."[17] Considering all these facts it can be concluded that this great engineering work may not be as old as the time of the Kesari rule and that it was possibly constructed sometimes after the foundation of the Abhinava Baranasi Kataka by Anangabhima Deva III and at the time of its construction the Kathjori was issuing forth from the Mahanadi at Chahataghat.

Muslim invasion against Jajnagar (Orissa) starts as early as 1205 A.D. when Rajaraja III, father of Anangabhim III was ruling from his headquarters at Choudwar Kataka. We, know from *Tabakati Nasiri* of Minhaj-ij-Siraj that Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyar Khalaji sent for the invasion of Jajnagar (Orissa) in 1205 A. D. two Khalji Amirs:—Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmed-i-Sheran who were opposed by Rajaraja III, but as in the meantime Muhammad Bakhtiyar was killed, these two brothers had to "come back from that quarter" achieving nothing.[18] Minhaj, however,states that when Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Shah became the master of Muslim Bengal in 1212 A.D. he realised tributes from Banga, Kamarup, Tirhut and Jayanagar.[19] But a mighty ruler like Anangabhimadeva III cannot be regarded as a tributary of Iwaz Shah and so this Jayanagar was probably the same as

Tippera and not Orissa. The Chatesvara* Temple inscription of Anangabhima III clearly indicates that the Muslims were defeated and reoulsed by the Orissan warriors led by the general Vishnu.[20]

It was probably during the reign of Anangabhima III, that Narahari Tirtha, the leading disciple of Madhavacharya visited Baranasi Kataka with the message of Dvaitadvaita—Dualistic non-dualism. Narahari stayed in Orissa till his death, sometime during the reign of Narasimha II and exercised considerable influence both in the religious and political activities of this territory.

During the reign of Narasimha-I, the son of Anangabhima III, Izzuddin Tughral Tughan Khan of Bengal ambitiously invaded Jainagar in A. H. 641 i. e. 1243 A. D. There upon Narasimha-I "the Rai of Jajnagar" advanced towards Lakhnauti[21] and in the engagement that took place at Katashin quite a large number of Muslims were slain, while Tughan Khan saved his life by taking to flight. In 1279 A. D. Tughril Khan, the then Governor of Bengal is said to have over ran Jajnagar, but as according to Ziauddin Barani, this territory was situated to the east of the Brahmaputra, it was without doubt the same as Tippera.[22] During the reign of Narasimha Deva II Prince Juna Khan, the son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq invaded Jajnagar from the south, after having conquered Warangal in 1323 A. D. but he had to go back acquiring only forty elephants. [3] The great onslaught, however came in 1361 A. D., when Sultan, Firuz Tughluq invaded Orissa and destroyed innumerable temples from Khiching (Kinianagar) to Baranasi Kataka.[24] It is known from *Tmarikh-i- Firuz Shahi* that the Rai who was called "Bhanu Diw" took refuse in an island of the river, while the Sultan destroyed the stone images that were being worshipped within the fort [25] The writer of the work Shams-i-Siraj Afif describes Jajnagar in connection with this historic invasion in the following words:—

"The country of Jajnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father, who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals so that they recovered from the hardships of the Campaign. Sultan Firoz rested at Baranasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Rais. At that time the Rai of Jajnagar, by name Adayat*, had deemed expedient to quit Baranasi, and to take up his residence elsewhere, so Sultan Firoz occupied his palace. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Baranasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans, and it was held to be a religious duty that everyone who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should

add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large" Bhanudeva-II sued for peace by sending twenty mighty elephants as offering and agreed to furnish certain number of them annually as revenue. Sultan Firoz was satisfied at this and sent robes and insignia to the King.[26] After the departure of the Sultan Bhanudev is known to have regained his former sovereignty and we do not find any of the Ganga Kings of Baranasi Kataka as sending revenue to the Sultan of Delhi.

The last of the Ganga rulers in Jajnagar called Bhanudeva VI also known as Matta Bhanu and Nisanka Bhanu was ruling during the first quarter of the 15th Century A. D., and was a weak and imbecile ruler. Then record of Ferishta[27] reveals that during his rule Sultan Hushang Ghuri of Malwa came to Jajnagar, in the guise of a merchant in the year 825 A. H. i. e. 1421 A. D. with one thousand horsemen and surprised the Raja, whom he took into captivity. The vazirs of Jajnagar gave 75 splendid elephants to the Sultan as ransom and there upon Sultan Hushang released the King and returned to his own territory.

Some scholars, however, entertain doubts as to the authenticity of this account and R. D. Banerji thinks that this episode might have taken place at Ratnapur or Tummana in C. P. and not in Orissa.[28]

After the end of the Ganga rule Orissa passed to the hands of the Gajapati kings, belonging to the Solar dynasty, under whom Baranasi Kataka continued to be the Capital of Orissa. Kapilendra Deva, (1435—1467 A. D.), the founder of this dynasty, was a great empire-builder and he extended the empire of Orissa from the Ganges in the north to the Kavery in the South. Purushottama Deva (1467—1497 A. D.), the son and successor of Kapilendra Deva, lost for some time the southern portion of this empire, comprising the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, but subsequently he was successful in winning it back by the prowess of his arms during the later part of his reign. The image of Krishna known as Sakhigopal was brought by him from Kanchi, among many other trophies of war, and it was installed in Baranasi Kataka. This image has been placed at present in Satyavadi, but it was in Cuttack (Kataka) as late as 1510 when Sri Chaitanya Deva visited the City. During the reign of Prataparudradeva (1497—1540 A. D.), the son and successor of Purushottamadeva, the empire of Orissa fast began to decline. Krishnadeva Ray, the great emperor of Vijayanagar, scored a series of victories against the Gajapati King and occupied the southern territories of the Orissan empire including the Krishna Godavari Doab. A few Telugu Chronicles viz. *Parijatapaharanama, Amuktamal ada* etc. allege that Krishnadeva Ray advanced as far as Kataka Puri in his march of conquest.

But these chronicles seem to be prone to exaggeration and there is absolutely no archeological evidence to support their claim. Krishnadeva Ray must have marched as far as Sri Kurmam, where he erected the last of his pillars of victory.[29]

After the death of Prataparudra, his minister Govinda Vidyadhara of the Bhoi dynasty usurped the throne at Baranasi Kataka. He murdered the two sons of Prataparudra and appointed Danardan Vidyadhara as the Chief Minister and Mukunda Harichandan as the Governor of Kataka. Govinda Vidyadhara was a man of action and he invaded Golkunda with a view to revive the imperial tradition of Orissa. But during his absence Raghu Bhanja Chhotrai, a scion of the Bhanja family of Mayurbhanj rose in rebellion and besieged Baranasi Kataka, which was then ably defended by the Governor Mukunda Harichandana. In the face of this danger Govinda Vidyadhara gave up the idea of his war against Golkunda and rushed towards Kataka to encounter the rebel Reghubhanja and his allies. The insurgents were defeated and pursued as far as the Ganges but soon after Govinda Vidyadhara died on the bank of the Vaitarani at Dasasvamedha Ghat, Jajpur.

Stirling notes the political events of Cuttack following the death of Govinda Vidyadhara as follows:—

"There being no heir left of the Rajas of Orissa, a chief named Narsing Jena, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, stepped into the vacant seat of Government. Jealous of the influence of Danayi Bidyadhar, he procured his attendance from the Deccan, and then with assistance of his rival Mukunda Harichandan, threw him into chains and imprisonment at Cuttack. In the meantime Raghubhanj Chotra having recovered from his former defeat, entered Orissa again at the head of a large force to assist his claims to the Raj. He was opposed by Mukunda Harichandan who took him prisoner after many bloody battles."[30]

Mukunda Deva Harichandan at last usurped the throne of Baranasi Kataka in 1560 and although he was surrounded by treacherous rivals and enemies he ruled efficiently up to 1568. He was a natural enemy of Sultan Sulaiman Khan Kararani, Afghan Sultan of Bengal, who was ambitious enough to occupy Orissa. The Moghul emperor Akbar, who was then planning an invasion on Bengal took note of the enimity between Orissa and Bengal and diplomatically entered into alliance with Mukunda Deva. There was exchange of embassies between Delhi and Cuttack and a diplomatic relationship was established between the courts of Akbar and

Mukunda Deva. But, when in 1567 Akbar was engaged in the seige of Chitore, Sulaiman sent a large army under his son Bayazid against Orissa. The Muslim army advanced up to Baranasi Kataka and occupied the strong fort of Barabati, in the defence of which the general Koli Samanta Simhara shed his life-blood. In the midst of this disaster Rama Chandra Bhanja the commander of Sarangagarh revolted against Mukunda Deva and declared himself the king of Orissa. Mukunda Deva met him at Goohiratikiri, north of Jajpur, where he fell fighting with him.[31] Soon after, Rama Chandra Bhanja was also defeated and killed by Bayazid and thus Orissa passed to the hands of the Afghans in 1568 A.D.

Mukunda Deva was the last independent Hindu ruler of Orissa and during his short rule of only eight years Cuttack (Kataka) witnessed many-sided development. Abul Fazl Allami writes about Cuttack in his Ain-i-Akbari as follows—

"Katak—The City has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus and the Katjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six *kos* round the fort during the rains the country is under water. Rajah Makand Deo built a Palace here nine storeys in height, the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants; the third by the patrol and gate-keepers; the fourth by the workshops; the fifth by the kitchens; the sixth contained the public reception room; the seventh, the private apartment; the eighth, the women's apartments; and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the Governor."[32]

The statement of the Ain-i-Akbari clearly indicates that Cuttack (Kataka) was a flourishing Capital city during the time of Mukunda Deva. The fort of Baranasi Kataka was no doubt constructed by Anangabhimadeva III and Sham-i-Siraj Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firozsahi* gives detailed accounts of the fort of Barabati at Kataka. Mukundadeva appears to have greatly enlarged the original Fort of Anangabhimadev and made it nine storey high.

The chaotic and troublous time warranted these defensive activities and on the eve of the Afghan occupation Cuttack was found a well guarded and heavily fortified Capital.

The Afghans, however, were not destined to rule Orissa, and they were soon ousted by the Imperial Mughal Power. Daud, the son and

successor of Sulaiman Kararani was stupid enough to defy the prowess of Akbar at which the Mughal emperor sent Munim Khan, an aged general, to deal with him. The Mughal army occupied Patna in 1574 and early the next year Daud was defeated at Tukaroi near Balasore. Daud was finally defeated and slain as a result of another campaign in a battle fought near Rajmahal, and Bengal and Orissa were annexed to Akbar's empire in 1590 A.D.

Raja Man Singh finally subdued Orissa in 1592 and with the help of Raja Todar Mal, the great Minister of Akbar, he made settlement of this Province, the records of which find mention in the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl Allami. During the Mughal rule Orissa was included in the Subah of Bengal, and there were in it five Sarkars named Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Katak, Kaling Dandapat and Raj Mahandrai. Katak (Cuttack) continued to be the capital of Mughal Orissa and Abul Fazl clearly mentions that the Mughal Governor was residing in this City which had "a stone fort of great strength and a masonry palace within."

On the 1st of May 1633, a small party of English merchants headed by Cartwright arrived at Cuttack from Masulipatam via Hariharpur and stayed there upto the 9th of May.

Agha Mahammad Zaman of Taheran, a Mughal Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of "Malcandy" The English travellers reached the palace from the east, over a long narrow causeway, and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience.[33] Bruton, who accompanied the party writes of the Palace of Mughal Viceroy as follows—

"Thus have I, plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the court of Malcandy;[34] but although the palace of the Nawab be so large in extent, and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodged in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him; for it is an abomination to the Mughals (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And, therefore, he was building a palace, which he proposed, should be a fabric of rest, and future remembrance of his renown."[35]

The remains of the "stately Palace of Malcandy" is in complete ruins but the new Palace that was built in 1633, and referred to by William Bruton was no doubt, standing on the bank of the Katjori, and was

popularly known as the "Lalbag", T. Motte who witnessed the Lalbag palace in 1766 has given the following account of it—

"Each of the sides of the triangle on which Cuttack is built is two miles; but on the banks of Cutjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lalbug the residence of the Governor of the Province, a large building, laid out in a number of Courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair the Government when one part is ready to fall removing to another. From the Principal entrance of the palace, runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line, one mile and half long, and still the chief place of business in the town."[36]

Close to the Lalbag Palace was built the Juma Musjid in Hijri 1102 i. e. 1690 A. D. by Zaibun Nisa Khanam, the Shahzada Begum, wife of Ekram Khan, the then Governor of Cuttack under Aurangzeb. This Musjid is located at modern Balubazar of Cuttack and being surrounded by various stalls and residential buildings, it now fails to attract the eyes of the visitors. An important monument known as Kadama Rasul was built at Cuttack in the Hijri year 1127 i. e. 1715 A. D. during the reign of Shah Alam Badshah. It is believed to have contained the foot print of the Prophet, commissioned from Mecca by one Suja-Uddin Muhammad Khan. One of the Persian inscriptions found in the compound of the Kadam Rasul reveals that Nawab Muhamad Taqi Khan was engraved within its premises in the Hijri year 1147—1734 A.D.

When Aurangzeb died in 1707, Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, who had been the Governor of Bengal since 1703, made himself an independent Nazim and appointed his son-in-law Suja Uddin as Naib Nazim of Orissa at Cuttack. Suja Uddin was an able and enlightened administrator and he was popularly admired in Orissa. When Murshid Quli died in 1727 A. D., he was succeeded by Suja Uddin as Nazim of Bengal, who made his illegitimate son Muhammad Taqi Khan the Naib Nazim of Orissa. Muhammad Taqi proved to be a vary notorious Governor of Cuttack and during his rule people suffered various types of dishonour and oppression. He imprisoned Rama Chandra Deva II, the Raja of Khurdha and forced him to embrace Islam, who was then renamed as Hafiz Quadr. A zealous iconoclast, he disfigured and broke down large number of cult images, and desecrated and plundered the temple of Jagannath, although the temple servitors succeeded in removing the triple images of Jagannath to an island in the Chilka lake. Taqi Khan, however, did not survive long and died a mysterious death in 1734 which according to Muhammadan superstition

was the result of certain witch-craft, and Murshid Ouli Khan II, the son-in-law of Suja Uddin succeeded Muhammad Taqi at Cuttack as Naib Nazim of Orissa, and in order to win back the good-will of the people, he not only helped a local Chief Dandadeva to reinstall the images of Jagannath in the temple, but also gave the palm of one of his daughters to Hafiz Quadr, the converted ruler of Khurdha. Suja Uddin died in 1739 and was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan, who, however, was soon defeated and killed at Giria by Alivardi Khan, the Naib Nazim of Bihar. The Mughal emperor Muhammad Shāh could not but recognise Alivardi as the Nizam of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. After thus acquiring Bengal, Alivardi invaded Orissa to chastize Murshid Quli II, who had challenged his authority, and as the latter was defeated and driven to take shelter at Muslipatam, the Zamindars and generals of Orissa surrendered themselves to Alivardi. Issuing proclamations Alivardi Khan won over to his side the Collectors, Zamindars and Officers of Orissa.

But the weakness and misrule of Said Ahmed gave rise to a strong rebellion at Cuttack, led by Mirza Baqir (one of the sons-in-law of Murshid Quli II), who imprisoned Said Ahmed and occupied the whole of Orissa. Alivardi then came to Orissa for the second time and suppressed the rebellious Mirza with great difficulty. In the midst of the battle Said Ahmed was miraculously saved from the sword of his enemies and could manage to escape to the camp of Alivardi.

In the meantime Raghuji Bhonsla I of Nagpur, invited by Mir Habib, a friend of Murshid Quli II, sent a large army under Bhaskar Pandit. who made a surprise attack upon Alivardi and ravaged West Bengal. Alivardi Khan, however, managed to drive the Marhattas away from Bengal, but the latter retreated across the jungles and fell back upon the province of Orissa. The repeated Marhatta incursions considerably undermined the power of Alivardi and depleted his Treasury. By 1747 Orissa practically came under the occupation of the Marhattas and when taking opportunity of the weakness of the Nazim, the Afghan Chiefs of Bihar raised the standard of rebellion. Alivardi was forced to conclude a treaty with the Bhonsla in 1751. He agreed to pay annually twelve lakhs of Rupees as *Chauth*, and 'ceeded the revenues of the Province of Cuttack to the south of the river Suvarnarekha to the Bhonsla Raja.

The fort of Barabati was also considerably improved by the Marhattas who strengthened the ramparts while the ditch round the fort was also widened and deepened by them. One of the Marhatta methods of war

was to roll down heavy stones from the top of the rampart upon the enemies as the latter mass together in the narrow passage of the fort while storming it, and arrangements were made for such strategical fighting inside the Barabati The Marhattas also beautified Cuttack by building some temples and Mathas—The Amareswara temple in Buxibazar and the Mastarām Math at Shaikh bazar were the examples of such works of the Marhattas in Cuttack. These, together with the Marhatta stables, the eastern facade of the Barabati fort, the ditch round the fort and a few resident Marahatta families are the only remnants of the brief period of Marahatta rule in Cuttack.

During the rule of the Marhattas Cuttack greatly prospered as an emporium of trade and it became the central market of exchange between the Marhattas of Nagpur territory and the English merchants in Bengal and Northern Sircar. The area of the town also extended considerably by this time and the Chauliaganj area where the Marhattas had their military camp for commanding the high roads passing towards north and the south, is an extension of the period. The Marhatta camp in this area was visited by Mr. Motte during his stay at Cuttack enroute to Sambalpur in 1766, and he speaks eloquently of the strength and organisation of this stronghold. Nothing, however, remains at present excepting the long line of the Marhatta stables to indicate the military stronghold of the Marhattas. The stables are now utilised as the quarters of the military police by the State Government.

It was the time when the English power was rapidly growing in Bengal in the north and in the Northern Sircar in the south of Orissa. Immediately after the battle of Palassey (1757) a sort of cold war started between the English and the Marhattas for the possession of Orissa and it continued throughout the 18th Century. By 1799 the entire Eastern Coast upto Ganjam came under the occupation of the English and Governor General Wellesley planned in June 1803, Just before the commencement of his Marhatta wars "to unite the Northern Sircars by a continued line of sea coast with Bengal."[37] During the second Marhatta war, the conquest of Orissa by the English was practically achieved in the afternoon of the 14th October, 1803, when the fort of Barabati was occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Clayton, and the legal recognition of it was made in the Treaty of Deogaon on the 17th December, 1803.

Immediately after the occuption of Cuttack in 1803 the English set themselves to the task of consolidation and Land Revenue Administration.

In December, 1803 Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melvill were appointed as the Commissioner of the Province and were stationed at Cuttack, while Mr. James Hunter was sent to Puri as "Acting Collector at Jagannath" The Commissioners were given the charge of making a land revenue settlement with proper regard to the local customs and traditions. They were, therefore, compelled to maintain with certain modifications the fiscal system of the Marhattas retaining the offices of the Amils, the Pharnavis and the Quanungoes. The Amils, who were the native collectors were to submit the reports of their monthly collection to the Collectors, who had general jurisdication in all revenue matters, subject to revision and control by the Commissioners. The Amils also continued to enjoy the judicial powers as they had during the days of the Marhattas and Civil suits were decided by them under the supervision of the Collectors. In June, 1804 Orissa was divided into two administrative zones with the river Mahanadi as the boundary between them, and Mr. Robert Ker and Mr. Charles Grome were appointed in the northern and southern divisions respectively as the Judge, Magistrate and Collector.[35] This system was, however, given up in the following year when the two divisions were made into one under the administration of a Collector. This was effected by the regulation XII of 1805, which embodies the results of the first land revenue settlement in Orissa. This regulation abolished the office of the Special Commissioners and empowered the Board of Revenue at Fort William to superintend the revenue administration of Orissa.

The settlement of 1805 was soon followed by a Triennial settlement which failed to produce satisfactory results and so in 1808-09, the settlement was made annual, a policy which continued upto 1812. In 1813 an experiment was made for two years' ettlement but it was given up in favour of the annual one in 1815. The Trennial system revived in 1816, and subsequently in 1822-23 a quinquennial settlement was adopted. These quick successions of early English land settlements indicate the inefficiency and hasty conduct of the officers who were in charge of the revenue administration of Orissa. The officers were, no doubt, highly rapacious and corrupt, interested more in their amassing of fortune than in the lot of the poor tillers of the soil, and they were helped by a band of greedy and unscrupulous Bengali adventurers who took all possible measures to exploit the people in their own interest. The result of the land settlements was naturally disastrous to the Oriya proprietors and the cultivators alike, and the Goveronment in its turn had to sustain great loss and to face incalculable troubles. "The Collector had no information as to the real assets of the estates, for the Zamindars aud the Amils combined to withhold all papers,

and he had to proceed on a very rough estimate of the quantity of land in cultivation and on the reports of interested subordinates. Arrears accumulated rapidly, and in 1806 began the system of putting up defaulting estates for sale in Calcutta, a policy which proved the ruin of many old families and allowed Bengali speculators to buy valuable properties at low prices. Many left their estates to be held by the Collectors, who in their turn either managed through Tahasildars who extorted as much as they could or farmed them out to speculators who rack-rented the ryots. A large portion of the revenue assessed could not be collected."[39] To this was added the trouble which resulted from the depreciation of tha value of Cowries and then sudden rise in the price of salt. In December 1812 the Government issued the declaration that Cowries would, no longer be received in payment of Revenue, and this came as a bolt from the blue to the poor cultivators. People were naturally led to believe that they were better off under the Marhattas than under the British.[40]

Thus the early years of the British occupation brought about disatrous changes in the economic and social life of the people. Large number of aristocratic and reputed Oriya families were ruinod and reduced to destitution and their lands were grabbed by unscrupulous proprietors who mercilessly exploited the cultivators. The settlements greatly affected the economic condition of tee Paiks, the landed militia of Orissa. "Deprived of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, they were subjected to the grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, Sarbarakars and other underlings, to whom our Government entrusted the collection of the revanue and also to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police."[41] All classes of people were thus seething with discontent on account of the corrupt administration and very soon there burst out a serious rebellion as a reaction to it. In March 1817 the Khonds of Ghumsur joined with the militant Paiks who raised the standard of rebellion and the Marhatta residents of Cuttack extended full support to the rising. Buxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar Bhramarbar Ray, the Commander-in-Chief of Mukundadeva-II, the last Raja of Khurdha, had been reduced to a pauper by the Bengali favourities of the British officers, and as no justice was forth-coming to redress his grievances he was forced to join this great revolution to which he gave a formidable leadership. The Buxi was hailed throughout the country as a national hero and the British Government with all the political powers and military resources at their command, utterly failed ta suppress him. The Paiks occupied Puri in the middle of April, 1817 and the Collector was forced to retire with the troops to Cuttack.

Subsequently,however, the rebellion cooled down and Jagabandhu Bidyadhar surrendered himself to the English in the year 1818. He was allowed to reside in Cuttack and was granted an allowance of Rs. 100/- P.M. till his death. He spent his last days in Buxibazar, which has been named after him, and an old tank hamed Buxi Pokhari indicetes till today the location of the house of this great hero in the heart of Cuttack.

The Paik rebellion brought about a great change in the policy of land revenue administration in Orissa and the British authorities gave serious attention to devise a stable system of settlement. Accordingly in 1835 a settlement was made for thirty years and liberal terms were offered to the proprietors and the cultivators to increase the cultivated areas. This system worked well for some years; but by the end of the 30 years term there broke-out a famine in 1865-66 which dev-astated the whole of Orissa. Although the monsoons failed in 1865 the complete apathy and negligence of the Government were the chief causes of this famine and so it was more of a man-made catastrophe than a natural one. The Government could not take adequate precaution for the seriousness of the sitution until the prisoners in the jail began to fast owing to shortage of rice. In June attempt was made to import rice from outside, but it was dropped in July, on account of monsoons. Tens of thousand of people, old and young, of both the sex died of starvation and large number of beggars and destitutes thronged in Cuttack which presented a ghastly spectacle. The famine of 1865-66 was no doubt, not new to Cuttack. This place had enough of experience of famines and starvation during the British rule in the past. Famines, for instance, had broken out in Cuttack in the years 1806,1808,1809, 1817, 1828, 1836, 1837 and 1842. But this particular famine, which is known as the "Na-anka'', because of its occurrence in the 9th *Anka* (reignal year) of Raja Divyasinghadeva of Puri, was of a colossal nature and the human misery and mortality in it were horrible and incalculable. Srl Pyarimohan Acharya, a public spirited man of Cuttack, who witnessed the horrors of famine has left the following description of it. "One feels stunned when one remembers the shocking events that took place at that time. It is quite impossible to give a faithful picture of the horrous of the famine that came accompanied by death itself. The towns were filled with the sorrowful shrieks of thosands of men, women and children who had been reduced to mere skeletons. The crematory grounds near the towns and villages were full of innumerable dead bodies and upon them the vultures and jackals feasted to their hearts' content. Men and women fore-sook their natural instincts owing to the unbearable pangs of hunger Parents cast away their

starving children before wild animals to be devoured by them. Some even ate the dead bodies of their own children like demons. Social evils such as murder, suicide etc. became a very common thing at the time. Some people tried to live upon wild shrubs and inedible materials".

Along with this great famine there came the devastating flood of the year 1866 which washed away the early rice-crop and completely submerged all types of cultivable lands. Like famines, floods were also a common source of calamity to the people of Cuttack, and" since 1830, floods of serious character have occurred no less than 28 times, viz. in 1831, 1834, 1848, 1851, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1862, 1863, 1866, 1868, 1872, 1874, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896 1900, 1907, 1911, 1913, 1920, 1926 and 1925".[47] Particularly the flood of 1806 caused wide-spread havoc because it visited in company of a disastrous famine and continued for a very long time—642 square miles of land being submerged for a period varying from 3 to 60 days. But the embankment remained in-tact.

The great famine and the great flood of 1865-66 broke down the lethargy of the British authorities whose sympathetic attention was not drawn to Orissa. It was evident that the relief measures of these critical years suffered greatly due to lamentable deficiency of communication. There was no regular communication between the sea coast and Cuttack and a traveller landing at false point found himself as far from Cuttack as if he had never started from Calcutta. The State of communication has been described by the famine Commissioners of 1887 as follows:—"There is a precarious traffic with Sambalpur by boats of a peculiar construction, which navigate the difficult river Mahanadi in the rainy season and for a month or two after; for the rest of the year this communication is closed. On the other side, the nature of the coast and the sea is such as effectually to stop all native traffic for major part of the year" With one exception—False Point—there is no protected anchorage of any kind, and that exception may be said to be in some sense almost a recent discovery. Such being the difficulties on either side of the length of Orissa, the only ordinary mode of communication with the outside world is by the route traversing its length. That, however, is so much intersected by the streams, already mentioned, and has been hitherto so little rendered practicable by art, that it is comparatively little used by wheeled carriages, pack bullocks still predominate at all times; in the rainy season wheeled trafic is quite impracticable; and when the rains are heavy even pack bullocks cannot be used. At this day the European Officer who cannot obtain a special steamer must find his way into Orissa slowly and tediously, as ancient

officers may have travelled in the days of Asoka and the very post takes several days between Calcutta and Cuttack.[43]

As an after effect of the great famine the Government gave serious consideration to remove the isolation of Cuttack from the outside world and at the same time to prevent the recurrence of such calamities in future. The Famine Commissoners reported that False Point and the prospect of being the best harbour between the Hooghly and Bombay and strongly urged upon the Government to give proper attention to its development. As a result of this, the harbour was surveyed and deepened and the Kendrapara canal was excavated in order to connect it with Cuttack. In 1875 a scheme was put forward to develop this harbour at a cost of Rs. 2,33,000 and the Government of Bengal moved the Government of India to extend the provisions of the Indian Ports Act to False Point. Unfortunately, however this scheme was given up the next year as the Superintendent of Marine Surveys declined to support such a costly measure.

The excavation of canals was given due attention by the East India Irrigation Company which was started as early as 1862. The general plan was to dig out a series of canals leading off from the weirs at Cuttack, running along the margins of the great rivers and having on the side next each river an embankment to keep out the floods. In the Mahanadi three separate weirs were built which were known as the Naraj, Mahanadi and Birupa weirs. "The Mahanadi weirs run across the head of the main branch of the Mahanadi at Jobra immediately below Cuttack and supplies water to the Taldanda Canal and its branch, the Machgaon Canal. It has a length of 6349 feet between its abutments, and is pierced with the sets of scouring sluices, one of which has been placed at the south end of the weir in order to prevent any accumulation of sand in front of the head sluices of the canal and the entrance to the Jobra lock, while the other is situated near the centre of the work and serves the purpose of keeping a deep water channel open for navigation in the pool about the weir." The High Level Canal branches off the Birupa weir. The original scheme was to extend this canal across Midnapur as far as the Hoogly, but unfortunately it was abandoned later. The Kendrapara Canal, which is the most important and the oldest one in the district of Cuttack was opened up in 1869 just above the Birupa weir at Jagatpur. The Gobri and the Pattamundai Canals which branch off from the Kendrapara Canal irrigate some of the richest lands in Orissa and protect them from the violent floods, while the Gobri provides trade communication between Cuttack and Chandbali. An alternative route from Cuttack to Chandbali via the Hansua Creek is provided

by the Taldanda Canal which starts from above the anicut at Jobra and gives off the Machgaon branch at Biribati.

Along with these waterways, roads were also opened up during the later part of the 19th century to provide Cuttack with the means of internal communication. The Jagannath Trunk Road which runs from Midnapore to Ganjam via Cuttack was, no doubt, completed long bofore the great famine of 1865-66 and the Cuttack-Sambalpur Road which was in working condition during the days of the Marhattas was improved and widened after the British occupation. The other important roads opened up after the famine are the Cuttack-Chandbali Road which runs via Kendrapara, the Cuttack Taldanda Road, which links up Cuttack with False Point, the Kandarpur-Machgaon Road which carries heavy traffic in grain, the Phulnakhara-Madhav Road which is also extended upto Puri, and the Cuttack-Sonepur Road which runs along the Mahanadi valley via Banki.

The Railway line of the B. N. R. was constructed through the coastal region of Orissa as a post-famine measure and it was opened in the year 1819. It connects Cuttack directly with Madras and Calcutta and provides enormous opportunities for trade and inland communication, thus creating facilities for the healthy growth of the township.

The Cuttack Municipality was constituted in 1876 with 30 members—24 elected, 4 ex-officio and 2 nominated by the Government. The Municipal Board took charge of lighting the town, of providing drinking water facilities medical relief and public instruction at primary stage. The Municipality also took charge of a few mileage of Road and it worked, although under great restrictions, to develop Cuttack into a modern town.

There was great change in education in Cuttack after the British occupation. Under the Mughals and the Marhattas education in Orissa was completely neglected and because of the great mass of illiteracy this territory has been described by the early British Administrators as the Boeotia of India. The official language prior to the British occupation was Persian and in 1805 orders were passed that correspondence with the natives was to be done in Oriya as well as in Persian. Following this orders a number of Oriyas were appointed as muharrirs but although they were much capable of writing on the palm leaf, they found good deal of difficulties in writing on paper with ordinary pens. The Magistrate of Cuttack in 1821 reports—"Scarcely a single real Oriya receives a salary more than Rs. 10/- per mensem, but several are naturalised Bengalis or Musalmans. I always give a preference to Oriyas, but at this moment

I scarcely know a single Oriya possessing qualifications to fit him for being a common muharrir"

The colossal illiteracy of the people and their obstinate aversion to learn in the modern system was a baffling problem in the early days of the British rule. The missionaries at first laboured hard to open up Schools to impart education, but their attempts were not so successful until 1838 when the Government, seriously thought of opening modern schools in Orissa. That year an English and a Sanskrit School were established at Puri which, however, failed to make satisfactory progress. In 1841 the first Government English School was opened up in Cuttack and it slowly progressed as the High English School of Cuttack until the great famine of 1865-66. After the famine the then Commissioner T. E. Ravenshaw gave sympathetic attention to this institution and it was by his determined effort that this School was converted into a College with Intermediate teaching in 1868. Ten years after that it was raised to a first grade College with degree classes, and it was named after Mr. Ravenshaw, I. C. S., the Commissioner of Cuttack. The Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, Krishna Chandra Bhanj Deo made a generous gift of Rs. 25,000/- towards the maintenance of the College to which the law Department was subsequently added in 1881. The great new building of the College in Chakrachand Bazar with the Arts Block and the Science Block, including the Physics, Chemistry and Botany Laboratories and with a large playground and Hindu and Muhammadan hostels was opened in 1921, and the Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika opened in it the Kanika Library, while in 1925 the College was provided with electricity on a donation of one lakh of rupees by the late Maharaja Purna Chandra Bhanj Deo of Mayurbhanj.

The Orissa Medical School was established in 1875 following the establishment of the Cuttack General Hospital in 1874. in 1923 two new educational institutions were opened up in Cuttack, one is the Cuttack Training College for training the secondary school teachers and the other, the Orissa School of Engineering, developed out of the Old Survey School, separated from the Ravenshaw College in 1915 and from the Government Workshop at Jobra.

Cuttack has all along been enjoying the unique privilege of being the administrative and the commercial nerve centre of Orissa. It was the seat of the Commissioner, Orissa Division till 1936, and with the formation of the Province of Orissa during that year it was exalted to be the headquarters of the new Province. The historic Lalbag Palace, which was being

occupied by the Commissioner, became the Government Hosue. It has been described by late R. C. Dutta, I. C. S., one time Commissioner of Orissa as the best Commissioner's residence so far as the natural setting is concerned. The State Government has selected Bhubaneswar situated at a distance of 18 miles from Cuttack, as its new capital in accordance with a plan of Greater Cuttack which idea had its inspirations from Dr. H. K. Mahtab, the then Chief Minister of Orissa. The Commercial importance of Cuttack still continues unabated as it provides the only outlet for its rich hinterland namely the eastern ex-feudatory State and the coastal area of the district. The Ravenshaw College which is one of the oldest Colleges of India, are located at Cuttack. This College provides teaching facilities upto the Post Graduate level in many subjects both in Science and in Humanities. The College building is regarded as one of the best in Asia. Cuttack has also a few other Arts and Science Colleges (including a Women's College and several professional institutions such as a Training College, Medical College, an Engineering School). This city is reputed all over the country for its exquisite and delicate filigree works, its arristic horn works and the fine and colourful textiles manufactured here. The town of Chaudwar on the other side Mahanadi is fast developing into an industrial suburb of this city with its Textile Mills, the Thermal Station, Charge Chrome Factory and a paper mill. The State Government, which has taken over the municipality, has undertaken an extensive road-improvement programme and the City with its population of about 4 lakhs will soon develop into a really modern city. A stadium known as the Barabati Stadium erected in the famous *Killa Maidan* near the Barabati Fort and an Indoor Stadium named after Jawaharlal Nehru have been built in the ramparts of the Barabati Fort. The High Court Building on the Kathjuri is another impressive structure in the city.

Last, but not the least, but for the wonderful stone revetments constructed along the banks of the Mahanadi and Kathjuri about a thousand years ago by a monarch of the Kesari dynasty called Markat Kesari (according to tradition and the Madalapanji) Cuttack would have long ago been washed away by the devastating flood of those two rivers. It is true that successive Governments like these of the Mughals, the Marhattas and the British have kept the stone embankments under repairs but alas ! the stately palace of Malcandy which surprised Abul Fazl, Bruton and La Motte is no more. The nine storeyed palace and the fort walls have been distroyed by the British administrators. Some say that the nine storeyed palace was not really a palace of nine storeys but nine palaces built one after the other continuously.

Thus Cuttack is as it were a bridge linking together the past, present and future of Orissa. Its roots go deep to the hoary past, but unlike many of the old cities, it is not in decay of ruins. It is pulsating with a new life, and one can reasonably hope that with its increasing importance and under the fostering care of its people and the Government it will develop into one of the most attractive cities on the eastern coast of India. Borrowing a line of Lord Tennyson we may add that "the city built to music, was never built and will be built for ever".[44,45]

REFERENCES

1. This Abhinava (new) Baranasi may be an imitation of Baranasi of U. P. or of the Ganjam district near Parlakimedi.
2. It is probably because of this that Cuttack is sometimes known as "Pancha Kataka" The word "Pancha Kataka" may also mean five different Katakas (Cantonments) viz. Chudwar Kataka, Baranasi Kataka, Sarangagada Kataka, Kasiagada Kataka and Amaravati Kataka.
3. Che-li-ta-lo—an ancient port in the Orissan coast mentioned by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang in the 7th Century A. D. Its proper identification and location are still in doubt. Most probably it is Srikshetra, modern Puri.
4. Palura—another ancient port in the Orissan coast. It is identified by the French scholar Sylvain Levy with Dantapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga.
5. Tamralipti is modern Tamluk in West Bengal. This was also a flourishing port in the coast of ancient Orissa.
6. Stirling's Orissa, P. 70.
7. Ibid,
8. Ibid, P. 69.

   * Note:—Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns Janamejaya to middle of the 10th Century A. D. and Yayati to 976-1000 A. D. (vide O. H. R. J. Vol. I, No. 4, P. 239). —Jt. Editor

9. Pt. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, P. 75.
10. Dr. H. K. Mahatab, History of Orissa, I. P. 60.
11. S. I. I. Vol, V. No. 1335.
12. Stirling's Orissa, P. 71.
13. A. B. Mohanty, Madala Panji, P. 27

14. Stirling, Op. Cit.
15. E. I. Vol. XXVIII pp. 235 ff.
16. *Ibid.*
17 Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories, P. 55.
18. Tabaqati Nasiri, Eng. Trans. by Major Raverty Vol. I. P. 574.
19. *Ibid*, P. 587.
20. J. A. S. B. (Old series), Vol. IXVII, 1898, Part I, PP. 322—26.
21. Tabaquat Op. Cit., PP. 738—39.
22. Elliot and Dowson, *Tmarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* Vol. III, P. 113.
23. *Ibid*, P. 234.
24. O. H. R. J. Vol. I.. Part. I, vide the article of Dr. H. K. Mahatab in PP. 31—35.
25. Elliot and Dowson, Op-Cit, PP. 212—216.

    * Adayat refers to Dhanu Deva.
26. Elliot, *History of India.* Vol. III, P. 312.
27 Briggs, *Ferishta.* Vol. IV, P. 179.
28. Briggs, *ibid.* R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. I. P. 287
29. P. Mukherjee, *Gajapati Kings of Orissa.* P. 93.
30. See also R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* P. 241.
31. Vide " Notes on History of Orissa" *J. A. S. B.*, 1383.
32. *Ain-i-Akbari.* Vol. II, PP. 126-27.
33. *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* Vol. I, P. 7.
34. Till now historians explained the word of 'Malcandy' as derived from Mukunda Deva, Prof. G. S. Das in his article "History of Lalbag" has conclusively proved that 'Malcandy' is a later misprint of 'Mahanadi' vide his article on 'Palace of Lalbag' in Sir J. N. Sirkar commemoration volume planned by the East Punjab University.
35. Early Annals, Op. Cit.
36. Early European travellers in the Nagpur Territories, P. 17
37. Letter from M.rquiss of Wellesley to Major General Wellesley, 27th June, 1803, Paras 7 & 8.

38. Toyanbee—History of Orissa.
39. D. & O. District Gazetteer, Cuttack P. 170.
40. According to Mr. Ewer two-thirds of the Oriya Zamindars were completely wiped out and replaced by Bengali Zamindars within first fourteen years of British rule.
41. Ibid, P. 39.
42. Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack, P. 127.
43. Quoted in the Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack P. 160.
44. Lord Tennyson's Gareth and Lynetts.
45. Slightly Edited.

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Military Significance of Cuttack

Dr. H. C. Das

INTRODUCTION

Military significance of a region or a kingdom, particularly of the past rested on certain basic factors, such as character of its people, personality and statesmanship of the monarch, the tradition of national spirit handed down from generation to generation, economic prosperity, natural bounty, geographical and natural phenomena, the number and magnitude of forts and strongholds located in the vulnerable points for offence and defence, the military strength of the army consisting of *chaturangabala*-infantry, cavalry, elephantry and chariots., well connected Rajapathas etc. it is an established fact that the more militarily strong a country, the more powerful it is. The royal dynasty that ruled over their respective kingdoms in the ancient and medieval epochs paid utmost attention to military strength as they constantly remained engaged in fighting against neighbouring rulers. The history of India in general and the history of different regions in particular are replete with events of rise and fall of dynasties, their miraculous achievements to keep up the honour, prestige, glory and prosperity of the kingdom, their contribution to religion and culture which find expression through the inscriptions and stupendous monuments. Through the vicissitude of time the glorious dynasties are gone by, but multitude of their monuments of religious and secular in character still stand in different stages of preservation to tell the posterity their splendid achievements in all facets of culture.[1]

Of the different geographical regions that built up the multifaceted Indian civilization, Orissa or the ancient Kalinga (the present state of Orissa is a portion of the vast Kalingan empire) in the eastern sea-board occupies a prominent position militarily and culturally. Situated in a commanding geographical position on the Bay of Bengal covering an extensive territory between Ganga and Godabari, Kaeinga played a very conspicuous and vital role in the cultural assimilation of North and South and in the oceanic adventure of India, provided veritable cradle-ground for flourescence of main stream of Indian religions, such as Buddhism,

Jainism, Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism, acted as a furnace to boil and melt into one, all the diverse religions and different ideologies, extended opportunities to her adventurous in-habitants to carry on maritime activities with the far-off islands af Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali and Malay and eventually to colonize the lands identifying them in the history of India as the pioneers of indian colonization through a series of navigable ports like Palur, Kalingnagar, Naingaina, Kannagar, Madaina, Tamralipti etc. bringing prosperity to the nation, had beautiful and boundless wealth of nature energing her brave sons to be military race, diffused her cultural wealth to far off places as far as China, Ceylon, Malayasia archipelago alongwith her merchandise and last but not the least, embraced what was good in the cultures of other peoples of the country. When the peoples of other parts of India were fighting against each other and against the foreign invadors the people of Kalinga enjoyed peace and prosperity in a vast empire and proved beyond doubt their capability, adventure, and bravery in numerous wars and battles fought against the stubborn enemies since the time of Asoka till the advent of Britishers by pushing forward the extent of boundaries to all quarters through their military forces consisting of four traditional divisions namely, infantry, cavalry, elephant corps and chariots.

History of Kalinga all through, is a history of military chivalrous war-fare. Militarism of this heroic land rested on illustrious personalities at the helm of affairs, the characters of her sturdy, stubborn and adventurous people, the geographical phenomena, favourable natural bounties and lastly the innumerable herds of elephants of high breed provided by her vast and dense forest. Her invincible military force was a terror to the enemies. Another peculiar feature of Kalingan empire lies in its continuance over a span of 2000 years ultimately reaching the climax during the time of Kapilendra Deva, the last greatest emperor.[2] When the entire India had come under the control of Islam, Kalinga remained as a strong empire for hundreds of years. She was the last great empire of the Hindu India.

The military history of Kalinga can clearly be traced from the time of Asoka (3rd Century B. C.), whose disastrous Kalinga war (261 B. C.) resulted in the loss of independence of Kalinga, in transformation of 'Chandasoka' to 'Dharmasoka' and spread of Buddhism as a state religion in India. The royal dynasties which successively ruled over Kalinga right from the Mahameghavahana Kharavela to the Gajapatis in the 16th Century A. D. not only maintained the military glory but also enhanced its significance in the whole of India. The people of Kalinga were sturdy and

chivalrous and braved for the mother-land; the illustrious monarchs utilised the services of the loyal subjects in upholding the political suzerainty and military strength of the country. The role of celebrated monarchs like Kharavela, Subhakara Deva, Yayati-I and II, Chodaganga Deva Anangabhima Deva III, Narasimha Deva-I and Gajapati Kapilendra Deva in consolidation of the Kalingan empire can be cited for instance. The long continued martial tradition all along encouraged the people to maintain the martial glory of the nation. "Nowhere in India is to be found two diverse peoples like the Dravidians and the Aryans living side by side and amalgamating each other into one people as there. The credit for such a wonderful phenomenon goes to the Indian geography which gave Kalinga such a wonderful situation. All through ages the swarms of Ideas have swept through Kalinga from north to the south and vice versa. Great religious movements of north and south have made theirway through Kalinga towards opposite directions. And all along her history Kalinga has acted as a veritable furnace to boil and melt into one all the diverse religions and different ideologies of India."[2]

The geographical situation is greatly responsible for Kalinga's prosperity. The Kalingans were one of the most enterprising and prosperous peoples of India because of the commanding geographical situation of the country. "With the vast land mass of Aryavarta on her back, with the fertile valley of Ganga-Brahmaputra on one side and the Godavari-Krishna,Doab on the other and with the mighty water mass of Indian ocean at her feet,Kalinga enjoyed a commanding geographical position. Guarding the land between the impossible Vindhyas and the seas, she was the gateway between Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha. Guarding the seas, she was the gateway between India and further Asia. As a result of this strategy Kalinga played a vital role in the cultural fusion of North and South as well as in the oceanic adventure of India. Add to this fortunate situation of Kalinga in the map of India, Kalinga had a better climatic advantage to her merit over most parts of India. The Indian ocean provided her with an equable climate, the tropic gave her abundant rain, innumerable small and big rivers that cut through her rendered her into a bed of alluvium. Nature's bounty gave men ample wealth and leisure out of which, as it has been everywhere in rich climates, grew up a very luxuribus culture."[3]

Kalinga was immensely prosperous for her cultural and commercial contacts with the further Asia. The prosperous land being the gateway of India in the ancient and medieval ages played a very conspicnous role in maritime trade. In the dawn of Indian history the people of Kalinga were

pioneers of Indian colonisation in the Indian archipelago. The Buddhist Jatakas aver that a prince of Kalinga colonized Ceylon shortly after the death of Buddha. The people of Tri-Kalinga colonized Burma in the pre-Christain era in a large scale. "The principal inhabitants of lower Burma are called as the Talaings even today, a name that had been derived from the word Tri-Kalinga. To the north of the Talaing area lay another Hinduised kingdom with Srikshetra as its capital. The name Srikshetra in Kalinga with its name sake in Burma suggests a colonial and cultural relation between the two countries. As regards Kalinga and the Malayasia the relations were too deep and too potential. Long before the Christian era, settlers from Kalinga entered into the islands of Java and settled there. Since then the contact became frequent. In later times continuous flow of Kalingan emigrants streamed into Java. By the 6th and 7th century A.D. a very powerful kingdom had been already established by the settlers from Kalinga in the very heart of Java. This kingdom had its name as Kalinga what the Chinese called as Holing. The climax of colonisation however was reached in the 8th century A.D. About the beginning of this century the imperial Sailodbhavas of Kalinga migrated into Java and with the help of the early Kalinga settlers of that country they established there a powerful ruling dynasty of their own. This was the famous Sailendra dynasty of Subarnadwipa. The age of the Sailendras was the golden age of the Javanese history. In its hey-day the dynasty united most of the small states in the islands of the far east under its powerful sceptre. The kingdoms of Sumatra, Bali and the Malaya Peninsula formed parts of the Sailendra empire. A new and briliant civilisation was introduced by the Sailendras in Subarnadwipa. Splendid monuments of Chandi-Kalasan and Barabudur stand till today to proclaim to the world in glowing terms the pomp and splendour of the Sailendra civilisation, a civilisation that was a daughter civilisation of the civilisation of Kalinga. Beyond the Indian Archipelago lay Cambodia and Annam. Remains of the Hindu civilisation are ample in these lands to prove their age-long relation with India. It was through the Sailendra empire that Kalinga lighted out her civilisation to these far off lands."[4]

According to Sylvan Levi, a great French sinologist the king of Orissa, Subhakar Deva of the Bhauma dynasty sent an autograph manuscript of his philosophical treatise 'Gandavyuha' to the Chinese emperor Te-Tsong (785-850 A.D.) in 795 A.D. through a famous Buddhist monk Prajna who was studying philosophy of Yoga in the monastery of Orissa.[5]

Forts or Durga played significant role in the Indian warfare. The history of the art of fortification in India is traced from the pre-historic

period. The Mahabharata furnishes a graphic picture of encampment and the forts including their types. In this text we come across six types of forts (i) *Dhana Durga.* (ii) *Mahi Durga.* (iii) *Giri Durga.* (iv) *Manusya Durga.* (v) *Jala Durga.*[6] The Vana Parva describes the city of Dwaraka was well-fortified with pennons and arches, combatants and carriages. All the entrances and main streets of the city were barricaded with wood. All troups of dancers and singers were driven out of the city. And all bridges over rivers were destroyed and boats forbidden to ply and trenches (around the city) were spiked with poles at the bottom. And the land around the city for two miles was rendered uneven and holes and pits were dug thereon, combustibles were scattered below the surface. In course of advising Judhisthir, Bhisma indicated that the city of the king should be protected by all types of forts noted above. The city should be circumscribed by strongly built ramparts and deep moats. The royal city should be well-garrisoned with cavalry, elephantry, chariots and abundant weapons and materials of daily use and should have water supply. The defences of Magadhapur, the capital of Jarasandha, finds a lucid description in the following manner.[7]

Similar to the Mahabharata, Ramayana is also replete with description of fort-cities of Ayodhya and Lanka. The types of forts recorded in the Ramayana are *Nadya* (river fort), *Parvatya* (hill fort), *Vana* (jungle fort) and *Kritrima* (artificial fort). The description of the city of Ayodhya runs as follows.

Here walls extend
Twelve measured leagues from end to end

× × ×

High are her ramparts, strong and vast,
By ways at even distance passed,
With circling moat, both deep and wide,
And store of weapons fortified.[8]

The city of Lanka was well protected from all sides with the sky-kissing rampart encircled by deep moat full of crocodiles and dangerous animals. At the time of Alexander's invasion the towns and forts of the Hindu chiefs were well-fortified with defences of varying solidity.[9] By the time of Megasthenes' visit to India (during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya) the city of Pataliputra on the junction of the Sona and the Ganga was by far the largest city of India, a long narrow parallelogram in shape measuring about nine and one fifth miles in length and one and a half mile

in breadth. It was not defended by any brick wall, but by a massive wooden palisade, pierced by sixty-four gates and crowned by five hundred and seventy towers. The Palisade had loopholes for the archers to shoot through and outside there was a ditch, 30 cubits deep and 400 cubits (6 plethra) broad. The ditch was filled from the waters of the Sona.[10]

Kautilya's Arthasastra is considered to be one of the most important texts on fortification. To him fort was considered as one of the seven important constituent elements of the State. Emphasing the important strongholds he says: "for it is in the fort that the treasury and the army are safely kept and it is from the fort that secret war (intrigue), control over one's partisans, the upkeep of the army, the reception of allies and the driving out of enemies are successfully practised. In the absence of forts, the treasury is to the enemy, for it seems that for those who own forts, there is no destruction."[11] Elsewhere he speaks in detail about the construction of the forts in the following words: "In the construction of the rampart care should be taken that on the outer portions there should be no space whatsoever for movement of any sort and the few openings allowed should be covered with invisible obstructions. On the inner side of these ramparts there must be two platforms on opposite sides, a big hall, two upper stories provided with an ascending and a descending staircase, iron bolts, massive beams and turrets being thrown over the huge gates."[12] On the ground of their location he classified forts under four broad heads viz *Parvata* (Hill fort-located on a rocky bed or built in the midst of an encircling hill ranges) *Audaka* (Water fort) situated on island of the river or on a plain), *Dhanavana* (Desert fort-situated either in a desert or in wild tract devoid of natural facilities), and *Vana Durga* (Forest forts-in the midst of forest encompassed by thickly set tall trees). He gives more stress on the hill fort which is the most unassailable and is more advantageous than any other variety. He justifies his statement in this regard explaining, "Of two fortified kings, he says, one who has his forts on a a plain is more easily reduced than the other owning a fort in the centre of a river, for a fort in a plain can be easily assailed, destroyed or captured along-with the enemy in it, whereas fort surrounded by a river requires twice as much effort to capture, and supplies the enemy with water and other necessaries of life. Again, of two kings, one owning a fort surrounded by a river, and another having mountainous fortifications, seizing the formers land is better, for a fort in the centre of a river can be assailed by a bridge formed of elephants made to stand in a row in the river, or by wooden bridges, or by means of boats; and the river will not always be deep and can be emptied of its water, whereas a fort on a mountain is of a self-defensive

nature, and not easy to besiege or to ascend; and where if one portion of the army defending it through the other portions can escape unhurt, and such a fort is of immense service, as it affords facilities to throw down heaps of stone and trees over the enemy.[13] Kautilya further elucidates the shape of the fort, its boundaries, its ditches including their contents, the measurements of all the segments, the methods of construction of the ramparts, the constructions of roads and buildings within the fort, the list of weapons, the storage of the food stuff, other necessaries, etc.

The system of fortification described by Kautilya more or less continued during the next one thousand years or more. On the basis of the account of the Chinese pilgrims, early Muslim chronicles and the stray archaeological evidences, it can be concluded that the character of the permanet defences around the forts and cities remained almost unaltered for a long time, although there was tendency to increase the dimensions. The height and strength of the forts were more taken care of. In the subsequent period it became a trend to construct more forts in the strategic locations. Because of hill forts the Muslim invaders had to face difficulties in conquering some of the kingdoms. Sultan Mahmud failed to conquer Kashmir due to impregnable fortress of Rajgiri and Lahor.[14] The invulnerable forts of Udayagiri, Vellomakunda, Kondavidu, Nagarjunakonda, etc., in the south and the fortresses of Mandarana, Kotsima, Raibania, Remuna, the Panchakatakas on the coastal plain in the north enabled the rulers of Kalinga to maintain their suzerainty against the powerful foreign invaders. Of the important hill fortress constructed in northern India during the early Muhahammadan invasion most celebrated were Kalinjar, Ajayagarh, Ghitorgarh, etc. Kalinjar was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexandria.[15]

Leaving aside these, the forts on the plains were no less important. It became a general practice in all parts of India in the early century of the Christian era and in the subsequent period also to fortify all types of towns." ...the testimony of archaeology-that to the last days of our period the wall with towers remained the leading idea of fortification. The towers provided flanking fire along the front, they also afforded refuges for the garrison in case of a successful ascalade, and from them the platform could be easily enfiladed. Usually, too, but not invariably, the wall was reinforced by a ditch, which had three advantages: it increased the height of the obstacle, made the beginning up of the engines of attack more difficult, and supplied material for the filling of the wall.[16]

While establishing a fortified city or a military stronghold the above-noted salient factors were taken into consideration. A planned lay-out, regular roads and streets, drains, fortifications, markets, religious edifices, kiln-burut residences of the royalty and nobility were some of the elements which distinguished an ancient city. Excavation of some of the fortified cities of ancient and medieval India reveal that these developed on the river valleys, sacred places, hill sites and at the places of strategic importance. Of the many excavated ancient cities of India mention may be made of Rupar on the bank of Sutlej exposing township of the Sungas, Kushanas, and Guptas, Ahichchhatra (the capital of the north panchala (according to the Mahabharata) in Ramnagar, Uttar Pradesh, Hastinapura the legendary capital of the heroes of the Mahabharata (in Meerut district) situated on the desterted bank of the Ganga bringing to light brick buildings of a township with numerous antiquities, Kausambi one of the earliest cities in north India on the bank of Yamuna (52 km. south-west of Allahabad) revealing a city of more than 20 sq. kms. enclosed within a rectangular massive fortification wall consisted in the earlier stage of a mud rampart-well with a burnt-brick revetment on the exterior and in the later phase a raised rampart and a secondary rampart outside the first one with guard-rooms, bastions and a stone-paved corbelled drain and an extensive stone palane covering an area of 315 by 150 m, Rajghat (the ancient town of Varanasi known as one of the 16 Maha-Janapadas) bringing to light several ancient structures and many relics such as a long mud-wall spreading to the natural soil, an excavated channel connecting the Varuna with Ganga, Rajgir or Rajagriha (100 km south-east of Patna in Bihar), the ancient capital of Magadha situated on a long valley with natural defences provided by the engirdled hills and high rampart of rubble running over the hills (about 40 kms in circuit) exposing within the area several massive structures of a fortified town consisting of a stone-paved path-way, ascending the Cridhrakuta, a monastery believed to have been erected for Buddha, Brahamanical images of the Gupta period etc., Patna or Pataliputra, one of the ancient cities of the central Ganga basin, capital of Magadha from the time of Ajatasatru, according to Megasthenes a flourishing city on a confluence of the Ganga and son, 14.5 km in length and 2 kms in width enclosed by a wooden palisade bringing to light the structural remains and antiquities from the Maurya to Gupta periods, the K. P. Jayaswal Institute strikingly revealing through excavation a hall of 84 pillars and a monastic establishment at Kumrahar and several structures made of bricks and wood, Vaisali, the birth-place of Mahavira and the capital of oligarchical Lichhavis from early times exposing three city-walls, remains of several stupas outside the

fortifications, Ujjain, one of the sixteen Maha-Janapadas, the capital of Avanti ruled by a king Pradyota (contemporary of Buddha) situated on the bank of river Sipra revealing a massive rampart with an extent basal width of 75 m. and height of 13m. in the shape of a parallelogram with a moat 24m. wide around and structural remains consisting of mud brick and kiln-burnt brick, a large tank (10m by 8m) and a canal exposed to the extent of 56m (both brick-built) a tile roofed mud-built work-shop for manufacture of beads of stone, arrow-heads, knitting-needles of bone, Maheswar and Navdatoli on the southern and northern banks of Narmada respectively (Maheswar identified with Mahismati), once the capital of Avanti indicating habitation from the early stone age to the historic period with structures made of kiln-burnt bricks, Nasik on the southern bank of Godavari, Nevasa on the Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari, Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar exposing a fortified town with gateways, watch towers etc. which bespeak clearly the history of fortified cities of ancient India. Most of the forts of the past are located on the river valleys.[17]

CUTTACK

Situated in a commanding geographical position on the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi which alongwith its tributary Kathjudi provided natural protection, Cuttack was considered an ideal place for a fortified capital. "The scenery of the town on its south, west and north is very lively due to appearance of forest clad hill on the far off horizon on all the three sides as far as the eye can reach, and this pleasing prospect of the town gives a permanent impression on the mind of the visitors. The geographical position of Cuttack as a town at the bifurcation of a river is unique in India, where all big towns are generally situated at the junction of two rivers which was called in Sanskrit as Pattana. The geographical situation of Cuttack is such that it served as the only narrow strip of the land route of the country and as such people coming from the north to south or from south to north had no other alternative but to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack. The hill range to the west and wide rivers to the east of Cuttack exclude all possibility of the alignment of the high way from north to south and it seems that the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha had to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack and the same route was traversed by Kharavela at the time of his Magadha campaign. Neither the Dhauli rock edict of Asoka nor the rock inscription of Kharvela mentions any high way from Kalinga or Orissa to Magadha. The route of communication from the Central India lay through by the valley of the Mahanadi and terminated at Cuttack."[18]

In the analogy of the ancient fortified cities and towns of India, Cuttack, due to its strategic location, must have flourished as a fortified town from the ancient times, in fact, before the recorded history in 989 A.D. Its military significance can be well understood from the connotation of the word 'Kataka' which means military camp and the fort or capital or the seat of the Government protected by the army.[19] One important thing in this connection is that a town or a fort or a religious edifice is generally installed in a place which had already earned name and fame from the past period. As for example, the present temples of Lingaraj (at Bhubaneswar) and Jagannath (at Puri) evidently were erected on the earlier ruins, in fact, taking into account, the sanctity of the places. As such Cuttack is not an exception to this proposition.

According to the Madalapanji ''Raja Nrupa Keshari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack about A.D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with the material (probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen) to protect the new capital from inundation in 1006 A.D.''[20] Now the question arises in regard to the identification of two important personalities—Nrupa Kesari and Markata Kesari whose names have not been included in the genealogical table of the Somavamsi Kings. At the same time historical truth of the Madalapanji cannot possibly be ruled out, as many of the incidents recorded in this text are historically authentic. For identification of these two illustrious the political condition of Orissa during the period from 989 to 1006 A.D. needs a little elucidation. The rule of two Somavamsi kings Dharmaratha (980-1005 A.D.) and Nahusa (1005-1021 A.D.) is synchronous with the events of establishment of capital city at Cuttack and construction of revetment for protection of the city from natural calamity. During the reign of the former (Dharmaratha) Indraratha (most likely his son) was practically in charge of administration. To check the inroads of contemporary neighbouring powers he installed a fort at Cuttack. Indraratha came in conflict with the Chola army and the Paramara Bhoja of Malwa. Being envious of the prosperity and power of the Somavamsis the Cholas and the Paramaras made sustained effort to attack Utkal.[21] For the purpose of defence he (Indraratha) made an alliance with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Yayatinagar then the seat of administration was not centrally located in the vast kingdom of Utkal. Hence the shrewed statesman of great determination and military genius thought it prudent

to establish a capital city at Cuttack which was protected by river in three sides and geographically suitable to check the inroads of enemies from all quarters. He was also a great builder and patron of learning as is gleaned from his C.P. grant of Banapur. He is credited with the construction of Rajrani temple (original name is Indresvara after the king Indraratha) at Bhubâneswar.' In view of the contemporary political and archaeological evidence Indraratha may be identified with Nrupa Keshari of Madalapanji. Nrupa (king) might be another name of the king Indrarath. Thus the establishment of the new capital by Nrupa Keshari, in fact, was a political necessity. Prof. M. N. Das is of the view that Nrupa Keshari transferred the capital from Bhubaneswar to Cuttack. "We have already seen the early three Keshari capitals, one at Chawduar, the second one at Jajpur and the next at Bhubaneswar. Nrupa Keshari built yet a fourth capital. A new city and a strong fort were constructed on the plain land between the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori and the capital was transferred from Bhubaneswar to this new city. It seems as if the Keshari emperors of Kalinga had a peculiar temptation to construct large cities and transfer their capitals very frequently from the old to the new. Nrupa Keshari named his new capital as Baranasi Katak or Benares Cuttack. The transfer of capital from Bhubaneswar by no means reduced the importance of that place. Because Bhubaneswar by this time had already become the acknowledged centre of Brahmanism in India and a place of pilgrimage for millions. The future kings of Keshari dynasty or of other dynasties went on adding new temples to the number of existing many and the fame of Bhubaneswar increased day by day as the time proceeded. The transfer of the secular activities of the state from Bhubaneswar, therefore, by no means affected its well established religious importance, while on the other hand, a new capital city of an outstanding importance and fame came into existence at the strategic corner of Cuttack. From the time of Nrupa Keshari onward the city of Cuttack remained as an unrivalled political centre of Kalinga and through innumerable political storms, rise and decay, national prosperities and foreign dominations Cuttack has never lost its position as the political stronghold of Orissa. Though the city of Benares Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari is no more in existence, yet the modern city of Cuttack can boast of its origin from that capital city of Nrupa Keshari."[22]

We are not sure whether Nrupa Keshari transferred the capital from Yayatinagar or Bhubaneswar, but the fact remains that he established the capital at Cuttack in 989 A.M. for better administration and offence and defence of the vast empire.

As regards identification of Markata Keshari K. C. Panigrahi[23] is of the view that he (Markata) was the abbreviation of Unnata who was the progenitor of the Bhaumas (known from their copper plate grants). He ruled in the 8th century A. D. and as such based on the tradition Cuttack city must have been established by the eigth century A. D. He further substantiates his view-point referring to the antiquarian remains of Cuttack and its vicinity. His statement with regard to the establishment of Cuttack city before 8th century A. D. may not be tenable in view of the scanty evidence. We have to wait till further data are unearthed through excavation (already undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India in the Barabati fort area from 1st December 1989).

Markata Keshari, the builder of the stone revetment may safely be identified with Nahusa (1005-1021 A. D) or Mahabhavagupta III (according to some scholars[24]) who issued his copper plate grants from Vijaya Kataka (identified with Cuttack). The Narasimhapur charter[25] refers to Nahusa as the overlord of the country and celebrated ornament of the earth. "His (Nahusa's) rod like hand, being adorned with the tongue of (double edged) sword, resembled the snake when took the air separated from the throat of enemy's soldiers (who are slain)[26] Nahusa was a powerful monarch, had to face three adversaries the Paramaras, the Cholas and the Kalachuris."

In order to save the political stronghold of Orissa from natural calamities and from the enemies in the south, west and north Markata Keshari caused construction of the stone embankment. "The New Capital at Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari was soon discovered to be under a grave and constant peril. The capital was exposed to a severe type of high flood both from the river Mahanadi on one side and the river Kathjori on the other. Situated on a low land between the two biggest rivers of Kalinga, Cuttack could not guarantee a security of life to her teeming population. But the Keshari king was too great an engineer to save his capital from the threat of flood. Strong and huge stone embankments were raised on either side of Cuttack, facing river Mahanadi on the right and Kathjori on the left. The stone embankments of Cuttack are really a unique feat of the ancient engineering skill of Kalinga. Defying the fury of flood year in and year out for hundreds of years,these embankments protect the city of Cuttack from utter demolition up till now. Standing from the depth of water the gigantic embankments present a fort like massive appearance to an observer from the opposite side of the river or to one who looks towards Cuttack from the incoming or outgoing trains of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway while on the Mahanadi or the Kathjori bridge. The mortar

used in keeping the stones together by the master builders of that time is yet a challenge to the modern masonry. The exchequer of Markat Keshari must have spent a huge amount in the construction of that peerless work. In no part of India can there be found such a unique project for the protection of a city. Undoubted as it is, if the city of Cuttack has flourished through ages, it is for an undying success in stone achieved by the public works department of Markata Keshari."[27] The stone revetment of Markata Keshari was repaired, renovated and reconstructed from time to time (even changing its course according to requirement), thus blurring the original structure. Early European travellers and the British Engineers have left behind short accounts of the revetment which shed further light on the condition of the structure and the steps taken during the British period for its repair. It is learnt from Leckei's Journal in 1770 then the river Kathjuri was flowing at a place south of the Dhabaleswar temple. "About two miles from Cuttack at the foot of a Hindu temple the Cutijora, separating itself from the Mahanaddy, flows to the southward of the town".[28]

The stone revetment of Cuttack, a unique engineering work second to none in India attracted the attention of the British Government. Lieutenant John C. Harrish, a Bengal Engineer in study of the devastating flood of the Kathjodi and Mahanadi rivers in 1855 submitted a report to the Government indicating its disastrous effect of flood on the Cuttack town and suggested remedial measures. The report is quoted here for reference.

"The revetment may be described as an irregular line of masonry, partaking of the character of a wall in some portions of a simple casing in others, constructed of large blocks of laterite and sandstone, set in mud cement and painted with lime plaster exteriorly, the weight of its crest varying from 17 to 36 feet above the low waterline and width at top and bottom respectively from 3 to 4 and 5 to 8 feet"

"Upon what foundations this wall rests, is matter of the purest speculation at this day. It is not known in fact to have any foundations whatsoever, other than such as it has formed for itself by settlements, either gradual, owing to the action of gravity upon the loose soil beneath it, reduce as this is, during floods to a semi-fluid state or again bodily, in the form of breaches after the subsidence of the waters"

"All evidence that I can obtain from history, traditions and from nature, is in favour of the supposition that the Katjooree's breadth has increased amazingly in size since the period of the foundation of Cuttack. The measure of the change is in determinate,as is the period it has occupied

nature in effect it; but as the mind can comprehend the lapse of time, so can the change be comprehended to have taken place. The Katjooree has doubtless sprung from nothing, originally risen from insignificance within the space of a few centuries. Such is my belief; such, I trust, will be found that of all interested in my theme".[29]

Colonel H. Goodwyn, the Chief Engineer's recommendation for repair of the embankment is very important and hence is attracted here. "The Cuttack revetment has this year (1847) given way in-several places and understand that its restoration will cost not less than 3,90,995 Rupees. The Mahanadi river, which is said to rise near Bastar enters the plains at the station of Cuttack, throwing off its tributary, the Katjooree to the south of the town. In the rains the torrents descend with fearful rapidity and to protect the town from innudation on the southwards this solid embankment was constructed by the Mughal Government in the reign of Jahangir 225 years ago and has been always kept in repair by our Government".[30] "The stone revetment is a horse shoe pattern. It begins on the left bank of Katjuri from near Purighat and stretches westward as far as the Chahataghat of the Mahanadi and then stretches on the right bank of the Mahanadi upto Jobraghat. This continuity of the revetment indicates that at the time when the revetment was made at the bifurcation of the Katjuri river from the Mahanadi; otherwise there is no reason why so much labour and material were utilised for erecting the revetment from the Chahataghat to Satichaura burial grounds. The Katjuri river has receded from the opposite bank of the Chahataghat to Naraj since the time of erection of the abatement. From Lt. Harrish's report it is learnt that Kathjuri was widened one-third of a mile within a period of 15 years".[31]

The above accounts relate that the original revetment erected by Markat Keshari has been repaired and renovated from time to time and also the river Katjuri has been widened. With the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say whether the existing abatement was constructed on the ruins of the original structure. An excavation near the Dhabaleswara temple and on the bed of the Katjuri river may reveal the truth.

The Kathjodi revetment has been the life of the residents of Cuttack and "the existence of the town depends on the continuance of the revetment. Cuttack contains a population of about 50,000 persons, there, are about 6,300 houses, of which 1/6 are pucca, many of them built of stone, (amongst them that fine mansion, the 'Lalbagh' which is built on the

revetment). The city is situated on a tongue of land at the bifurcation of the Mahanuddy and on the high road to Ganjam; it affords convenience for carrying on a commerce with Sumbulpoor to the West, Madras to the South and the Low countries to the East, while its proximity to the Hills points it out, in a political point of view, as the most desirable place for the cantoning of troops. I am of opinion that the restoration of the revetment is a work of too great public advantage to be weighed by considerations of expense only and would, therefore, earnestly recommend that it be re-built".[32] As regards construction of the stone revetment during the Mughal Government in the reign of Jahangir we have not come across a single persian or Indian records so far. Probably the Mughals repaired the revetment particularly for protection of their Lalbagle mansion on the Kathjodi. The statement of Moffat Mills that the stone embankment was constructed by the Mughal Government cannot be accepted.

PANCHA KATAKA

Chodaganga Deva (1078-1150 A.D.) the founder-father of imperial dynasty laid the foundation of the Kalinga Empire at a critical juncture of the history of India when the north had fallen piece by piece before the Mahammedan invasion. The dynasty left by the Emperor gave birth to a series of strong emperors like Narsingh Deva, Anangabhima-III etc. who successfully maintained and consolidated it and finally leaving the empire peacefully in the hands of another powerful dynasty named as the Survavamsi Gajapatis. "The empire of Chodaganga came into existence when the north had proved herself to be utterly incapable of a Hindu empire. The empire that he built and left, was left for the noble purpose of defending the south against the coming invasion of Islam from the north. Within a short time the entire northern India was bound to come under the Muslim conquest, bit by bit from Hindukush to Ganges but very rapidly and as an invitable go. In dramatic suddenness was the pressure of Islam bound to seek its way into the south through that, gateway between the north and the south-Kalinga. But the empire of Chodaganga stood there as an invincible Hindu Power to check the progress of Islam into the south on the bank of the Ganges. For centuries together, under the Gangas and the Suryas, the empire of Kalinga, built by Chodaganga, struggled against Islam and kept the Turkish power at a respectable distance even when the Turks were at the zenith of their power. During two hundred years af the Turkish Sultanatel at Delhi, when the civilisation of the north fell a victim to the ravage of Islam, Kalinga became a new home of the flying civilisation from the north. Hindu art and architecture were ruthlessly destroyed by the

Turkish rulers, Hindu religious practices were proscribed in the Turkish empire, Hindu universities were burnt and education discouraged, Hindu philosophers and intellectuals were dispersed, and an all-round assault was made against the Hindu civilisation itself. During those evil days of Hinduism in the north, Kalinga gave a fostering shelter to the Hindu art and architecture, philosophy, religion and literature and to all the ornaments of the Indian culture that were dispersed due to the vandalism of the Turks in the north".[33] Kalinga was the last great empire of the Hindu India to give way to the Muslim invaders. When the Hindu religious centres were desecrated, Jagannath Puri became the supreme centre of religion in India under the patronage of the monarchs. In a very critical juncture of Indian history the strong, well-administered and vast empire of Kalinga played a very important role in upkeeping Hindu religion, art and architecture and traditional system of Hindu administration.

"Chodaganga Deva ruled for seventy-two years. Such a long reign of almost three quarters of a century is rare in the annals of kings. For an efficient monarch like Chodaganga such a long period of royal authority was destined to cover itself with far-reaching conquests and administrative reforms. History records innumerable conquerors who conquered but could not rule, and their conquests melted away with their death as they could not give effective administration during their short span of military career and when they aimed at giving administration after hectic days of militarism, death dropped its icy curtain over their brilliant careers. Chodaganga was perhaps a favoured child of history who conquered and lived long to see his conquests duly organised and efficiently administered".[34]

His ancestral capital was at Kalinganagara identified with Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, but after occupation of Orissa in 1112 A.D. he shifted his capital to more centrally located Cuttack. From this new capital the Gangas ruled for long 14 generations with full dignity, valour and glory and in course of time they became Oriyas. It is interesting to note that Chodaganga had occupied Pancha Katakas (five fortified towns)—Jajpur, Amaravati, Chaudwar, Varanasi Kataka and Sarangagarh, which on account of their strategic situations formed virtually a single military system, as one was closely linked with the other. Orissa was a land of forts and particularly these five forts find mention in the Madalapanji.

Sarangagada

While writing his book in 1822 Stirling referred to a version of the Madalapanji which records that Chodaganga occupied five katakas—Jajpur

Kataka, Amaravati Kataka, Choudwar Kataka and Varanasi Kataka (no mention of the name of the 5th Kataka). Other copies of the Madalapanji recorded by the scholars after Stirling also did not find the name of the 5th Kataka. Artaballav Mohanty found one version of the Madalapanji where it is recorded that Chodaganga ruled for 64 years. This king first established Kataka, secondly built Amaravati, thirdly established Charidvara, fourthly Varanasi Kataka, fifthly built Angadesa and sixthly installed Kasi Ksetra. He consolidated empire from Goutami to Ganga.[35] The names of Katakas have been changed. Kataka here is Jajpur Kataka, Charidwara is Choudwara, Dvitiya Amaravati is the same as Amaravati. There are no forts in the name of Angadesa and Kasi Kshetra. These two strongholds may be identified with Sarangagada and Kasiagada respectively.[36] The remains of Kasiagada about six miles in perimeter with walls of sandstone ten feet in thick and with gates and bastions are to be seen near the village Dalua on the Chandka-Khurda road. This was a subsidiary stronghold of the main Sarangagada fort. The interior does not show any sign of occupation. Possibly the fort was meant for temporary encampment of soldiers.[37]

Sarangagada or Chudanga Gada is located near Baranga Railway station at a distance of 9 kms. to the south-west of Cuttack city. The dead Prachi river originated from the place acted as the natural moat of the fort. Two big kanjia jhil and the Baranga canal originally formed a part of the Prachi river. The remains of the fort are within the revenue villages of Chudanga Bhaluka, Krusnanagar, Jujhagada and Dadhapatna.[38]. Unfortunately the fort area which once garrisoned the army is recently included in the elephant sanctuary obliterating the glorious military past. The fort as well as the big tank of his name are assignable to Saranga Keshari. This fort, known as the fifth of the Pancha Katakas appears to have been built during the Somavamsi rule and after its occupation by Chodaganga this was named after him. Sarala Dasa refers to Chudanga Gada in his Mahabharata in the context of Bhima's wrestling in rhe palace of Virata.

> Vira Chudanga nagara paschimara kone
> Vajravahu Pade nava Sahasra Yojane
> Panchasahasra Yojana je Kataka Sthali
> Se mala padita pancha Yojana uguli.[39]

The above lines clearly describe Chudanga Kataka as Vira Chudanga. By the time Sarala Dasa wrote his Mahabharata Chudanga Gada was in a flourishing condition. The remains of the gigantic fort including the outer and inner walls, tanks and different apartments are to be seen. The outer wall of the fort runs from the Baranga veterinary hospital. Stones of the

wall were used in construction of the Kathjodi embankment thus greatly damaging the structure. The other side of the outer wall stretching to Kanakdurga temple has been levelled to ground due to shifting of stone blocks.

"The outer wall had some vital functions for the protection of the fort, because beyond it lay vast open fields and the fort was vulnerable from the eastern side. It can be said as the 'First line of protection' The remnants prove that it was made very strong of laterite stone and small stone pieces. At places iron hooks had been used to join the stone pieces. Some old blacksmiths of village Phulpokhari near Baranga told me that they had brought many strong iron hooks from the fort. Its top was made wide so that troops could easily march on. On this wall many high mounds are visible and those might be watch-towers wherefrom soldiers watched the movement outside. The ditch also provided an additional protection to the fort.

The inner wall or the second line of protection starts from the Rajgiri hill. At the top of the hill on Chhedagadia (a pond) a wall—like structure is visible. I climbed the hill through the thorny bushes and was astonished to find there sand-stones. Those are buried under the ground and are of different types and sizes. A particular pieces of sand-stone is just like the mouth and neck portion of a lion. I think, there was a watch-tower on the hill.

The 'GH' portion of the inner wall formed the north-south arm of the fort. The inner wall gradually rises up the Rajgiri hill on the south and is visible from a great distance. It is of 3. 6 m. height and 7 m. breadth. At a particular place on this wall there is a very high place which was the junction of three walls; the inner wall, the east-west arm of the fort and another small wall that runs due east towards the outer wall. There might have been a watch-tower here.

The inner wall runs south-eastern wards and terminates at very high place, locally known as the 'Buruja' on the Khiragadia (a pond). It is a terminus from which one wall runs on the Routagadia (a pond) towards the outer wall and another runs north-south near the present Jhunjhunwala Bidyapitha towards the Kanjiajhil.

The 'buruJa' is a very high place from which one can see the distant places. Near it there is a deep narrow hole of 4. 5 m. depth and 1 m. breadth. It is locally known as 'Bhima chuli' and it is difficult to trace its significance.

From the 'buruja' a not-so high, 6m. broad wall runs north-south and crosses the Khurda-Cuttack road near the Forest Guest. House, adjacent to Jhunjhunwals' Bidyapitha. The present road to the Kiakanikhil has been constructed on the ruins of this wall. Like the outer wall the stones of this wall have been taken away."[40]

The inner wall with watch towers at intervals which acted as the second line of defence is in the state of ruins. A series of vast tanks locally known as Routgadia, Dubla Chatara, Gangua Pokhari, Chhedagadia, Padmapokhari located within the fort area were connected with Baranga river for perennial water supply. The remains of a deep and broad moat suggest the strong protection of the fort.

The fort had strong strategic importance as it acted as the second line of defence to Abhinava[41] Varanasi Kataka and played vital role till the advent of the Britishers. We learn from the Tariki-Firoz Saha that Firoz Tughloq marched against Saranga Gada in 1360 A.D. (during the reign of Bhanudeva III). During the reign of Gajapati, treacherous Govinda Vidyadhara who was in charge of Cuttack in the absence of the king took shelter in this stronghold when the Muslim attacked Orissa.

During the reign of Mukunda Deva Gajapati (1559-68 A.D.) the Sultan of Bengal invaded Orissa. He had to fight Afghan army. Under the compelling circumstances he was to take shelter in the fort of Kotsima on the bank of the Damodar river. At this critical juncture the Muslim army appeared at the gate of Barabati fort, and occupied Cuttack despite stiff resistance. Taking the opportunity of Muslim attack of Cuttack Ramchandra Bhanja, chief of Saranga Gada Kataka declared himself the king of Orissa. When Mukunda Deva heard the sad news of treachery of Ramachandra Bhanja he had to conclude a treaty with Suleiman Karrim and rushed back to Cuttack. 'It was an irony of fate that now a battle was fought between Ramachandra Bhanja and Mukundadeva, two sons of the same soil. In this fight Mukundadeva was killed and thus ended the life of the last independent king of Orissa. The tragedy of the episode lies in the fact that the independence of Orissa was extinguished in the bloody depth of a fratricidal war rather than in a war of foreign invasion. Mukundadeva had to fall a victim to the knife of a treacherous brother and not to the sword of an invader. According to tradition, it was the battle field of Gohiratikiri in the district of Balasore that witness the last setting sun of an independent Orissa.'[42]

With the loss of independence of Orissa Saranga Gada came under the occupation of the Afghans and was used for fight against the Mughals.

Unfortunately Orissa passed into the hands of Mughals in 1578 A.D. Taking into strategic significance of the fort it was fortified in all sides. Ramachandra Dêva who had claim over the throne of Orissa was reinstated as the Raja of Ali and Sarangagada-Patia respectively. Patia and Balianta consisting of twelve killahas was the personal estate of the Raja of Sarangagada-Patia. In addition the king had thirtyone zamindaries covering an area of 74 square miles In course of time rivalry with the Raja of Khurda and Sarangagada and the frequently raids of the Maratha Bargis caused disintegration of the killahas. The Raja became weak and lost control over the killahdars and Zamindars, who on the other hand, acted independently. The Marahattas occupied the fort and allowed some rent-free land to the Raja. In 1803 the fort came under the possession of the Britishers. A contingent of British troops stationed here to safeguard Cuttack from the south. During the Paik rebellion (1817 A.D.) the Paiks fought against the British troops and finally lost the fort. With the decline of the great citadel one glorious chapter of military history of Orissa was closed.[43]

Chaudwar Kataka

Situated on the left bank of Mahanadi, opposite to Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, Chaudwar, one of the famous Pancha Katakas acted as the second line of defence to the former. Attack of enemies from the north was checked from this citadel. We have not come across any authentic records in regard to the time of establishment of the fort. From the archaeological remains scattered in the area and preserved at Kendrapada and in the Indian Museum, Calcutta the origin of the stronghold may be assignable to the Bhauma period. The Somavamsis made it one of their capitals. Chodaganga occupied the fort alongwith four other Katakas.

The epithet Chaudwar appears to have been adopted in the 16th/17th century as this name does not occur in earlier records. The Muslim historians have wrongly named Orissa as Yajnagar. Taking into account of Muslim historians' view some scholars have identified Yajnagar with Yajannagar. But this identification is not based on any historical or archaeological records as these scholars have no idea on the history and geography of Orissa. Sarála Das in his Mahabharat has clearly indicated the location of Yajannagar. In his opinion the Pandavas went to heaven from Orissa. We find in the Svargarohana Parva of the Mahabharata—

Suna Vaivasuta Manu badanti Agasti,
Pandavamane rahile ye Amaravati.

Suhani Kanyaku vibha hele dharmasuta,
Rahile ye panchastari varsa pariyanta.
Pariksite rajya dele Yajananagari,
Pancha Katakare madhye eka adhikari.

The narrated Amaravati and Yajannagar are no other than Amaravati Kataka (near Chhatia) and Chaudwar Kataka respectively. By the time Saraladasa composed his Mahabharata, Pancha Katakas were in flourishing condition. The popular tradition is that Janmejaya performed snake sacrifice at Yajannagar is still current in the area and Sarala Dasa also recorded the legend in his Mahabharata further adding that Yudhisthira handed over the kingdom to Pariksita and made him the owner of famous Pancha Katakas.

It is thus clear from the above discussion that till the 14th century Choudwar was known as Yajannagar. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi [44] identified Yanmejaya with Yanmejaya I of the Somavamsi dynasty. While establishing a capital at Yajannagar he might have performed a sacrifice. During the reign of Indraratha, Yajannagar came to be known as Dharmapur after the name of the king.

The vast remains of Yajannagar or Choudwar spreading over several square miles remind us of the significant role the fort played in the medieval epoch. The remnants of stepped wells and tanks, Kapaleswar, Vaidesvara, Uttaresvara temples, four gateways and the scattered images of Brahmanical and Buddhist pantheons speak of its history. Kittoe's report on the ruins of Choudwar is very interesting. "The road was very good as far as Chaudwar, where we turned off and passed over the ruins of that ancient city, which extend for many miles. There are very few ruins above the ground, but the foundations of many are visible, particularly of the walls and moat which were faced with stone; there are numerous reservoirs also and the remains of temples, the stone was removed in former years to build the fort of Cuttack and the revetment".[45]

It is no doubt a fact that the decadance of the fort started from the time of Anangabhima III who transferred his capital from Chaudwar to Barabati.

Amaravati Kataka

The third fort in the line of Panch Katakas is Amaravati Kataka located near Chhatia Matha and about 3 kms. away from Bairee Railway Station. This has great strategic importance as it checked the inroads

of enemies from the north. The fort may be taken as the third line of defence to Varanasi Kataka. The remains of fort walls, two wells, some building on the foot of a hill, the main gateways to the south are still to be seen. History is silent about the date of construction of the fort. But from the remains its tentative history can be reconstructed. According to the Madalapanji Chodaganga occupied Pancha Katakas alongwith Utkal. We do not know the earlier name of the fort, but it is certain that Chodaganga Deva rebuilt it and named as Second Amaravati Kataka.

From the available remains and sculptures the date of the fort can tentatively be ascertained. An image of Avalokitesvara bearing the Bhauma art tradition suggests the date of the fort to this age. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi[46] is of the view that this image has been some other place and kept here. Another image of Mahisamardini with Mahisasura in theriomorphic form belonging to the 9th/10th century A.D. (Bhauma period) possibly installed as the Chandi of the fort further strengthens our viewpoint that the citadel was built during the Bhauma period. The Bhaumas had their capital at Guhadevapataka identified with Jajpur or Gohiratikiri. For strengthening their kingdom passibility of erecting forts and strongholds in strategic points cannot be ruled out. The images of Indra and Indrani (recently painted) decorated and carved in Ganga style prompted Dr. Panigrahi to ascertain the date of the fort to the Ganga period. I am of the view that the fort on the basis of earlier images (described above) can be attributed to the Bhauma age and later on was under the occupation of the kesares. Chodaganga after occupation of Utkal rebuilt it alongwith other Katakas to check the inroads of enemies from the north and the rise of the turbulent feudatories of the conquered Utkal.

The fort in ruins leaves the main gateways (to the south) the compound wall of heavy laterite blocks and buildings to the north-we tern portion and some wells, giving the entire structure in the shape of a rectangle. Survey and exploration of adjoining area including the Chhatia math (which preserves a number of old sculptures) and excavation of the tort may bring to light the detailed history of the fort and date of occupation of the area.

Jajpur Kataka

Jajpur has been an important cultural and religious centre (a Hindu Tirtha-Navi Gaya) of India since time immemorial drawing pilgrims from all parts of India. Mainstream of Indian religions-Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Saktism and Vaisnavism flourished her, the monuments of which still exist in

different stages of preservation. The Bhaumas, Somavamsis, Gangas and Gajapatis not only patronized religious faiths, but taking into consideration of its strategic significance made Jajpur a great administrative and political centre. Jajpur is more famous for the tutelary goddess Viraja (a two-armed Mahisamardini of the Gupta period) after whom this is called Viraja Ksetra. Virajaksetra is mentioned in some inscriptions of the Bhauma kings.[47] Guhadevapataka (Jajpur) the capital of the Bhaumakaras is narrated in details in the Talatali[48] and Santigram[49] copper plate grants. Buddhist sculptures and monuments and also the Hindu edifices of Jajpur on either sides of the Vaitarani belonging to the Bhauma epoch speak of their ascendancy here.

The Somavamsis shifted their capital from Binka to Viraja Ksetra and made it known as Abhinava Yajatinagar. Yajati I (922-955 A.D.) taking the opportunity of weakness of the Bhaumas annexed their kingdom thus, becoming the master of coastal Orissa by 931 A.D. "He united Kosala and Utkala politically and culturally and can justly be regarded as the father of modern Orissa. The grateful posterity remembered him and made him the hero of the numerous traditions still current in the land. Yajati Kesari is almost a household name in Orissa and all living monuments of their age are generally attributed to him."[50]

"Yajati Kesari performed an Asvamedha Yajna on the bank of the river Vaitarani. The name of the place where the Yajna was performed became Yajnapura which later on was corrupted to Jajpur. The remains of the altar or the sacrificial pit that was erected for the purpose of the Yajna are still to be found at Jajpur. The huge and broad stone steps on the bank of the Vaitarani, known as the Dasasvamedha Ghata are said to have been built under the patronage of Yajati Kesari. It is interesting to note that just as Buddha Gaya, once a citadel of the Buddhists, became a centre of ancestor-worship, so also Jajpur, once a famous Buddhist centre became a sacred place for the Hindus for ancestor-worship, and began to be known as Nabhi Gaya in immitation of Buddha Gaya. During the rule of the Kesaris Jajpur a very prominent became a very prominent centre of Saivism and many Siva temples were built there. But in course of time most of these temples have gone into ruins and Jajpur today has lost much of its former glory."[51]

Jajpur was honeycombed with monuments of Hindu and Buddhist pantheons remains of many of which are still to be seen. Viraja Kshetra Mahatmya furnishes a list of monuments erected by the monarchs of

successive dynasties. On account of its location on the surf-bitten bank of the Vaitarani the monarchs made it their capital or subsidiary political headquarters or .Kataka. The remains of Jajpur Kataka have not yet been ascertained accurately. K. C. Panigrahi has tentatively identified Rajnagar (a portion of Jajpur Ksetra) as Jajpur Kataka of the Madalapanji.[52] Jajpur thus remained an important citadel for centuries resisting the inroads of the Muslims from the north. Details of the citadel can properly be ascertained if an excavation is taken up after thorough exploration of the Ksetra. However, with the available accounts (historical archaeological and legendary) we can conclude that Yajati Keshari brought about a revolutionary change in the political and religious arena of Orissa from this great Jajpur. He revived Brahmanical religion, subdued Tantric Buddhism and consolidated a vast kingdom on the basis of which Chodaganga built an empire extending from Ganga in the north to Godavari in the south.

KATAKA

Kataka, otherwise known as Varanasi Kataka or Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, situated at the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi and its main branch Kathjodi, has been one of the important and flourishing cities in India since 989 A.D. witnessing and experiencing the rule of the medieval dynasties (the Somavamsis, the Gangas and the Suryavamsi Gajapatis), the Muslims, Mughals, the Maratthas, the British and finally the democratic Government of Independent India. The ruins and debris of old structures, the remains of magnificent Barabati fort, the narrow zigzag lanes, the traditional bazars, historic temples, mosques, churches and secular monuments bring down the atmosphere of the medieval period. Kataka is not merely city with a glorious history like Pataliputra, Kausambi, Ahichhatra, but has a living present full of cultural glamour. On account of its impregnable situation it came up as a capital cantonment under the Somavamsis, and developed later on as the Capital of Kalingan empire and of modern Orissa.

From remote past Cuttack commanded the high road running from the north to the south of India along the eastern coast, and invaders, pilgrims, merchants and travellers alike had in the past no alternative but to cross the Mahanadi and the Kathajuri near about Cuttack, while travelling from north to the south and vice versa. The high roads from central India also ran along the Mahanadi valley and terminated at Cuttack, while the Mahanadi herself offered convenient water-way for commerce and communication with the hinterland. Cuttack is likely to have been

connected both by overland routes and water-ways with the great medieval ports like Chelitalo, Palura and Tamralipta, which were great centres for oversea trade and served as the gateway for the spread of Indian culture abroad. The city therefore, could maintain its cultural and commercial relations not only with all parts of India, but also with the outside world. Such a place was naturally suited to be the capital of a prosperous state, and was sure to be the centre of trade and commerce in the past. In fact, Cuttack has been a flourishing mart of eastern trade since the remote past although its political and cultural importance before the 8th Century A.D. is not well-known at present.

Based on the authority of the Madalapanji and other corroborative evidence the year 989 A.D. has been accepted by the historians as the year of installation of Kataka capital. Stirling was the first scholar to bring to light the fact recorded in the Madalapanji and accordingly all other historians who have written historical papers on Kataka have unanimously accepted the 989 A.D. as the year of establishment of capital town (at Cuttack). Upon this evidence the millennium celebrations committee decided to celebrate 1000 years of Cuttack city. Unfortunately a few scholars negatively published in the news paper with a pseudo caption "Cuttack Millennium-1000 year lie" The news item is based on the information furnished by Dr. B. K. Rath, a Curator in the Orissa State Archaeology. His contention is that all talk about Cuttack city being a 1000 years is based on falsehood and lie. His allegation is the team of historians who are associated with the Millennium celebration have categorically denied that they had not given any opinion that Cuttack was 1000 years old. This is baseless and false. Only to highlight his negative viewpoint he has recorded the names of the historians involved in millennium celebration who cannot have virtually different opinion other than already accepted. Madalapanji is not merely a legendary account but is a historical treatise. Many of its recorded facts have great historical value. K. C. Panigrahi in his book "Itihasa O Kimbadanti" has proved the historicity of the accounts of Madalapanji. As for example, Madalapanji records the names of Pancha Katakas occupied by Chodagangadeva at the time of occupation of Utkal. The remains of the Pancha Katakas are still in existence to prove the authenticity of Madalapanji's account. In the preceding pages I have attempted to identify Nrupakesari and Markatakesari as historical figures. Until we get further evidence we have to rely upon this date. To elicit further archaeological evidence with regard to the date of occupation and establishment of Cuttack city, the Archaeological Survey of India has undertaken excavation of the Barabati fort area from 1st December 1989.

Dr. Rath ascribes the foundation of Cuttack city to Anangabhima-deva-III in C. 1220 A.D. It appears from his statement that Cuttack was not in existence before this date. If that be the case what happened to the historical fact of Chodaganga's transfer of capital from Kalinganagar to Kataka after occupation of Orissa and what about the Vidanasi Kataka (the Capital of Chodagangadeva) the scattered remains of which are to be seen. Besides the Jaina and Buddhist sculptures of Cuttack speak of its hoary antiquity.

Anangabhimadeva-III established Abhinava Varanasi Kataka in the village Barabati, as Varanasi Kataka was perhaps delapidated and out of use. The then political situation demanded him to built a new citadel. The tradition of establishing new capital with the nomenclature Abhinava is not new in Orissa history. When Yajati (of Somavamsi dynasty) transferred his capital from Yajatinagar (Vinitapur) to Jajpur he named the new capital as Abhinava Yajatinagara. Hence his contention that Anangabhimadeva-III led the foundation stone of Cuttack in 1220 A.D. is unacceptable. No doubt he re-established the capital city and flourished it in multidimensional proportions. Dr. Rath has further alleged that stirling's book is not only considered out-dated by serious historical scholars but also dubbed as unreliable. His viewpoint is baseless as he has not brought forth any up-to-date evidence in this regard.

I may bring forth another view-point to strengthen our opinion in support of the existence of Kataka capital for 1000 years. The archaeological excavations in different places have brought to light the remains of capital towns, cities or religious centres on the bifurcation, confluence and mouth of the rivers, as these places were considered sacred, strategic and commercially viable. On account of its strategic importance and sacredness Cuttack must have been eminent centre of religion, administration and commerce from the dawn of reflection. The tributaries of Mahanadi mostly branched off near about Cuttack which form the biggest network in the river system of Orissa, witnessed flourishing civilisation from the early centuries of Christian era. Prachi valley, for instance, was honeycombed with innumerable religious monumets and several forts, right from C. 6th century A. D. Cuttack being in the most vulnerable situation must have been an eminent centre from the early centuries, however, for further evidence we have to wait till the completion of the excavation of Barabati fort. We are in no way misled by baseless news published by B. K. Rath in the news paper, 'Sun Times'

One thousand years' history of Cuttack is virtually interconnected with the history of Orissa. The notable events of Orissan history are all interwind with this citadel. As the Gajapati Emperors assumed the title of Navakoti Karnata Kala Vargesvara, Barabati, the seat of administration of such a vast empire occupied the highest rank among the innumerable forts spread from Ganges in the north to Godavari in the south. Kalingan Empire had a long temple and fort-building tradition since the 3rd century B. C. During these centuries many a fort rose to eminence, earned name and fame and ultimately begrimmed and dimmed by the passage of time leaving a remarkable history to the posterity. On account of constant attacks and vandalism of the enemies, internal strifes between the monarchs they have been turned to dust but fortunately many a temple survived. Detailed account of the forts in the ancient and medieval times is not available to us. But in the 16th century, Abul Fazal, the Minister of Akbar, during his march to Orissa, mentioned clearly that Orissa was full of forts, and each of five Sarkars (division) had forts with well-garrisoned and trained armies. Jaleswar Sarkar had the following forts—five invulnerable forts at Bansand, three forts at Balkasi, three forts in the jungle and hill of Parvada, a strong fort at Bhograi, one fort at Bagadi, a brick-built fort at Jaleswar, a stone-built fort at Tambaluk, a fort at Tarkol, five forts at Remuna, three forts at Raina (Raibania), a city fort at Raipur, a fort in the jungle of Sabang, a fort at Kurugsur, three forts at Kedarkhand, a city fort at Medinipur a fort at Kutubpur, a hill fort at Narayanpur. The forts in Bhadrak Sarkar were—two forts at Barwa, Dhamnagar fort, two forts at Sahenshu, four forts at Kaiman. The forts of Cuttack Sarkar—A strong fort at Athagarh, four forts at Purvadiga (Purbahai), nine forts in the Patia forest and hills or Barang, Vijayanagar (it is not Vijayanagar of Andhra Pradesh), four strong forts at Chabiskud, one fort at Hajipur (Tejpur), four big forts at Dakshinadiga (Dakshina hai), three forts at Kothdesa, the impregnable fort with a palace at Baranasi Kataka, a strong fort at Kotraha (present Kotrahang). The Kalinga Dandapat and Rajmahendry sarkars had many a fort, the names of which have not been mentioned. Here we get a list of 72 forts. There is also mention of 129 forts of Orissa in Ain-i-Akbari possessed by the Gajapatis.

Abul Fazal had gone round 15 subas of the Mughal Empire and mentioned mainly of their revenue accounts, but he paid special attention to Orissa as we understand from his account. It is thus clear that Orissa was the land of forts and its military strength was unimaginable. Jaga-bandhu Singh in his 'Prachina Utkala' has mentioned the names of the

following forts Bhingura, Srirampur, Bhanara, Niangorada, Andhari, Kandapali, Sisupal, Kujanga, Torihana, Karmala, Birtunga, Andta, Malipada. Haladia, Mrugasira, Antuar, Amnakud, Atri, Balianta, Kharand, Krushnaprasad, Matiapada, Gadsahi, Chhatia, Padanpur, Rupas, Gadsitha, Beguniapada, Chandpur, Motri, Amarprasad, Itapokhari, Manatri, Barpada, Rathipur, Jhusina, Gadpada, Rengal, Jagsar, Dharmasagar, Sareipada, Kokelgad, Dhauli, Nansur, Nuagad, Kholgad, Bolagad, Narsinghpur, Ghatigad, Mandarruni, Golara, Katismi• (Kusumi) etc. Some of these forts appear to have been erected during Mughal-Maratha period but most of them belonged to the independent Gajapatis of Orissa. By gleaning through the above mentioned list we may well imagine the military organisation and prowess of independent Orissa.[53] All these forts recorded above alongwith many others were directly or indirectly under the control of Abhinava Varanasi or Barabati fort which was at the apex of military organisation of Kalingan empire.

We have referred to earlier that Anangabhimadeva-III (1211-38 A.D.) at the site of an auspicious sign near the Visvesvara temple of Barabati village laid the foundation of Barabatı Kataka or Varanasi Kataka and made it his new capital in place of Bidanasi. In this connection it comes to my mind that Chowdvar was then a flourishing fort and an important seat of administration.

It is gleaned from the Nagari copper plate of Anangabhimadeva issued from the Abhinava Kataka that he resided in this fort. The next rulers of Ganga dynastv stayed in this fort and made further improvement of Kataka city. Narasimha Deva, the greatest warrior and builder of Ganga dynasty started his war procession against Humayun Shah of Bahamani and returned victorious amidst joy and pomp. In order to stop the constant attacks of Muslims of Bengal he erected the famous fort of Raibania near Jaleswar on the border of present Orissa and crushed the Muslims on the bank of Hooghly river. As a sign of victory he caused the construction of world famous Sun temple at Konark. Stirling in praise of valour of Narasinghdeva has said, "The boldness and enterprise of the Orissan monarchs in those days, may surprise us when we consider the situation of Kola in the heart of Central India beyond Kalberga and Bedar. The Saraswati Vilasam, Raghudevapura copper plate and Kondaidu copper plate further reveal that during the Suryavamsi rule Varanasi Kataka was a prosperous capital city of Kalinga. The Tarikh-i-Firozsohi of Sham-i-Siraj states. "The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Banarasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmanas and

it was held to be a religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large.[54] One of the two forts referred to above is the famous fort of Barabati and the second one is Bidanasi Kataka. Anangabhima Deva built a temple for Jagannatha and another for Purusottama in the Barabati fort. The temples are no longer in existence. The stone bastion at the top level brought to light recently through excavation shows the use of worked stones used earlier in the temples. The headless image of Visnu worshipped as Purusottama was recovered from the moat of the fort and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The fate of the images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra worshipped in the fort is shrouded in oblivion. The lone image of Gadchandi worshipped in a modern temple within the fort area stands as the only witness of the past glory.

Purusottam Deva, the second ruler of Suryavamsi dynasty brought the image of Sakhigopal and Ganesa from Kanchi as a trophy of the war and installed them in the fort of Barabati. Sri Chaitanya offered his oblations to Sakhigopal in the fort of Barabati. It is mentioned in the Cahitanya Charitamrita that Purusottam, the king of Utkal, won the battle and brought Gopal to Kataka. The meeting of Prataparudra with Sri Chaitanya at this sacred fort was a historic event. The king was so much charmed at the great personality of the Vaisnava preacher that he accepted Vaisnavism in trance. He arranged the historic stay of Srichaitanya in the fort of Cooudwar on the other side of the river Mahanadi. Sri Chaitanya after his holy dip at Mahanadi near Barabati fort started for Choudwar in a new boat in full moon night (Rasa Purnima-Nov.). Harichandan Mangaraj, and Rai Ramananda, two Generals of Prataparudra, were entrusted with the arrangement for his sacred stay at Choudwar fort. Since then a fair in honour of the Lord known as Balijatra is being held on the bank of Mahanadi where the Lord made a holy dip and started for Choudwar.

The image of Sakhigopal was shifted at the time of Kalapahada's attack on the fort. The image was installed at different places, such as the Varunei mountain, in the villages of Rathipur and Kantalabai and at last it was finally installed at Satyabadi by one Marattha saint named Baba Brahmachari. The image is clearly a south Indian one as is known from its style, pose and other sculptural features.[55]

Mukunda Deva, the last independent monarch of Orissa rebuilt the defensive walls of the fort and erected a nine-storied palace. Since then the fort of Barabati was popularly known as the palace of Mukunda Deva. He is recorded as the greatest builder and greatest warrior of his time.

His sway extended to Tribeni Ghat on the Hooghly river, where he built a temple and bathing steps. In his reign, invasion of the Muslims from the north began to be constant and successful. To oppose the inroads of Sulamania Gurzani the Afghan King of Bengal, he built a strong fort in a strategic position in the northern frontier of Orissa. Raibania fort of Narasingha Deva backed by the impenetrable forest was at a commanding position in the northern frontier. For much greater strength of the fortification on the northern side he built the fort of Deulgaon, seven miles west of Raibania. During the recent years the recent years the fort has been demolished and on its ruins stands a High School. The evidence shows that it contained the chlorite stone figures of Jagannatha and Balarama, so celebrated in the Orissan legend and culture. This indicates the war strategy and strong line of defence at the frontier of his State. It may, therefore, be well-imagined what a noble contribution this monarch made in upkeeping the prestige of Oriyas and the independence of Orissan Empire.[56]

Abul Fazal visited the fort with Mansingh in 1592 and described it in the following manner. "Katak (Cuttack) the city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers, the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus, and the Kathjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six Kos round the fort during the rains, the country is under water. Rajah Mukunda Deva built a palace here nine storeys in height, the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants; the third by the patrol and gatekeepers; the fourth by the workshops; the fifth by the kitchen and the sixth contained the public reception rooms; the seventh, the private apartments; the eighth, the women's apartments; and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the Governor. To the south is a very ancient temple[57]. Two English merchants, Williom Bruton and R. Cartwright[58] who visited the fort 63 years after the death of Mukunda Deva were surprised at the splendour of the fort and described it as the Court of Malcandy. Bruton's account on Barabati fort runs as follows--"To the north of the city,at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and the Kathjuri, stood the citadel of Cuttack. Fort Barbati, a spacious area, a mile and a half in circumference, defended by a broad ditch faced with masonry by double walls of stone and by square sloping bastions, which clearly bespoke its indigenous origin. Fifty years before the coming of the English, Mukunda Deo, the last Hindu ruler of Orissa, had built within it a castle of gray granite, with nine lofty courts, but he had lost his kingdom to the Moslem, and Agha Muhammad Zaman of Taharan, a Mugul

Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of Malcandy[59]." Abul Fazal refers to the nine-storeyed structures of the Fort whereas the English merchants describe it as having nine courts. Dr. Mahtab is of opinion that the courts were built one after the other and not one over the other. In my view nine storeys and nine courts are the same and it is nothing but the difference in description.

During Afghan and Maratha rule the fort of Barabati was the seat of administration. The king of Khurda, Ramachandra Deva was imprisoned in this fort by Taki Khan in 1725 A. D. in 1742 Bhaskar Pandit, the leader of the Marathas attacked the fort and in 1745 A. D. Raghuji Bhonsala occupied it. Thus by 1751 the fort and Cuttack came entirely under the occupation of the Marathas.

T. Motte,[60] an European traveller visited Cuttack in 1766 on his way to Sambalpur and described the fort of Barabati in the following manner. "Cuttack is not fortified now but on the side next the Maha Nuddee is a citadel, called Barahbattee, because it is said to contain 12 battees, or 240 biggahs of land. But this must be understood not only of the fort itself, but of the official fief annexed to the command; for the fort itself did not appear to me above 800 yards in circumference. It is square with a small bastion at three angles; at the fourth,to the N.W. a very large one,evidently the improvement of an European engineer, to counteract lofty mosque which commands that quarter of the fort; the ditch is 20 yards wide and 7' deep, lined with stone, and a perfect square without; for the bastions having been added since the fort was built there are no projections in the ditch to answer the projections of the bastion. The works are formed of two stone walls, each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each other, which distance is filled up with rubbish. The outer wall being raised five feet higher than the inner forms the parapet, which is only one stone thick. The entrance is defended by three gateways, so strong, it would be impossible to force them if they were manned by brave fellows, for the passage between them is narrow and winding, with a stone wall on each side, thirty feet perpendicular, from the top of which, if they were to let large stones fall, every man in the passage must be crushed. The fort is, however, too small to make a long defence against an European enemy.

Stirling who was present at Cuttack in 1818 described the then condition of the fort. "Its square sloping towers or bastions, and general style, bespeak clearly a Hindu origin. The Mohammedan or Marhatta Governors added around bastion at the N. W. angle, and constructed the

great archaed gateway in the eastern face, which alterations are alluded to in a Persian inscription, giving for the date of the repairs and additions according to the rules of the Abjed, the fourth year of the reign of Ahmed Shah or A.D. 1750. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area measuring 2,150 ft. by 1,800 feet. The entrance lies through a grand gateway on the east, flanked by two lofty square towers, having the sides inclining inwards, from the base to the summit. A noble ditch faced with masonry surrounds the whole measuring in the broadest part two hundred and twenty feet across. From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag staff. This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river face, give to that edifice an imposing, castellated appearance, so much so that the whole when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi, presented to the imagination of Mr. La Motte, who travelled through the province in 1767 A.D. some resemblance to the west side of Windsor Castle. No traces of the famous palace of Raja Mukund Deo nine storeys in height, mentioned in the Ayin Acberi, are to be found within the walls of fort Barabati but the fragments of sculptured cornices, and which have been dug up at different times and more especially a massive candelabra, or pillar furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine grey indurated chlorite or pot stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid edifice."[61]

The above descriptions reveal that the nine-storied palace of Mukunda Deva was perhaps not in existence at the time of English attack in 1803. The Maratha armies stationed in the fort were not ready for the unexpected battle nor had any opportunity to get military help from the feudal lords of Orissa. So the British armies under the commandership of Colonel Harcourt and Colonel Celton bombarded the fort and could enter without resistance. The vandalism in demolition of the fort started earlier was intensified during the early years of British administration. The fort, thus, the seat of administration for several centuries, was ultimately used as the prison for illustrious kings and nobles of the land. In 1803, the Raja of Kujanga, in 1818 the Raja of Khurda and in 1819 the Raja of Surguja with his family members were kept under confinement in this fort. In 1828 A.D. under the suggestion of Packenham, the Commi-ssioner, stones of the fort were used for repair of rivetments and public roads and even sold to the moneyed men at a price of Rs. 5/- to six per hundred pieces of size stones.

In 1829 the Light House at False Point and the entire Cantonment Road were constructed with the stones of the crumbling fort. In the same

year with an intention of searching out the hidden treasures of the fort an excavation work was undertaken. Unfortunately the result of the excavation is not known. The hidden treasures of the fort no doubt might have decorated the castles of the Nobles in England. Further demolition of the fort continued till the year 1855 when the Collector, Cuttack, R. N. Shore under the orders of the Lt. Governor attempted to stop further destruction of the fort. But it was in vain. In 1857 the Superintendent of the Embankments caused further destruction by removal of the remains of the walls of the fort. Toynbee thus observed in 1873, the fort was converted into an unsightly series of earthen mounds and a wilderness of stone pits. Everything is lost except an earthen mound, the mosque of Fathi Khan Rahim, the gateway and the rivetment of the fort. The destruction thus caused to this stupendous citadel is irreparable and a tremendous loss to the archaeological treasure of Orissa.

Fergusson's description of the fort is as follows. "It too however, has suffered, first from the intolerant bigotry of the Muslim and afterwards from the stolid indifference of the British rulers, so that very little remains. But for this the great palace of Mukunda Deo, the contemporary of Akbar, might still remain to us in such a state at least as to be intelligible. Abul Fazl's description of this palace, however, has been misunderstood by the translators, who have represented it as consisting of nine storeys instead of nine courts or enclosures."[62]

It is the most tragic fate of all the monuments of Orissa that they fade away like the last flicker of a dying lamp presenting to the posterity the saddest ensemble of beauty and bereavement, desire, ambition and frustration lying in the mute inter-locking heaps, a book in stones of magnificent human endeavour and defeat. Barabati, the citadel of administration, culture and learning is not an exception to this.

Cuttack was perhaps the last military cantonment in the country to succumb to the Muslim inroads. The frequent attacks frittered away Orissa's economy and human resources. The perpetual rivalry and ineffectiveness offered unexpected opportunities to the enemies to occupy the kingdom. During the supreme crisis of foreign invasion Orissa needed a powerful leader like Kapilendra Deva to save the country. Unfortunately no statesmen with political acumen and military genius appeared at the critical juncture. The feudatories invested themselves in rivalry and internal strife paving the way ingloriously to the Muslim invaders. "Hardly realising the lessons of history, they ill-appreciated the gravity of the danger from

the invaders hammering at our doors. They displayed awful lack of geo-politics, of political strategy and lack of a north-west frontier policy. They had no scientific and well-organised system of defence against foreign invaders. Geography was sacrificed or ignored. Instead narrow selfish considerations blinded their vision"

With the fall of Barabati fort there ended the traditional militarism heralding new one well equipped with artillery. The elephantry, chariots/ archers were almost disbanded and more emphasis was laid on well armed infantry and cavalry. The beginning of the modern system of military organisation is marked from the time of Muslim attacks of India. The victory of Muslims over the Hindu armies can be explained by their superiority in battle organisation, the equipments, the art of war and the cavalry. The failure of the Hindu rulers is mainly due to their excessive reliance on the elephant troops,where as the Muslims depended largely on the skilful use of the well trained and well equipped cavalry. "The cavalry gave the Muhammadan forces an overwhelming superiority in mobility, an advantage emphasised by the vastness of the theatre of war and the peculiarities of its terrain. It enabled the Turkish generals to employ what is known as shock tactics, and gave them such elements of tactical advantage as surprise, advantage of ground and simultaneous attack from several quarters. In the matter of organisation, too, the Turks were at an advantage. They fought under one undivided command and obeyed one will. This rendered combination among the subordinate leaders possible, and on this combination their success in no small measure depended. The Hindu armies, on the other hand, as stated above, were often organised on a semi-feudal basis, and feudal contingents are seldom as effective in action as "they are impressive in size. It is probable also that the confederacies which were formed by some Hindu kings, as in the time of Jayapala, Anandapala and Prithviraja suffered from a similar organisational weakness. We may well believe that the troops of the allied states were not trained and organised on uniform lines and prepared for being moulded into one army".

When Orissa came under the administration of the Marrahattas the fort of Barabati continued to function as then political and military citadel. During these region the fort was remodelled and well protected with deepening of the moat and fortification of the compound wall. A portion of their magazine house converted to a part of the Cuttack club is still visible. The modernised military forces stationed at Cuttack particularly within the fort and in the present Chauliaganj area protected the city from Muslim attacks.

The British attack and bombardment of the fort signalled its death knell. Not only that, the fort was damaged recklessly utilising the stone blocks in construction of the Light House at Jobra, cantonment road and various other British structures and selling away of the cut stones at a very cheap rate. Barabati lost its military significance for ever but Cuttack remained the headquarters of the province under the British Govt. To fight the feudatory rulers, the Muslims and the Marathas, the British Govt. introduced the most modern system of military organisation, far superior to all previous ones. As a consequence,the British army could defeat the enemies exalting superiority due to their para-military forces. The British Govt. though below the death knell of the traditional citadel, modernised the military system of Orissa similar to the other provinces. Cuttack remained the military and political headquarters of Orissa under the British region,so also the same system continued under the democratic Government.

The above discussion gives in a nut shell the military significance of Cuttack during a span on thousand years. I have indicated earlier that one thousand years history of Orissa is enter vened with the city of Cuttack, the main centre of administration. A few cities of India can claim to have a continuous history of their own as the capital like Cuttack. Its typical geographical situation being on the bifurcation of two important rivers and well protected by nature, communication facilities all through by roads and water (and the railway line of the modern period) impelled the traditional dynasties, the muslims, mughals, marathas British and the democratic Government to develop Cuttack as a Capital city.

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□□

Cuttack City in the Reign of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva as Revealed in Pratapamartanda

Dr. Braja Kishore Swain

Gajapati Prataparudra Deva has been credited with the authorship of two Dharmasastra treatises namely *Sarasvativilasa*[1] and *Pratapamartanda*[2]. The Sarasvativilasa deals with the law of property pertaining to the Mitaksara school of Hindu Law[3] where as Pratapamartanda records the socio-religious trend of the Orissan people. Both these works have been authored by Lolla Laxmidhar of Andhra and Ramakrishna Bhatta[4] of Varanasi respectively. Keeping the name of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva as the author of these two works, both the authors have utilised their intelect and wisdom to give a precise description of Cuttack City the capital town of the Gajapati kings which has been designated as *Kataka Varanasi*. Of these two, Pandit Ramakrishna Bhatta has felt fit to record some facts related to geography of *Kataka Varanasi* which has some sort of emence historical value whereas Laksmidhar has the intention to highlight the personality of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to discuss the historical value of the facts relating to the Cuttack city incorporated by Pandit Ramakrishna Bhatta in *Pratapamartanda*.

1. Pandit Ramakrishna Bhatta was honoured by Sri Balabhadra Mishra the then Rajaguru (Royal Priest) of the king with a title Pandita siromani for he had compiled the text of *Pratapamartanda* endorsing the name of the king as its author.[5] Pandit Ramakrishna Bhatta was the son of Madhava Bhatta and Prabhavati. He was permanently living at Kasi migrating from Malava.[6]

2. Laksmidhara the author of Sarasvativilasa though belongs to the same time uses the nomenclature of Orissa as both *Kalinga* and *Utkal*. Ramakrishna nowhere mentions the very term Kalinga for Orissa. He always uses the term Utkal everywhere. An interesting matter in connection with

the terminology concieved by Laksmidhara is that being an Andhra native, Laksmidhara always keeps in mind the very closeness to the nomenclature of Kalinga. Moreover, wherever he intends to exhibit the difference, peculiarity and significance of this region he uses the very term Utkal in place of Kalinga. In comparison with this, Ramakrishna Bhatta draws special attention to the term Utkal and *Kataka Varanasi* as well[7]. Being a northern Indian he should not intend to use the term Kalinga under the subjugation of which a larger portion of Andhra region was held. It is observed that, between these two terms i.e. Kalinga and Utkal, the term Kalinga is older than Utkal. Previously the Kalinga region was dominated by the degraded brahmanas and Ksatriyas who were living on by means of non-aryan practice.[8] That is why the Baudhayanadharmasutra says that the person who steps upon the land of Kalinga, incurs sin and should undergo an extensive expiation i.e. *Vaisvanara isti*.[9] But in case of Utkal nowhere such opinion is found. For this two reasons may be pointed out : (i) Kalinga region might have been created comprising telugu and oriya speaking areas where the telugu speaking area was large. That is why Kalinganagara was the capital of the then Kalinga. This place of capital was dominated by the telugu speaking inhabitants. By the amalagamation and enhancement of oriya speaking areas the capital city of Kalinga was supposed to be transfered. For, the dominance of oriya speaking inhabitants were living on the bank of the river *(Citrotpala)* modern Mahanadi and the *Paika-s* were available in plenty for the army,[10] Cuttack city was chosen for the capital city of the then Kalinga; (ii) Since, Gajapati Prataparudra Deva was keenly looking into the matter relating to the amalagamation of telugu and oriya speaking areas in his kingdom, he was interested to patronise the Pandits of both the regions strictly. He was aware that the pandits of south would prefer to expatiate the very customs, manners and beliefs of the southern people in the Dharma sastra digests and the pandits of north to the north. Thereforehe had engazed two versatile pandits from both of the sides. But the fact that he patronised Pandit Laksmidhara to compile a law book *(Sarasvativilas)* pertaining to division of property is the record from which it is ovious that the Andhra belt of people were engaged in framing law in connection with finance with reference to the ethnic settlement of the people under the royal supremacy of Kalinganagara; But the social law was framed by the Utkal belt of people who, by their ethnic settlement, were residing centering around the Cuttack city. Therefore, he has initiated the northern people i.e. Pandit Ramakrishna Bhatta to write down a law book pertaining to socio-religious matters with reference to the prevailing practice of the then Orissa around Cuttack. It is observed that Cuttack has become, during the

reign of Gajapati kings, the key-stone of the socio-religious practice of south-east region in general and Orissa in particular.

3. The capital of Orissa was shifted from Kalinganagara to Cuttack during 1135 A.D. "Why the Gajapati Kings of Orissa chose the very place of Cuttack for this is a subject to be discussed with reference to the military principle of Orissa. This is construed from the very term Kataka (Cuttack) and *Varaṇasi* used in the *Pratapamartanda* i.e. *Varanasikataka-purvapada vibhati*.[12] According to Manu VII. 69 a king has to resort to a fort for his safe settlement. The fort according to him VII. 70 is to be of six kinds. They are namely *dhanvadurga* (protected by a desert), *jaladurga* (protected by a stream of water), *vrksadurga*, (protected by the trees), *nrdurga* (formed by an encampment of armed men), *giridurga* (protected by the hills) and the *mahidurga* (built of stones).[13] Of these six, the *giridurga* is said to be best,[14] because a hill-fort is distinguished by many a superior qualities. Next to it is the fort protected by the stream of water. Remaining in this fort the king is expected to fight against the foes who could not easily attack him. Therefore, in response to the geographical structure of the fort, the Kalinganagar was having the hill-fort of the Gajapati kings whereas Cuttack was that of water. By the growth of population in Kalinganagara the natural quality earned by means of the nature was lost by the hill-fort and the kings wanted to switch over Cuttack. The natural geography of Cuttack is framed by the natural stream of water of *Chitrotpala* (modern Mahanadi) and her branch *Kathajuri*. As per the sanction of the Smrti-s, is known that the fort protected by the stream of water was having furious crocodiles etc.[15] inside the water by which the army of the foes would not interfere in the fort. In response to this, the fort of Varavati was surrounded by the great garakhai-s although the Mahanadi and Kathajuri rivers were there. In order to give justification to the basic characteristic of the water-fort, the author of *Pratapamartanda* records the name of Cuttack city as *Kataka Varanasi*.

4. Under some sort of religious value, a place is recognised as a *tirtha* or *ksetra*. *Tirtha* differs from that of the *ksetra* from its characteristic point of view. In *tirtha*, the importance of water is recognised where as importance of the soil is recognised in the *ksetra*.[16] In the water of the *tirtha* the people take bath with devotion and offer oblation of water in honour of the *pitrs* where as in the *ksetra* the presiding deity of the ksetra or the *ksetradhidaivata* is worshiped although existence of the holy water is there with secondary importance. This basic characteristic is applied to the holy places like Varanasi or purusottama (Puri). In Varanasi the

ksetradhidaivata Visvanath is worshiped although the holy river Ganga is there. The river Ganga receives second importance in comparison with that of Visvanath. The same case is applied to the *Purusottama Ksetra*. In *Purusottama ksetra* the Lord Purusottama Jagannath is worshiped with paramount importance in comparison with the *Mahodadhi* and the *Pancatirtha-s*. People take bath in these tirtha-s and have a *darsan* of the Lord Purusottama Jagannath. But in Prayag or prabhasa which is a tirtha the case is different. The sastras prescribe to take bath here only. With reference to this sort of characteristic, let us comment upon the case of Cuttack city. In fact the nomenclature of Cuttack city is not *Kataka* in the real sense of the term. It is but *Varanasi*. In Varanasi, as discussed above, existence of two rivers is marked. By the help of these two rivers the Varanasi delta is created bearing the characteristic of *ksetra*. These two rivers provide protection to this ksetra. Therefore it is *Varanasi ksetra*. For, the river Mahanadi and Kathajuri protect the delta of Varanasi (i.e. Cuttack), the river Mahanadi and Kathajuri are understood as the river *Varana* and *Asi* respectively. That is why the nomenclature of this delta is determined as such i.e. Varanasi. But it is strange that this could neither become a *ksetra* nor a *tirtha* although the characteristic of the ksetra is connected with it. Since nowhere the presiding deity is mentioned in connection with Varanasi (Cuttack) the city could not be called as ksetra. It is rather a *Kataka*. The author of Pratapamartanda clearly mentions that it is *Kataka Varanasi* i.e. city of Cuttack.[17] Although the Varanasi has every characteristic to be a ksetra, why this is not designated as such is a matter of question. Answer to this question may be put forth in this way that since a ksetra needs a presiding deity and the socalled Varanasi does not in possession of that, it is held that it has a presiding head i.e. the king. Therefore the designation *Katake* conveying the sense of capital is connected with it. According to the lexicons the very term *Kataka* is used in various sense where the sense pertaining to army-station or the capital finds expression.[18]

5. An interesting subject that draws attention of the scholars is that in *Kataka Varanasi* there were three temples of three deities i. e. Sri Visvanath, Girija and Gananath. It is held that these three deities might be placed in three different temples with different importance. It might not be the temple of Visvanath where Girija and Gananath are generally placed as *parsva devata* the side deities. Because according to the paraphernalia relating to the installation of the *parsva devata* the place of Kartikeya is inevitable. But nowhere Kartikeya is refered in the text of

Pratapamartanda. If that be the case, it would be the only the temple of Visvanath. Since these three deities are cited with equal importance, it is submitted that there might be erected three temples distinctly for the three deities. For, the Cuttack city is named as *Kataka Varanasi*, the author of *Pratapamartanda* has not forgotten to point out the existence of Visvanath temple in order to draw the sign of similarity of Varanasi with *Kataka Varanasi*. Secondly, in the history of the Smrtinibandhas of Orissa, Lord Jagannath was prayed in the mangalacarana[19], at first, in the works endorsed to the name of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva. Therefore it is held that before the declaration of Lord Jagannath as *Rastra devata*[20], the land of Orissa was dominated by the saivites and the kings were designated as *Paramamahesvara.*[21] With reference to this the nomenclature of Cuttack city might be chosen as *Kataka Varanasi*.

It is recommended that the scholars may come forward to identify the temples of Visvanath, Girija and Gananatha along with their precinct by which the real history of Cuttack city would be discovered better.

NOTES

1. The original sanskrit text of Sarasvativilasa was for the first time edited by Dr. R. Sham Shastry and published by the Mysore University in the year 1927. Previously the english translation of this work by Rev. Thomas Foulkes was published in the year 1881. In this paper reference of Sarasvativilasa is used from the Mysore University edition. See for details *History of Dharmasastra.* Vol. I, p. II (B. O. R. I. 1975, p. 869-879.

2. Pratapamartanda is not so far published. Reference of Pratapamartanda used in this paper is made from the unpublished ph. D. thesis of Dr. Sujata Bohidar accepted by Sri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri 1989 under the title "Pratapamartanda A Critical Edition" who has chiefly utilised the manuscript of the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute Library bearing the D. C. ms. No. 48 of 1872-73. The author is highly obliged to Dr. Bohidar for her kind permission.

3. In Mitaksara system of Hindu Law four sub divisions were prevalent in the whole of India namely the Benares school, Mithila school, Bombay school and Dravida school. In Dravida school the Sarasvativilasa was accepted as an authority. Vide. *Principles of Hindu Law* by D. F. Mulla (Bombay. 1982) intro. p. 50 ff.

4. Ramakrishna Bhatta has not indicated his name in Pratapamartanda. He refers to Pratapamartanda as his work in his another work *Tirtharatnakara*. Vide. HBS. Vol. I P. II, P. 1036.
5. Mukherjee, p. *History of Gajapati kings of Orissa* (Cuttack. 1981) p.41
6. Mishra, M. *Mimansadarsan* (Meerut. 1954), p. 220-221.
7. *Desah. kascidihotkalo'sti jaladhestira visisto mahan/Adhyaste yamunesvarastrigunabhrt darusvarupo harih.* / Pr. M. Benedictory verse. No. 2.
8. Swain, B. K. *Water Ordeal in Medieval Orissa. A Study on the Smrti Records Pertaining to Gajapati Period.* A paper presented in the medieval section of the seminar on the occasion of the XVI Orissa History Congress held at Bhanja Vihar. 1990.
9. *Padbhyam sa kurute padam yah kalingan prapadyate/Rsayor niskrtim tasya prahur vaisvanaro havih* Bau. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 16.
10. Op. cit f. n. 8.
11. Mahatab, H. K. *Odisa Itihasa* (Cuttack. 1977). Vol. I. p.181.
12. *Citrotpaleti bhati tasminnadi ya janaughanam/Drstisprstyavagahana-panair duritam vinasayati/* /pr. M.Verse. 3 *Tire visistamanimanda pavedisaudhasobhavinirjitasurendraguhatha tasyah/Srivisvanatha-girijagananathayukta Varanasi Katakapurvapada vibhati* / pr. M. Verse. 4.
13. *Dhanvadurgam mahidurgamabdurgam varksameva va/ Nrdurgam giridurgam va samasritya vaset puram//* Manu. VII.70
14. *Sarvena tu prayatnena giridurgam samasrayet/ Esam hi bahugunyna giridurgam visisyate//* Ibid. 71
15. Ibid. 72
16. *Jalavatarastirtham/ /*
17. *Varanasi katakapurvapada vibhati//*pr. M. Verse.4
18. *Katakah.....................senayam rajadhanyam ca//*Haimakosa. III.16 *Katako'stri nitambedrer dantinam dantamandane/ Samudralavane rajadhani balayayorapi //*Medinikosa. V.56-57
19. See. f.n.7
20. After Lord Jagannath is declared as the *Rastradevata* of Utkal,the Oriya literature recorded Puri as a *kataka* or the capital. Cf. *Yevana katake chatake varatake mukati.....................* etc.
21. Inscriptions of Orissa. Ed. S. N. Rajaguru.

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A Tale of two Kataks

(ABHINAV VARANASI KATAK O PURUSOTTAM.KATAK.)

Dr. Jasobanta Narayan Dhar

Destiny has given roles of importance to the towns of Puri and Cuttack in the history of Orissa. These places were referred to as PURUSOTTAM KATAK and ABHINAV VARANASI KATAK respectively in several medieval inscriptions of Orissa. In those epigraphic records repeated occurence of both the names can be seen. One of these places (Viz. PURUSOTTAM KATAK or PURI) has been regarded as spiritual nerve centre of Orissa and one of the most important "Dhamas" of India, where as the other (Viz. Abhinav Baranasi Katak or Cuttack) was regarded as the political and civic capital of Orissa for a pretty long period.

One of the greatest spiritual leaders of India Adi Shankaracharya of 8th century A.D. had declared Puri as an important place of Saivite School. The saint lived in between 788 A.D. and 822 A.D. and never before the visit of Adishankar this place of Purusottam Sri Jagannath was known to be related to Saivism. Adi Shankar not only established his monastery here but also appointed his chief desciple Sri Padmapadacharya as the head of this monastery. Adi Shankar's only aim was to spread Shaivism in India and rout out Buddhism. This movement of Adishankar was fruitful and he was able to dispel Buddhism from Orissa as well as India and established Saivism with a strong foundation in this land.

In Orissa we can see consequence of that effort which was reflected in a number of place names of Orissa, Viz. Abhinav Baranasi Katak, Bhubaneswar, Mancheswar, etc. Interestingly a number of places were named as Kasi-Varanasi in the east coast of India. If we enquire into it then we will find that at that time when a place of Buddistic importance converted as a place of Saivism by constructing a large number of Saiva temples then it was told that a new "Kasi-Varanasi" was established. This naming pattern was also followed while naming this town, though here the name of a fort was given as Abhinav Varanasi Katak.

However, the history of Cuttack was unveiled from the time of Ananta Varman Chodaganga Deva's rule in Orissa in 12th century A.D.

though an obscure past of almost 125 years more was always there with this Cuttack town. Chodaganga Deva conquered Orissa before 1112 A.D. and prior to it he in his own inscriptions had described himself as "Parama-Maheswar" (Devotee of Maheswar or Siva) but after he conquered Orissa he declared himself as the "Devotee of Vishnu" also. Both "Parama-Maheswar and Parama Vaishnab" honorifics were given before his name in the inscriptions of post Orissan-rule era. It was most probably due to his devotion towards Lord Sri Jagannath of Puri, who was treated as a vaishnavite deity in those years. This warrior monarch established his suzernity over "Pancha Katak" (Five Kataks or Forts) including Abhinav Varanasi Katak, as we know from Madala Panji. We also know that in the year 1135 A.D. Chodaganga Dev shifted his capital to Varanasi Katak of Orissa.

It is interesting to know, that not a single ancient inscription has been found from Cuttack town, Which we can say of that age and can support the antiquity of this millennium year old township. However, a number of old inscriptions of those days were discovered during the deplastering of Nrusingha Mandir in Sri Mandir precinct. These inscriptions of Puri Mandir threw light over the history of Cuttack as well as of Orissa of that period. Therefore, it can be said that recorded history of Puri and Cuttack began from the same time though both these urban centres had an obscure past each prior to the rule of Choda Ganga Deva. As long as we know both the citadels were connected with each other in various ways as in those days political heads were owing their allegiance to the devine authority and particularly in Orissa, our kings have declared themselves as the first servants of Sri Jagannath, the presiding deity of Orissa and ruled this state on his behalf.

As per the finding place of Governments order of that period one may be misled to believe that Puri was the ancient capital because a number of inscription having royal order have been found from the town of Puri where as Cuttack has produced none.

Ananga Bhima Deva II of Ganga Dynasty issued an copper plate inscription from Abhinav Varanasi Katak in the year 1230-31 A.D. which was found from the Nagari Village of Cuttack district. This inscription was deciphered by Paramananda Acharya. The 7th order of this copper plate inscription said that a village named Vilaspur of Kudanda Vishaya was given to some Brahmins on a Sunday, that day was a New Moon day falling on Makar Sankranti. That village was situated near the newly built temple of 'Vagabat Sri Purusottama' The fifth order of the dame copper

plate also referred to this newly built temple. Late Acharya had confirmed that the date of this copper plate was in December 1230 A.D. to January 1231 A.D. So, it was inferred that Sri Ananga Bhima Deva II had constructed a Sri Purusottam or Sri Jagannath temple at Abhinav Varanasi Katak in the line of the original one at Purusottam Katak or Puri. This was the beginning of the tradition which was followed throughout Orissa thereafter by the kings and Zamindars of different princely states. This has given Orissa a single cultural and spiritual entity and till now the car festival of Sri Jagannath is celebrated all over Orissa. So, this can be said that the strong bond of affinity of both these centres was first tied by the lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Orissan states. But, unfortunately the first memorials of this bond, i.e. the temple of Sri Purusottam at Cuttack is no more found in the town of Cuttack as this was destroyed during invasion of Firuz-shah-Tughlak in 1360-61 A.D. But though the temple was destroyed after 130 years of its foundation yet, the bond of cultural unity tied by Sri Jagannath between Purusottam Katak (Puri) and Abhinav Varanasi Katak (Cuttack) was upheld by the subsequent rulers of Orissa.

As we know from the history, the mighty and powerful general of Last Ganga king (Malta Bhanu Deva) usurped to the throne of Orissa overthrowing the weak king through a coup d'etat towards the second part of 15th century A.D. This general was one of the greatest kings of Orissa who established the Surya Vansa or Solar Dynasty in Orissa. He was Kapilendra Deva. He sought and got the blessings of Lord Jagannath and the powerful Brahmins and sebayat of Sri Mandir through which his claim over the throne was legitimized.

The Ganga Kings ruled over Orissa for about 325 years which put it in the list of one of the lengthiest dynasties of India. Rarely, even in the world any dynasty ruled over one capital with sovereign power for such a long period.

During Surya Vansa rule relation of both the towns of Puri and Cuttack was further strengthened. Gajapati Purusottam Deva ascended the throne at Barabati with the strong support of Pandits and sebayata of Sri Mandir. The politics and diplomacy of this coronation was so dependent on Sri Jagannath and centred around the Puri temple that one may think that Puri was actual capital of Orissa at that time. A number of royal proclaimations were issued from Purusottama Katak in the reign of Gajapati Purusottama Deva. Those inscriptions refered to Cuttack as the then capital

but were issued from the town of Puri. Some of these inscriptions are still found at the threshold of Sri Mandir, known as Jayavijaya Dwara.

Abhinav Varanasi Katak or Cuttack was the starting point of military expeditions of Orissan army at that time, for example Sri Purusottam Deva led the victorious expedition against Kanchi or Vijaya Nagara empire and returned back to Abhinav Varanasi Katak with one Ratna Sinhasan, Idol of Sri Ganesh and Gopal but involvement of Lord Sri Jagannath and his brother Sri Balabhadra legend were so much that people believe till to day that this expedition was started from the temple of Puri. The booties collected from this victorious expedition was also deposited in the Sri Mandir of Puri as we see to day (the Ratna Sinhasan, where idols of presiding deities of Sri Mandir were placed and the idol of Lord Ganesh was placed by the side of the outer wall of main temple of Sri Mandir.) But, the Gopal idol was brought to Cuttack and worshipped in Barabati Fort (in a place called Gopal priya Jagati). Now, this same idol is at Satyabadi and known as Sakshi-Gopal. Most probably, from the time of Gajapati Purusottam Deva the King of Orissa started sweeping the chariots of Sri Jagannath etc. at the time of car festival before the assembly of his subjects. This act of humility gave the king a devine sanction to rule over this state.

From the time of the rule of the Suryavansi the temple-preisits and sebayats had unchallenged command over the political machinery of Orissa. It was so intense that one might think that Puri was even the political capital of Orissa at that time and not the Gajapati sitting at Barbati Fort was the king but Sri Jagannath of Puri was the king of kings. Sri Purusottama Deva, was choosen according to the will of Sri Jagannath. and there-after in almost all occassion the king of Orissa was choosen according to the order of lord Jagannath. And every king of Orissa had to ratify his coronation with the support of priests and other eminent temple officers of Puri. So, during the rule of next dynasties a royal palace was constructed at Balisahi, Puri and traditionally the practice was accepted that the coronation of new kings had to be celebrated here only.

Now it became clear that kings of Orissa used to reside both at Cuttack and Puri as per their political and spiritual requirements. Since the foundation of Cuttack, this was treated as their own stronghold and Puri became their second home. Closeness to the god had blessed them with happiness and peace. Both the places were equally pleasant and important for them. But after the subjugation of Orissa in 1568 A. D., the Kings of Khurda, as they were designated later on had to face very unpleasant moments, even humiliated in the prisons at Cuttack, under muslim rule.

Cuttack was no more their own home. Alongwith the deities of Puri Sri Mandir, the Kings of Khurda had to face a fugitive life of refugee in the marshy islands of Chilika lake.

A number of kings and members of royal household, even the officers loyal to them were imprisoned in the fort of Barabati, where once they were enjoying so much previlege. Many historians, some royl members themselves had written about misery of their own life at Cuttack. One of the most rough and disturbing accounts was that of Gajapati Ramchandra Deva II.

Gajapati Ramachandra Deva II ascended the throne of Khurda from 1727 A. D. and continued to rule till 1737 A. D. At that time Murshid Quli Jafar Khan (first) was the Subadar. He was a man of religious tolerance but after him one Shajauddin Mohd Khan was deputed as Subedar of Orissa. A son of this Subadar from a concubine named as Mohd. Taqui Khan was subsequently appointed as his deputy. This Taqui Khan attacked the fort of Khurda repeatedly. He also attacked Rathipur Gada when the king was staying in that fort and took the king as captive to Cuttack. Thus started the horrible experience of the Gajapati of Orissa in the prison of Cuttack. He was kept as a prisoner there from the 3rd May 1732 A.D. Late Kedarnath Mohapatra had furnished some details about his prison life in his erudite work "Khurdha Itihas" "Madala Panji" and "Khurdha Itihas" differs on duration of imprisonment of the Gajapati Ramachandra Deva. According to temple chronicle Madala Panji he was imprisoned here for about six months but Late Mohapatra has written that King Ramachandra Deva's prison life was exactly 13 months and 15 days. It was said that he fell in love with the daughter of the Subadar and got her married. He was reportedly converted to Islam and renamed as Hafiz Quadar. However, he remained an ardent devotee of lord Jagannath and it is still doubtful whether he honestly accepted islam.

The Rajguru of Khurda at that time Parama Laxmi Mohapatra, who was a scholar of Sanskrit, Arbic and Persian came to Cuttack and ensured the release of Gajapati by reciting the Arabic translation of Sanskrit Bhatti Kabya. But the king though released from the prison, was not accepted by conservative hindu pandits as the run our had spread that the king had undergone conversion to Islam religion by virtue of his marraige with the daughter of the Subadar of Cuttack. Moreover, the family of the Gajapati withdrew their support and declared the king as defiled.

The idols of Sri Jagannath etc. were also removed and some sebayats took refuge near Chilika lake when Gajapati was under arrest. Subsequently the idols are taken to Banpur for fear of attack on the temple by the infidels. From Banpur again the idols were taken to Tikili for safety. On 2nd July 1733 A.D. the idols were brought back to Puri for Car Festival but after the ceremony they were kept out side in the jungles of Orissa's Garjat.

The King of Khurda, Gajapati Sri Ramachandra Deva II amidst frustation and agony, being rejected by the public, Pandits and family members fought a lone battle to ensure and establish the prestigious return of the four idols to the temple of Puri and to regain his royal insignia. It was his heroic struggle which was the only silver lining in the long history of Khurda Raj Family. This note-worthy life story has inspired many a modern writers to write a requiem for this fallen hero. Nila Saila and Niladri Vijaya two famous novels written by a noted fiction writer Sri Surendra Mohanty are based on the story and struggle of Gajapati Ramachandra Deva, the second.

Besides story of this fugitive King another national hero had undergone imprisonment in Cuttack in the early years of British rule. He was the general of Khurda army, Buxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar. He died in the town of Cuttack amidst sorrow and misfortune. He was here under house-arrest for about 3 years and 4 months from May 27th of 1825 A. D. to January 24th of 1829 A. D. but as people think that the Buxi Bazar of Cuttack was named after him is not correct. The place name was found even before 10 years of Buxi Jagabandhu's date of imprisonment at Cuttack.

At the time of famous Paik Rebellion the King of Khurda was Mukund Deva. He was the king of Khurda from 1789 A. D. to 1817 A. D. His fort and residence was ransacked after the British subjugated Orissa. Since the imposition of Muslim rule this royal dynasty of Khurda tried to keep the banner of Orissan royality up but failed ultimately to the brutal attack of British. In the known history of Orissa from Kharvel the great, Orissa's Kings had established their paramouncy for about 1600 years and under the authority of Muslim and Marahatta rule, they were there for about 235 years though like a shadow of their former self but after this defeat the kingship of Orissa was completely trounced and hence onward they were only known as Rajas of Puri, without any territory and they resided in a house called Sri Nabar in Puri. Subsequently another Sri Nabar was built at the Grand road of Puri.

But Mukund Deva, the last Khurda King was kept under arrest in Medinipur from 1804 A. D. to 1807 A. D. he was allowed to stay in Puri Sri Nabar at Balisahi. But when the British government faced the Paika rebellion and could manage to control it they felt that keeping the king in Puri was a mistake and therefore one army officer named LeFerve arrested the king at Puri and brought the king to Cuttack. He was kept under house-arrest and strict supervision at Cuttack. In Cuttack he led a miserable life and was unable to offer his puja before lord Jagannath, Being deprived from his daily "darshan" he was emmotionally wrote a "Janana" (devotional ode to Sri Jagannath). That Janana is reproduced in its original form below.

ଆହେ ନୀଳାଦ୍ରି ବିହାର !
କଟକେ ଅଟକ ହେବାରୁ ମୋ ଦିନ ସରୁନାହିଁ ଝୁରି ଝୁରି । ୦ ।

ବାବୁ ଚିନ୍ତାମଣି ଭରକ ନଜାଣି ରାମଚନ୍ଦ୍ରଙ୍କୁ ଆଣିଲେ
ରାଜାଧି ପଣ୍ଡିତ କୈବଲ୍ୟ ଲଙ୍ଘିଣ ବାରବାଟୀ ଧରାଇଲେ । ୧ ।

ଚକାଆମ୍ବ ଠାରୁ ବିକାଯାଇ ଯାଏ ଝାଡ଼ ଜଙ୍ଗମ ବୁଲିଲି,
ତୁମ୍ଭର ଶ୍ରୀମୁଖ ଦର୍ଶନ ନପାଇ କଟକେ ଅଟକ ହେଲି । ୨ ।

ବାବୁ ହରିହର ସୁପାଣି ମୋହର ବାରେ ମୋତେ ଦୟା କର,
ଭଣ୍ଡାରରୁ ଝଣ୍ଟା ବାହାର କରଣ ପ୍ରଭୁ ! ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଶସୁନ୍ଦ୍ୱାର । ୩ ।

କେଉଁ କର୍ମସ୍ଥାନ କରୁଛୁ ଜଣାଣ କମା ନଶୁଣି ଗୁହାରି,
ଶ୍ରୀଚରଣ ତଳେ ଶରଣ ପଶୁଛୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ନବ କେଶରୀ ହେ । ୪ ।

(Vide "Khurudha Itihas, Page 275-276.)

But, the golden days were already gone by that time. Niether, Lord Sri Jagannath, nor his officials were able to provide solace for his bruised Soul. And at last, he died a sad death inside the closed wall of Barabati fort. His son Rama Chandra Deva was coronated as the next King of Puri. His coronation was done in the Fort of Barabati, Cuttack. The golden relation of Puri (The Purusottam Katak) and Cuttack (The Abhinav Varanasi Katak) during the monarchy began to end in this way.

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Cuttack 1803-1805

Miss. Asha Mittra

From all the correspondences and records available upto 1805, it is quite clear that the British after conquering Cuttack from the Marathas, which "happened on the 14th October 1803, which is a happy and auspicious day" (Proclamation, Cuttack 15th September 1804) tried their best to deal with the people of that territory fairly. No doubt within two years of the conquest, achievements were tremendous. Under the Maratha rule there were some laws, but those were not strictly followed.

The people were accustomed to chaotic condition. The British, as soon as they occupied Cuttack, introduced the Bengal Regulations in the District or province of Cuttack, which was divided into Northern Southern Divisions. Early British administration in the Cuttack province was not free from corruption. There were dishonest British officers and Bengali Amlas who exploited the ignorance and simplicity of the people.

Soon after the British conquest, Balasore was made the headquarters or the Northern Division and Captain Morgan was placed in charge of that Division. There was a controversy regarding the selection of the headquarters of the Southern Division. Colonel Harcourt and John Melville, who constituted the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of Orissa preferred to locate it at Cuttack. T. Fortesque, Secretary to the Commissioners, wrote a letter in this connection to Charles Gromme who was appointed Judge, Magistrate and Collector of the Southern Division. The letter dated 8th November 1804 says :—"yet on a consideration of the comparative fertileness of the land in the vicinity of Cuttack, the convenience of the court of Circuit and the proportionately greater number of wealthy inhabitants in Cuttack constitute in the opinion of the Board strong arguments in favour of your proposal and they are therefore pleased to authorise you to establish your residence and Sudder Cutchery contiguous to the town of Cuttack." Accordingly Cuttack became the Headquarters and arrangements were made to establish a civil and a criminal court.

Immediately the Secretary entertain C. Gromme to establish a police station at Cuttack authorising him to entertain an establishment of 60

Barkandagies with proportional Jamadars to aid Darogah in the execution of his duty.

He was further directed "to bear in mind the regulation of the Bengal Government"—(Vide Letter dated 9-11-1804, from T. Fortesque, Secretary, to C. GROMME, Magistrate) for his guidance. The area defined under the Cuttack Police Station in the same letter is—"the extension of which aught to take is nothing less than the whole of the island extending as far as a mile beyond east of bunglow at present known by the name of Capt. Hetzler's bunglow."

Soon after the conquest, the British became eager to come to settlement with the existing Zamindars and Landowners. Ameels were instructed not to collect undue revenue "and to preserve the respective rights of individuals—and no unauthorised collection what ever is to be made by any one." (Letter from the Secretary to Captain Morgan dated 22nd April 1804). In the Proclamation of 15th Sept. 1804, From Cuttack, the Board of commissioners decided to "follow a plan for the settlement of Cuttack as may be most conducive to the prosperity of the country and to the happiness of the inhabitants." Temporary arrangements first were made with the Zamindars and it was decided that after an experimental period of eleven years the Board will come to a permanent settlement with the landowners if the previous experiments prove to be satisfactory. A circular in that respect was issued by the Board of Commissioners to the Collector instructing "that in making the assessment of the district under your charge it should be fixed upon principles of liberality and moderation." In the same circular of the 15th Sept. 1804 the Collector is instructed to do fair justice to all. It says—"If any party seems aggrieved, the party is at liberty to sue for redress in the Zillah Court".

The British occupied Cuttack on the 10th October 1803, and within a year they were already well established and in a position to settle the land revenue. Besides the ordinary Zamindars and Landowners the British had to deal with the Rajas and Tributary Chiefs and that was not an easy task.

After fixing the land revenue, the Board decided that "the same system and period for the payment of the revenue should exist through out the Province of Cuttack."

Side by side with land revenue settlement the system of payment by Cowrie was discouraged and Collector was instructed to insist the Zamindars and Landholders to pay the amount of this revenue in rupees as far as possible. This order was given on 10th Nov-1804, it was not possible for

the landowners to pay in rupees immediately, so for some time revenue was accepted in rupees as well as in Cowries. But gradually payment by Cowries was stopped.

After dealing with all these things the Board now felt the necessity of handling postal department in the Province of Cuttack. On 30th January 1805 a circular was sent by Fortesque, the Secretary to the Collector South Divison telling him that, "the future management of the Dawks within the Province of Cuttack" be transmitted to the Collector. The same circular further says that, "the Board directs you will assume the charge and management of the Dawks (including the Banghy, Palankeen bearers)." The then acting Postmaster Lt. Beckett was directed to give the charge of the Dawk of Cuttack to the Collector.

Judge, Magistrate and Collector of the Southern Division by T. Fortesque, Secretary to the Commissioners, it was evident that the Board of Commissioners, that Groeme enjoyed greater authority than the Judge, Magistrate and Collector of the Northern Division.

The Company desired that the revenue realised and the quantity of salt produced and exported under the Marathas should be assessed. But Col. Harcourt and Melville commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack informed the Board of Trade, Fort William on 29th Sept. 1805 that "no information whatever is to be derived from any of the Maratha records in our possession on those points as it does not apply that the former Govt. took any account of this article or realised any particular revenue from it. So the British had to form new laws and regulations for the management of this department.

Salt was the main source of Excise duty. J. Melville entertained an opinion that for preventing the smuggling of Cuttack salt into Bengal, price should not be increased. This is a proof that a great amount of salt was smuggled from Cuttack to Bengal and Melville wanted to check it by lowering the price of salt.

Not only salt, but cloth manufacture of Cuttack was also very famous. This famous industry was actually on the point of ruin when the Company occupied Cuttack, due to the negligence of the Marathas. Col. J. Harcourt and J. Melville in their joint petition to the President and the members of the Board of Revenue dated, Calcutta' the 29th Sept. 1805 stated that "It is well-known that Cuttack was seventy years since famed for an excellent and extensive cloth manufacture. The English East India company alone derived from it annual investment from 10 to 12 lakhs of rupees." But at the same time that it will "require several years to recover

that important breach of the natural value of the Province". The cause of the ruin of this famous trade was the attitude of the Marathas. The Marathas never bothered to improve the trade niether encouraged the manufacturers by financial help or to export their finished goods. Instead of helping the growth of the particular trade, the Marathas squeezed them for money when required it. As a result the trade was on the point of collapse. It was only for the encouragement and help of the Company the ruined trade was again taken up by the weavers.

The Secretary to the Board of Commissioners, informed J. Hunter, the Collector ot Puri (Vide his letter dated 3-7-1804), the Board's desire not to interfere with the religious ceremonies of Jagannath "by any act of their authority and to see that the ceremonies and customs are permitted and supported on every occasion" Eevn one Gopendra Rai Mahasaya, an impartial and disinterested person was appointed to assist the Collector in the management of the Jagannath temple. The collector was warned that any interference in that sphere would affect the "peace and happiness of so vast a population of the inhabitants of the British dominion in India."

The Board also thought it proper to continue the discharging of charities to the people and establishments who were already receiving those until and unless a thorough investigation is made about the claim of each individual and each establishment. The Board so instructed the Collector of Cuttack to continue those charities until the completion of the investigation and proper arrangement of the future.

In September 1805, the Board of Commissioners was abolished and the province of Cuttack came under one Judge and Magistrate and one Collector. Robert Ker the Judge and Magistrate established public market at Cuttack town and induced the merchants to build houses of stone and morter. He also established outposts at Cuttack town to prevent lawlessness and burglary.

(R. Ker to Suddre Board of Revenue 19th September 1806).

Cuttack under the British Rule

Sri Atul Chandra Pradhan

Cuttack town was the headquarter of Orissa during the Maratha rule which preceded the establishment of British rule. In the second half of the eighteenth century important political negotiations between the Marathas and the English took place at Cuttack. In 1766 Thomas Motte, the representative of Lord Clive came to Cuttack and initiated political talks with the Maratha Subadar for the transfer of Orissa to the English through negotiation.[1] David Anderson, the representative of Governor General Warren Hastings came to Cuttack early in 1781. His talks with Chimnaji Bapu, the second son of Mudhoji Bhonsla resulted in the conclusion of a treaty between the Bhonslas and the English, according to which the English agreed to pay thirteen lakhs of rupees to the Bhonslas, and the latter allowed the march of English troops under the command of Col. Pearse through Orissa.[2]

Early in September 1803 the English began their campaign for the occupation of Orissa from the south under the command of Lt. Col. Harcourt. Harcourt occupied Puri on 18 September 1803. After encountering some resistance on the way the English troops reached Cuttack on 10 October 1803. As the English occupied the town, the Marathas took shelter inside the Barabati fort. The Barabati fort was strongly built of stone and surrounded by a wet ditch, varying from 35 to 135 feet in breadth. It had only one entrance, with a very narrow bridge leading over the ditch to it. Early in the morning, on 14 October, the English troops started firing on the fort, and "by 11 A.M. all the defences had been knocked to pieces and the guns of the fort silenced".[3] As the English troops entered the fort, the Marathas tried to escape, and many of them were drowned in the ditch while running away.

After the British occupation of Orissa, the British authorities temporarily appointed Colonel Harcourt and Melville as Special Commissioners for consolidating the administration. While both these special Commissioners were stationed at Cuttack. James Hunter who was appointed as the acting Collector was stationed at Puri. The offices of Special Commi-

ssioners were abolished in 1805. Although the British authorities were well aware of the importance of Cuttack, yet in the initial phase of British rule for sometime Puri was the headquarter of Orissa.

From 1816 onwards, Cuttack remained the headquarter of Orissa althrough the British rule. Because of communication difficulties, caused by the Mahanadi and the Kathjudi, the English officials did not like to be posted at Cuttack, but once posted at Cuttack, they liked the place because of its natural charm, and cohesive social life, fostered by natural barriers. John Beames, a former Collector of Cuttack, observed "Sir William Crey, the Lieutenant Governor used to say that he could not get men to go to Cuttack, but once they had got there he could not get them to come away from it. Men did not like going there because it was so out of the way, but when they once got there they found it so pleasant, they wished to stay".[4] Beames recalled in his memoirs that his stay at Cuttack was the happiest part of his career as the Civilian in India.

In the nineteenth century the public and administrative life of Cuttack was dominated by the Englishmen and Bengalis. While the English held top civil and military posts, the subordinate posts in the bureaucracy were held by the Bengalis. About the position of Oriyas in bureaucracy, the magistrate of Cuttack observed in 1821 "Scarcely a single real Oriya receives a salary more than Rs. 10/- per mensem, but several are naturalized Bengalis or Musalmans. I always give preference to Oriyas but at this moment I scarcely know a single Oriya possessing qualifications to fit him for being a common Muharrier".[5] As a result of the frequent short term settlements many aristocratic and reputed Oriya families lost their lands which were bought by the Bengali speculators at low prices. The Bengalis dominated the bureaucracy as well as the public life as Zamindars, Lawyers and doctors and socio-religious reformers. They became domiciled in Orissa and some of them played significant roles in the public life as naturalized Oriyas rather than as outsiders.

The English officials and non-officials who were a few and whose number could reach 100 only on special occasions lived a separate social life and had practically no interaction with the indigenous society. Some English officials like T.E. Ravenshaw and John Beames were quite popular among the natives. About the Oriyas' attitude towards T E. Ravenshaw, the most popular English administrator John Beams wrote

> "He was a kindly, patriarchal sort of oldman, grey-headed and stout and quite free from any official stiffness or haughtiness. I had no

great respect for his abilities, nor had anyone else, but he had much experience and knew his Orissa and Oriyas thoroughly. They loved him as much as they are capable of loving a European. His very slowness and muddling, hesitating ways commended themselves to the sluggish Oriya mind. They touched some answering string in their souls".[6]

When John Beams left Cuttack in 1877 many people wept.[7] The European missionaries, because of the nature of their work had some interaction with the local population. They were the pioneers of press and education and made significant contribution to the growth of public life in Cuttack town as well as Orissa. Cuttack was the headquarter of the Baptist and Roman Catholic missionaries in Orissa. The Baptist missionaries started their activities in Cuttack in 1822, and the Roman Catholic missionaries started theirs in 1845. In 1823 the Baptist missionaries established an Anglo-Vernacular school at Cuttack. This was the first English School of Orissa. In 1837 the Baptist missionaries started the first printing press of Orissa at Cuttack. From this press they brought out three journals in Oriya-*Jnanaruna* (1849), *Prabodha Chandrika* (1856) and *Arunoday* (1861). In 1841 the Government took over the English Charity school of Cuttack which was redesignated as the Cuttack Zilla School in 1851.

Cuttack was a great centre of commerce in Maratha period. There were rich Gosain and Parwar merchants in Cuttack during the Maratha period. There was a flourishing salt trade at Cuttack during the Maratha period,[8] which declined during the British period. In 1822 Stirling noted that Cuttack "is divided into a number of Mehallas and Bazars, named after the Sirdars who founded or the trades or classes residing principally in them, as the Tatar Khan, Ali Shah, Uria, Telinga and C. Bazar".[9] Rice trade developed at Cuttack during the British period. As the Marathi merchants did not supply rice to Cuttack, the Government took steps to foster rice trade at Cuttack by supplying rent-free lands to merchants for building houses at Chandni Chowk.[10] In 1870's Beames noted that the Cuttack and Balasore merchants did "a very large business in exporting rice, chiefly to Madras".[11] The famine of 1866 was partly due to the fact that in the previous year a large quantity of rice had been exported from Orissa to Madras.

The flood in the Mahanadi and the Kathjudi caused concern to the British authorities, as the Cuttack town was very much threatened by it. In 1858, Colonel Arthur Cotton, the English engineer, who had planned the

digging of Canals from the Godavari came to Orissa for survey in the Mahanadi delta. After survey Cotton recommended a system of canals to be dug for the purpose of flood control, irrigation and navigation. In 1860 East India Irrigation and Canal Company was formed for digging three canals. The company was incorporated by an Act of the Parliament in 1861. The Company built two weirs in the Mahanadi. Near Cuttack town the weir was built at Jobra, which supplied water to the Taldanda canal and its branch, the Machgaon canal. A canal workshop was also built at Jobra.

The famine of 1866 created pathetic sights of hungry crowds at Cuttack. Pyarimohan Acharya, an eye witness of the sight observed

> "The towns were filled with the sorrowful shrieks of thousands of men, women and children, who had been reduced to mere skeletons. The crematory grounds near the towns and villages were full of innumerable dead bodies and upon them vultures and jackals feasted to their hearts' content. Men and women forsook their natural instincts owing to the unbearable pangs of hunger. Parents cast away their starving children before wild animals to be devoured by them. Some even ate the dead bodies of their own children like demons. Social evils such as murder, suicide, etc. became a very common thing at the time. Some people tried to live upon wild shrubs and inedible materials" [12]

The famine threw the whole bureaucratic machinery out of gear. When John Beames came to officiate as Commissioner in 1874, he found the Cuttack Collectorate in a state of confusion, with a heavy amount of backlogs.[13]

The post-famine period saw the development of socio-political consciousness in Orissa through the spread of education, growth of Press and journalism and formation of public associations. A new elite emerged in the post-famine period. Two college classes were opened in Cuttack Zilla School in 1868. In 1878 it became a full-fledged college, and was named after T. E. Ravenshaw, the popular Commissioner of Orissa. The School classes were detached from the college in 1912 and were named as the Ravenshaw Collegiate School. In 1875, Orissa Medical School was started. The same year Pyari Mohan Academy was started by Pyari Mohan Acharya.

In 1866 Gaurishankar Roy formed the Cuttack Printing Company and brought out the famous weekly, *Utkal Dipika*. Following the example of Gaurishankar Roy, others set up press at Cuttack in the nineteenth century,

such as Utkal Hitaishini Press (started in 1873 by the Zamindar Kalipad Banerji), Victoria Press (started by Jagannath Rao in 1885), Bamanda Press (this press was borrowed by Chaturbhuja Pattnayak from Sudhal Deb, the Maharaja of Bamanda and installed at Cuttack in 1885), and Utkal Sahitya Press. After the publication of *Utkal Dipika, Utkal Putra* started by Pyarimohan Acharya in 1873 and *Utkal Sahitya* (started by Biswanath Kar in 1897) were the important journals to be published from Cuttack.

In 1869 Utkal Brahmo Samaj was formed at Cuttack. In 1871 Prof. Haranath Bhattacharya of the Cuttack College assumed responsibility for organising the Samaj. InCourse of time the eminent luminaries of Orissa such as Pyari Mohan Acharya, Madhusudan Rao, Biswanath Kar and Sadhu-charan Roy were influenced by Brahmoism and joined the Brahmo Samaj.

While a new Oriya elite emerged in the post-famine period, the traditional elite, comprising Maharajas, Rajas and Zamindars, started playing significant roles in the public life of Cuttack. The Rajas and Zamindars played twofold roles. On the one hand, they acted as the loyalist pillars of the British Raj; they used to appear with their glittering uniforms and pearls and gold in the grand Durbars, held at Cuttack on the occasion of the Lieutenant Governors' visit. When Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal visited Cuttack towards the end of 1874, all the rulers of the tributary Mahals and Principal Zamindars were summoned to meet him at Cuttack. About this Durbar of the rulers, held at Cuttack on this occasion, John Beames, the then Collector of Cuttack has given the following description

> "Of course there was a magnificent Durbar or State assemblage, at which all the Maharajas and Rajas of the Tributary states—the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hills, as we called them—appeared in all their barbaric pearl and gold, with hosts of wild retainers in ancient rusty coats of mail, tiger-skins, spears and jangling chains and ornaments. One man brought six hundred of these wild followers with him, and was very angry with me because I insisted on his sending three quarters of them away again. I could not allow six hundred highland caterans to stalk about my peaceful city of Cuttack armed with dirk and sword, swaggering and brawling and snatching they took a fancy to from the shops without paying for it. The police had a hard time of it to keep these light-fingered gentry in order[14].

In another way, some Rajas and Zamindars made their mark in public life; they patronised the growth of press and education, and, at a

later period, the movement for the merger of Oriya tracts. When Gauri Shankar Roy formed the Cuttack Printing Company, the Rajas of Talcher, Badamba, Nayagarh, Athgarh and Narsinghpur and some Zamindars became its share holders. Some Rajas made notable donations to the Ravenshaw Hindu Balika Vidyalay. Because of the donation of Rs. 20,000/-by Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanja of Mayurbhanja the Cuttack College could be made a permanent educational institution in 1881 and it was at his suggestion that the college was named after Ravenshaw, the popular Commissioner of Orissa.

The new elite that emerged at Cuttack in the post-famine period, comprising luminaries like Gourishankar Roy, Pyari Mohan Acharya, Radhanath Roy and Madhusudan Rao, devoted themselves to the development of Oriya language and literature. The Cuttack Printing Company of Gauri Shankar Roy played a leading role in this literary awakening. In 1877 Utkal Sabha was formed for promoting the development of Oriya language and culture. On 18 June 1878 the first half yearly meeting of this Sabha was held in Cuttack printing Company's building under the Presidentship of Radhanath Roy. This meeting was addressed by Pyari Mohan Acharya (the first native of Orissa to write the history of Orissa) and Chaturbhuja Pattanayak.[15] The Utkal Sabha of 1877 was formed by the merger of Utkal Bhasa Uddipani Samaj i. e. association for Oriya linguistic awakening (formed in 1867) and another similar association.[16]

The first remarkable manifestation of public life in the Cuttack town took place in the early 70's, when some Bengalis started a move to abolish the Oriya language from the schools of Orissa. In 1869 in a public meeting held at Cuttack, Rajendra Lal Mitra, the famous antiquarian scholar of Bengal putforth the reasons in favour of the abolition of the Oriya medium of instruction in the schools of Orissa.[17] Against this move there were protests from the new Oriya elite. Consequently there was a controversy between the pro- Oriya and pro-Bengali groups. In this controversy the cause of Oriya language was taken up by *Utkal Dipika*, the leading weekly of Orissa, edited by Gauri Shankar Roy, a domiciled Bengali and a society, called Utkal Ullasini Sabha, and the pro-Bengali group expressed their views through a journal, titled *Utkal Hitaishini* and associations such as the Debating Club and the Cuttack Society. This controversy which showed to what extent the public life of the Cuttack town in the nineteenth century was dominated by the Bangalis also marked the beginning of Oriya nationalism.

In 1876 Cuttack was constituted into a Municipality. Already in 1869 municipalities had been formed in Kendrapada and Jajpur, and the establishment of Cuttack municipality was delayed by the famine of 1866. In May 1882, Lord Ripon introduced the principle of elective local self government. On this occasion, on the night of 30 June 1882 a meeting of 300 persons, consisting of Zamindars, government servants, lawyers, money-lenders and shopkeepers was held in the Cuttack Printing Company's building under the presidentship of Biharilal Pandit to thank the Viceroy Lord Ripon for iatroducing Local Self Government. In this meeting Madhusudan Das moved a resolution for the introduction of the new system of elective local self government at Cuttack. The resolution was seconded by Haji Abdul Rahman Musa.[18] Another meeting for the introduction of the new system of local self government in Cuttack was organised by Hariballabh Ghose, Bihari Lal Pandit, Madhusudan Das, Chaudhury Kashinath Das, Chaudhury Radha Madhab Samantaroy Mahapatra and Chaudhury Shyam Sundar Rayaguru. This meeting, held in the Cuttack Printing Company's Building on 16 August 1882 under the Chairmanship of Chaudhury Kashinath Das, the Zamindar of Bhingarpur, was attended by an unprecedented number of people, including two Englishmen-Wilkins, the barrister and Davidson, the Deputy Collector. This meeting decided to form a permanent association under the name of Utkal Sabha to carry on efforts for the introduction of the new system of local self government and for the promotion of public good. The following were elected as the office bearers of this association—Chaudhury Kashinath Das (President), Nanda Kishor Das (Vice-President), Haji Abdul Rahman Musa (Vice-President), Gauri Shankar Roy (Secretary). In this meeting Madhusudan Rao gave a talk, stressing the need for such an association and Madhusudan Das gave the vote of thanks[19]. The first election for Cuttack Municipality was held in December 1884. The Oriya-Bengali conflict, which had started earlier, was reflected in this election.

The Utkal Sabha drew within its fold the intelligentsia and elite of Cuttack. It was the most important socio-political organisation of the Late Nineteenth Century Orissa. It may be regarded as the forerunner of Utkal Union Conference. It not only concerned itself with the local problems of Orissa, the most important of which was the merger of Oriya tracts, but also used to send its representatives to the Congress Sessions. Madhusudan Das who had joined the Cuttack Bar in 1881 was all along associated with Utkal Sabha. Madhusudan Das and Gauri Shankar Roy were attending the Congress Sessions as the representatives of Utkal Sabha. In 1885, when Sir Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant Governor visited

Cuttack, on hehalf of the Oriyas, Madhusudan Das presented a memorandum, containing such demands as (i) the development of industrial training, (ii) expansion of railways, (iii) Medical and nursing facilities, (iv) the appointment of Oriyas to high posts, (v) planning for the development of agriculture and (vi) the amalgamation of Oriya areas.[20]

In 1887, Madhusudan Das was nominated as the Vice-Chairman of the District Board of Cuttack. In 1896, he was chosen a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. By the turn of the nineteenth century Madhusudan was the most colossal figure in the public life of Orissa. Towards the end of December 1903, Madhusudan Das and Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo (the Zamindar of Kanika) organised the first session of Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack. This first session of Oriya national conference, which was presided by Shriram Chandra Bhanjadeo (the Maharaja of Mayurbhanja) was attended by delegates from all parts of Orissa, some Europeans, lawyers, zamindars, government officials and students. The conference accepted the scheme of unification of Oriya tracts, as suggested in the Risley Circular.

By the beginning of the twentieth century Madhusudan started his programme of industrialisation at Cuttack. In 1900 he started Orissa Art Wares. Through this organisation he manufactured filigrees in a large scale. He opened a workshop for giving training to the weavers. In 1905 he established the Utkal Tannery at Cuttack. On 20th August 1905, in a well-attended meeting, held in the Cuttack Municipal hall under the Chairmanship of Janakinath Bose, Madhusudan gave a call to the people of Orissa to boycott foreign goods, particularly Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt and use indigenous goods only.[21] On 7 August 1907, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Swadeshi Sabha of Calcutta, an exhibition of indigenous goods was held in the Cuttack Town hall.[22]

As a result of the growth of education, by the beginning of the present century, public spirit was growing among the students. Madhusudan Das had taken an initiative in this field by forming Orissa Graduate and Under-graduate Association in 1888. In 1904, the Young Utkal Association was formed at Cuttack for the proper training and organisation of the Youth in the interest of the community. Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Brajasundar Das and Biswanath Kar were associated with this organisation. Godavaris Mishra was the Secretary of this association during his student days.

In the twentieth century the Cuttack town became the Centre of all political movements of Orissa.

As Madhusudan Das, the father figure of Oriya nationalism was a permanent resident of Cuttack, important meetings of Utkal Sammilani were held at Cuttack. On 30-31 March 1918 the 13th annual session of the Utkal Sammilani was held at Cuttack under the Chairmanship of Fakir Mohan Senapati, the famous Oriya novelist.[23] The same year a special session of Utkal Sammilani was held at Cuttack under the Chairmanship of Madhusudan Das on 21-22 September. This meeting passed resolutions expressing the disappointment of the Oriyas over the failure of British authorities to make provision for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration in the Montford Reforms.[24]

Cuttack became the nerve Centre of Gandhian Congress movement. Some of prominent leaders of the Congress movement in Orissa such as Gopabandhu Chaudhury, Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Nityananda Kanungo, Ramadevi, Malati Devi and Bhagirathi Mahapatra were the residents of Cuttack town. The intelligentsia, students and common people of the town became involved in the nationalist movement. Swarajya Ashram, the head-quarter of the U.P.C.C. was located in Cuttack town. On 23 March 1921 Mahatma Gandhi, for the first time, addressed a mass meeting in Orissa in the Kathjudi river bed. The meeting was attended by nearly 50,000 people. On 28-29 June 1924, Gopabandhu Chaudhury organised the first provincial conference of the Congress party in Cuttack. The conference was held under the Chairmanship of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray who conferred the title of Utkalmani on Gopabandhu Das. In July 1927 Gopabandhu Das started publishing his mouthpiece *Samaj* from Cuttack.

Many mass meetings were held in Cuttack town during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 and 1932. A number of young Congressmen and volunteers organised picketting of foreign cloth and excise shops. The Ravenshaw College students played an important role in the Quit India movement of 1942.

Cuttack became the Capital of the province of Orissa from 1 April 1936. On that day the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi held a grand garden party in the Barbati fort which was attended by thousands of people. He professed that whatever he had done for the unification of Orissa was the performance of a duty he owed to his ancestors—the great Gangas.[25] On 28 July 1937 Orissa Legislative Assembly held its inaugural session in the Ravenshaw College hall (in its present building to which the college had been shifted in 1921 from its old house on the banks of Kathjudi). As there was no permanent Assembly building, the Ravenshaw College hall was

temporarily used for the Assembly meetings. Due to lack of space Cuttack was found unsuitable for the State Capital. From 1936 a number of committees were set up to find out an alternative site for the State Capital. Consequently the second Congress Ministry, headed by Harekrushna Mahtab decided to shift the Capital from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar. The resolution to that effect was passed by the Orissa Legislative Assembly on 30 September 1946.

From 1937 to 1939 the Congress Ministry, headed by Biswanath Das functioned at Cuttack as the popular Ministry under the provincial autonomy. From 1941 to 1944 the Maharaja of Parlakimedi functioned at Cuttack as the head of a coalition ministry. This coalition ministry took initiative in establishing the Utkal University' and Medical College at Cuttack. The Utkal University which was founded in 1943 shifted to its new campus in Bhubaneswar in 1962. In 1946 Harekrushna Mahtab formed the congress Ministry. Because of Mahtab's initiative the Capital was shifted to Bhubaneswar. On 13 April 1949 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India laid the foundation of new Capital at Bhubaneswar[26] Of course many secretariat employees reluctantly left Cuttack for Bhubaneswar. Mahtab also took initiative for the merger of the Orissa princely states with the province. For this purpose, sardar Vallabhabhai Patel, the Union Home Minister came to Bhubaneswar by a special plane on 13 October 1947. As Patel proceeded from Bhubaneswar aerodrome to Cuttack, thousands of people extended tumultuous ovation to him[27]. On 14 October 1947 Patel met the rulers of Orissa princely at Cuttack Raj Bhavan. He persuaded them to accede to the merger of the States in the Orissa province. At his persuasion twentyfive rulers signed the merger document. On this occasion Patel addressed a mammoth gathering at Cuttack.[28]

During the British period the population of Cuttack town grew at a slow place and sometimes remained stagnant or decreased from one Census to another. The Table[29] below would indicate the population figures of the Cuttack town available for some years in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

1822	40,000 (according to Andrew Stirling)
1872	42,667
1881	42,656
1891	47,186
1901	51,364
1921	51,007
1931	65,263

The slow growth of population was due to lack of industries, communication difficulties, natural barriers and people's aversion for city life or attachment to rural life. The Orissa Trunk road, which was intersected by rivers remained unmetalled for many years. The completion of Bengal-Nagpur railway line in 1899 resulted in the establishment of the city's link with the outside world. The attachment to rural life was a hindrance to the growth of the city's population. Even those who held government jobs in the town left their families in the villages and hoped to go back to the village after retirement. Though the population of Cuttack has remarkably increased in second half of the twentieth century, the general look of the city has deteriorated because of irregular construction of houses, encroachment into roads, and lack of proper sanitation. In the nineteenth century Cuttack town looked much better. It was an attractive place for the English officials. Andrew Stirling has given the following description of Chandni Chouk in 1822 : ',The Chandni Chouk is a fine broad street, consisting of neat stone houses disposed with much regularity, but owes its respectable appearance chiefly to European interference''.[30] In 1870's John Beames, the then Collector of Cuttack gives the following description of Cuttack : "The charm of it struck us on our first visit. The broad, shady roads and green parade ground, the picturesque buildings, the two broad rivers their background of lovely blue hills make it one of the most picturesque stations in India.[31]

After Independence even though Cuttack has ceased to be the Capital of Orissa, its importance in the public life of Orissa has been enhanced. Its population has increased at a very rapid rate. It possesses the important institutions like the Ravenshaw College (the largest College of Orissa), the S. C. B. Medical College, Orissa High Court, Radio and T.V. stations and Indoor and Outdoor stadiums. The construction of bridges over Kathjudi and Kuakhai has established good communication link between Cuttack and Bhubaneswar and made them virtually the twin capital city of Orissa.

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Cuttack The Capital City

Dr. Shreeram Chandra Dash

Cuttack is an ancient city. It has its own geographical importance being on the banks of the Mahanadi and its tributary the Birupa and its distributary the Kathjudi. The Mahanadi and the Kathjudi bind it on three sides and it tapers upto the part of Paradip. The city could extend towards the east but its extension in the northern and Southern directions is dependant on construction of road-bridges. After construction of one road-bridge over the Mahanadi and two road-bridges over the Kathjudi, possibilities of expansion of the city towards north and South have opened up and when the second bridge over the Mahanadi if constructed, Cuttack-Chaudwar may develop into twin cities like Kasi-Varanasi or Hyderabad-Secunderabad. The most important, characteristic of this riverine city is that both the Mahanadi and the Kathjudi-Devi have fallen into the Bay of Bengal for which it has two outlets to the sea and as such has maritime importance.

The first European settlements were set up in Fort William in Bengal and Fort St. George in Madras and these being flourishing trade centres, Railway-lines connecting Calcutta and Madras were laid through Cuttack. As Orissa was under the Marhatta Rule of the Bhonsles of Nagpur, Cultural and political ties with that city in the erstwhile Central Province and Berar and the present State of Maharashtra were close and intimate. In the former Bengal-Nagpur Railway Cuttack was an important Centre and it could be easily reached by Road and Railways. The former Grand Trunk Road and the present National High-way Nos. 5 and 6 link it up with Delhi, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Cuttack is thus Centrally located and all inter-state trains of the present day pass through it.

The East India Company of England, a sea-faring country with naval supremacy chose coastal areas as Centres of its trade and Commerce. The coastal districts of Balasore and Puri had their district Headquarters in towns bearing the same names situated on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. They were two extremities and Cuttack was midway between these

two towns. Because of the two rivers surrounding it the City has natural protection and it is for this situational advantage that village Barbati renamed as Varanasi-Katak had been the capital from the days of the Ganga Dynasty. The Turke-Afghans, the Mughals and the Marhattas did not choose to shift the Capital elsewhere for which Cuttack-City contains historic monuments of all ages and it has been the confluence of all civilisations. Barbati Fort, Kadam Rasul the Mosque of Nimchouri and the Lal Bag Kothi bear silent testimony to different ruling dynasties.

On the assumption of ruling authority by the East India company in 1803 through the Treaty of Deogaon from the Marhattas, it established the capital at Sri Jagannath Puri as it was easier for them to reach there from Calcutta and Madras through the Bay of Bengal. There were complaints of the new Zamindars against the location of the capital in an extremity and they prayed for its shifting to Cuttack. The Collector J. P. Warda supported the move and by Regulation-I of 1818, the office of the Commissioner was established at Cuttack with powers of the Board of Revenue, the Board of Trade and the Provincial court and the Circuit Court of Appeal. On October, 23, 1828, the province of Cuttack was divided into three coastal districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore and in 1859 each District was divided into subdivisions. By the Regulations-I of 1829, Cuttack was made the seat of the 19th Commissioner of Bengal Presidency and he was also designated as the Superintendent of the Tributary Native States. From 1818 till it was decided in 1946 to shift the capital to Bhubaneswar, Cuttack remained as the Capital of Orissa Division of the provinces of Bengal and later of Bihar and Orissa and of the province of Orissa from 1.4.1936.

Puri being the seat of Lord Jagannath, all cults, branches and sections of Hindu opinion and all savants and seers of the Hindu fold established their maths or monasteries there to be nearer to the abode of the lord. Likewise as the Commissioner of Orissa was the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, the Rajas and the Ruling Chiefs of this group of states built their residences at Cuttack and their easy availability and accessibility to their legal advisers and other helpful persons helped in the building up of a nascent public opinion. Economic reasons like high rates of land revenue, application of sunset law to their realisation, introduction of a new system of coins and monopolisation of salt production created increasing discontent among the common people against the new rulers and when the Ruling Chiefs of the feudatory states found that their compatriots like the Rajas of Kujanga, Kanika, Harishpur, Aul, Sukinda, Darpan, Marichpur

and Bisunpur were reduced to the status of Zamindars because of their resistance to the British rulers, some of them were cowed down to submission and others were on the alert to safeguard their positions. They thought it more prudent to ally with the common people and create a strong opinion against the British misrule.

Paik Rebelion of Khurda electrified the public opinion of the people and the Ruling Chiefs alike. The Khond rebellion of southern parts of Orissa was a legacy of the 18th Century and when Raja Somanath Singh of Angul joined hands with them, he was deposed in 1847 and his territory was taken over by the Commissioner of Orissa as a Khas Mahal or a territory directly administered by the British by a Resolution of September, 16, 1848. Angul became the fourth district of Orissa with Khond Mahals as one of the two subdivisions of the district.

Sambalpur and the Native states near it and surrounding it were in the erstwhile Central Province and Berar. The role of Veer Surendra Sai in the First War of Indian independence in 1857, resulted in its annexation with the British territory on March, 29, 1858 when Col. Forster was appointed as Commissioner, a rank which was later reduced to that of Deputy Commissioner with the appointment of Major Impey in April, 1861. The revolutionary leaders died as prisoners of the British in Nagpur and Asirgarh Fort Jails. As military detachments deputed from the Cantonment at Cuttack were used in subjugating Sambalpur, intimate links between Cuttack and Sambalpur were forged from the middle of the 19th Century and it culminated with its merger with the other four districts of Orissa Division in 1905 with Cuttack as their Divisional Headquarters.

In the last half of the 19th century the British Rulers had unwillingly built up national consciousness among the people of these far-flung territories of the British and the native Ruling Princes. Sambalpur and its group of States were ruled from Nagpur and the four districts of Orissa Division were ruled from Calcutta. After the Mutiny, the British rulers lost all touch with the Common People and lived in a world of their own creation. The people were economically impoverished and exploited and administratively oppressed. Their smouldering discontent was fanned by the ravages of Famine of 1866 which was the direct consequence of the negligence and short-sightedness of the British administrators. The Utkal Sabha organised and the Utkal Dipika a weekly newspaper founded by Gouri Sankar Roy provided a forum for mobilising and giving vent to public discontent. The soil was ripe for a nationalist upsurge and the

British rulers sowed its seeds. In 1848-49, the Collector of Cuttack recognised Bengali as the Court language though in 1851, Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner supported Hindi instead. Some Bengali officers supported this ill-advised step. They even went a step further and propagated that as Oriya was only a dialect of Bengali and was not a separate language the Oriya language should be written in the Bengali script. Like all administrators, they were anxious to parade their little knowledge about the ancient and rich Oriya language and literature as an export opinion. This had galvanised into activities the leaders who were ably supported by British Officers like Coldsbury and John Beams, Commissioners. In 1895, the Government of C. P. and Berar also replaced Oriya by Hindi in Sambalpur Zone and this was resisted by the local leaders like Pandit Nilamani Vidyaratna who like Gouri Shankar Roy published Sambalpur Hitaishini in order to give vent to the resistant public opinion. The Government of Madras made an attempt to replace Oriya by Telugu in the areas of Ghumusur, Paralakhemundi, Berhampur, Joypore and Madgul and there was a protest meeting held at Russolkonda on October, 22, 1870 against this move particularly the statement of some Bengalees like Kantichandra Bhattacharya and Rajendralal Mitra that Oriya was not a separate language but a dialect of Bengali. Thus language became a comenting force among the Oriya-Speaking people of the areas lying in the neighbouring prov nces of Bengal, Madras and Central Province and Berar annexed by the East India Company at different times and created a consciousness among the people that unless all those areas came together under one common administration, it will be difficult to retain the pristine glory and heretage of Oriya language and literature. It is an irony of history that while some Bengali jinguists were striking at the root of Oriya language, another set of Bengali intellectuals domiciled in Orissa led by Gouri-Shankar Roy, Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, Radhanath Ray and, Baikunthanath De strongly espoused the cause of Oriya, In this crusade against the antagonists, of Oriya, Dam Fortune had provided Sir Andrew Fraser who as Chief Commissioner of C.P. and Berar restored Oriya as Court language in Sambalpur and the adjoining Native states and on his transfor as the Lt. Governor of Bengal, he frustrated the mischievous designs of the enemies of the Oriya language. The agitation in Sambalpur Zone was so strong and widespread that as a sequel to the partition of Bengal in 1905, Lord Curzon the Viceroy who was sympathetic towards the aspirations of the Oriyas ordered detachment of Sambalpur and the neighbouring Native State from C.P. and Berar and their merger with the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Angul as a district in Orissa Division of the Presidency of Bengal. Had there been no assault on the language there would have

been no urge for unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts either under One common administration or as a Sub-province or as a separate province.

Associationism lies at the root of Politics. Efforts of individuals however eminent and strong do not impress the British authorities for which Alan Octavian Hume exherted the graduates of Calcutta University to join their hands together and as a consequence, the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885. To stem the tide of anti-Oriya move in the neighbouring Provinces, a number of Clubs, Societies and Associations sprang up in different parts of these Oriya-speaking areas and they were led by the Utkal Sabha and the Utkal Dipika of Gouri Shankar Roy of Cuttack. The Ruling Chiefs of the Native States who had to come frequently to Cuttack on official business with the Commissioner as Superintendent of the Tributary Mohals set up residences at Cuttack and they were available to create a feeling of oneness among the people of natural Orissa distinguished from British Orissa and the Orissan Native States.

The lever of this spirit of unity was provided by Madhusudan Das, a lawyer of Orissa who after his education in Calcutta shifted to Cuttack and started practising in Cuttack Courts. His long sojourn in Calcutta and his intimate contact with the leading citizens there gave him a position of prominence at Cuttack and as the only Oriya Advocate, he had a feeling of isolation and estracisation. He cooperated with Gouri Shankar Roy and became the Secretary and later Vice-President of Utkal Sabha. He became its spokesman before the representative of the British Government in India like Sir Richard Thompson and Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley, the Lt. Governors of Bengal when they visited Cuttack in 1885 and 1888 respectively. He submitted memoranda on behalf of the Utkal Sabha demanding amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking tracts under one common administration and in order to give it a wider scope, he attended the Indian National Congress sessions but found to his dismay that the Congress did not attach any importance to the aspirations of the Oriya people as it was under the leadership of persons belonging to Bengal and Madras. This was the incentive to create a common platform for the Oriyas for which he organised the Utkal Union Conference in 1903 at Cuttack and requested Sir Sriram Chandra Bhanja Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj to preside over it. The leading persons of Ganjam, Sambalpur and coastal Orissa joined their hands together through this Conference and made concerted demand for amalgamation. Sir Rajendranarayan Bhanja Deo, the Raja of Kanika was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Thus the Rajas the Zamindars and the common people joined their hands together through this Conference

which transcended the narrow political boundaries and the resolutions adopted in different sessions of the Conference between 1903 and 1920 when it decided to merge with the Indian National Congress at the behest of Pandit Gopabandhu Das reflected not only the Political, social, economic and educational needs of the Oriya people, their central theme was amalgamation of all the Oriya-speaking people lying scattered in different Provinces. Incidentally, Madhusudan Das, Rajendranarayan Bhanja Deo and Gopabandhu Das were the Trinity of the amalgamation movement and made it their lives' major endeavour when they became legislators, Madhusudan and Bhanja Deo assuming administrative powers as Minister of Health and Local-Self-Government and Finance Member of the Executive Council respectively in the Government of Bihar and Orissa.

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, Sir Andrew Fraser the Chief Commissioner, C. P. and Beror and later the Lt. Governor of Bengal, John Beams and T. E. Ravenshaw, Commissioners of Orissa Division and Major Clement Attbe, a member of the Indian Statutory Commission known as Simon Commission and later Prime Minister of the United Kingdom are hallowed names in the history of the Oriya people. Lord Curzon long after he left India said in the House of Lords, "Because the Oriya are a non-agitating people, their legitimate demand for a separate Province based entirely on a common language is being ignored by His Majesty's Government. Major Attlu as Chairman of the Orissa Committee of the Siman Commission reported" Though financially deficit, Orissa will be an ideal province as it is a model of communal amity in India." The demand for amalgamation passed through various stages. It was at the first instance a demand for putting together the Oriya-speaking tracts under one common administration under Bengal or C.P and Berar and on the creation of the province of Bihar and Orissa, it was upgraded to the demand for a separate Province. The Montaoue-Chelmsford Report recommonded a subprovince for the Oriyas and the Attlee Committee and the Round Table Conferences rounded it up to that for a separate Province though the Phillip-Duff Committee and the O 'Donnel Committee under pressure from the Governments of the neighbouring provinces squeezed it to a truncated Province of Orissa leaving large tracts in the provinces in which these originally were.

Cuttack being the headquarters of Orissa Division was the nerve-Centre of all those political activities Oriya leaders belonging to different parts set up temporary residences in the town in order to be available for consultations and confabulations. The Rajas and Zamindars also settled at Cuttack for official convenience. It became not only the hub of political

and official activities, it was the Centre of all Commercial and cultural activities. It was therefore a natural choice to locate the Capital of the new Province of Orissa. The birth of the new Province did not create universal enthusiasm and there was no jubilation in all parts of the Provinces. Five districts of the Division were increased to seven by the incorporation of the districts of Ganjam and Koraput from the Madras Presidency but the district of Angul was abolished being divided into two parts. Angul subdivision remaining as a part of Cuttack district and Khond Mahal subdivision was added to the newly created district of Ganjam under the new name of Phulbani. Thus there were six districts only in the new Province of Orissa. Sir John Austin Hubback, the former Commissioner assumed office as the First Governor of Orissa being sworn into office in a Durbar held in the Ravenshaw College Hall on April, 1, 1936. The Lal Bag Kothi became the Orissa Government House and the Secretariat was located in the old Ravenshaw College building which was also the old Court House now being the seat of the City Hospital of Cuttack.

II

The Government of India Act, 1935 came into force from April, 1937. It had introduced provincial Autonomy and provided for democratic government, Cuttack being the capital city became the natural Centre of all political activities.

The interim Government formed in April, 1, 1937 had the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi Sir Krushna Chandra Gajapati Deo as the first Premier with two other Ministers including Mandhata Gorachand Patnaik of Ganjam as one of the two Ministers of his Cabinet. When the Congress agreed to accept office, the interim Government resigned and a Cabinet of three Ministers with Biswanath Das as Premier was sworn into office on July, 19, 1937. He also belonged to Ganjam.

The first issue before the new Government was the location of the Capital of the Province. There were two proposals viz Cuttack and Rangeilunda. It was natural for the opponents of Cuttack to point out that it was a town incapable of expansion on account of being bounded on three sides by rivers. Many other defects were also pointed out. The protagonists of Cuttack brought forward the claim of the twin city of Cuttack-Choudwar, still the Legislative Assembly by a narrow majority decided in favour of Rangeilunda situated between Chatrapur and Berhampur in Ganjam district. Before it was implemented, the Second World war intervened in 1939 and on the conclusion of war, elections were held and

Harekrushna Mahatab became the premier. The war-time coaliation government of the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi (1944-45) could not take steps to shift the capital from Cuttack on account of non-availability of funds because of war conditions. As ill-luck would have it, the danger of Japanese attack on Cuttack after the bombardment of Harishpur and Balasore resulted in the flight of part of the Capital from Cuttack to Sambalpur in 1943 for a temporary period and on the cessation of hostilities and defeat of Japan on August, 15, 1945 the Secretariat returned to Cuttack and was located near the Cantonment Road now known as the old Secretariat Building.

On assumption of office as Premier, Mahatab decided to give back to Bhubaneswar what it originally had. Before Nrupa Keshari founded Cuttack town in 989, Bhubaneswar was the capital of the Keshari dynasty so it was decided in 1946 to take back the capital to Bhubaneswar. It may be noted here that the capital was shifted from Bhubaneswar to Cuttack by the Kesharis on account of scarcity of drinking water. The Premier felt that with scientific developments drinking water can be supplied through pipes from the rivers the Kuakhai and the Daya flowing on either side of Bhubaneswar. It is a tragedy that the Premier's hopes have been duped and there is still the same scarcity of water sometimes drinking water being supplied by Trucks of Public Health Department. After Mahatab went to the Centre in May, 1950, the Process of construction of the capital in Bhubaneswar had slowed down and Cuttack still remained as the Capital even though the Assembly was shifted from the Ravenshaw College Hall to Sardar Patel Hall at Bhubaneswar. On his return as the Chief Minister in October, 1956, Mahatab took active steps to complete the Secretariat, the Assembly and the Raj Bhavan building and shifted the State Government Headquarters to Bhubaneswar. Even Utkal University which was at Cuttack shifted to Bhubaneswar in 1962 even though foundation was laid by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President on January, 1, 1958. Offices of a number of Heads of Departments still functioned at Cuttack and after construction of the nine-storeyed building at Bhubaneswar these offices were shifted in stages during the years from 1985 to 1989. Cuttack was again reduced to a Divisional Headquarters except that Orissa High Court and the Board of Revenue still function at Cuttack. Besides the State Police Headquarters and the office of the Commissioner of Commercial Taxes continue to stay at Cuttack, Mahatab certainly did not intend to down-grade Cuttack and whittle down its importance but as a result of the steps taken by him

Cuttack remains only as a commercial town losing its political and cultural importance.

What did the State Capital imply ? The Raj Bhavan was there, the Secretariat with its army of officers and other employees worked here, the Ministers and other Government servants had their residences and the State Assembly had its sittings in the Ravenshaw College Hall. Newspapers throve on the activities of Government, Assembly and Ministers and cultural functions were being regularly held. What was more important was that important decisions on momentous issues touching the life of the people and the state were taken here. Leaders of Cuttack were in fact leaders of the State. Of the Chief Ministers of Orissa Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Bishwanath Das, Nabakrushna Chaudhury, Biju Patnaik, Biren Mitra. Nandini Satapathi, Nilamani Routray and Janaki Ballav Patanaik are residents of Cuttack in their paternal houses or in the houses built by them. Only the Maharaja of Parlakhemundi, Maharaja of Bolangir-Patna, Sadasiv Tripathi and Binayak Acharya among the Chief Ministers did not have their residence at Cuttack. Loss of importance of Cuttack is a loss for most of the Chief Ministers. They acquired eminence as residents of Cuttack and on assumption of power, they have been responsible for destroying its importance.

Still Cuttack has been the nerve-centre for some of the epoch-making decisions which have transfermed the face of Orissa. The most important decision is in regard to the integration of the Native States with Orissa which was taken in the Raj Bhavan in Lalbag Kothi on December, 14,1947 in a meeting of 26 Native Rulers presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Minister for States in the Union Government assisted by V. P. Menon, his Secretary, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, the Governor and Dr. Mahatab the Chief Minister. This is the first of a series of decisions taken in this regard and this helped in obliterating 562 Native States from the map of India. Orissa itself gained by this decision as the number of its districts more than doubled from six to thirteen thus increasing its area and population. This was the culmination of a very wise decision taken by Bishwanath Das who as Prime Minister refused to lend police help to the Rulers of the Native States in 1938, when the Praja Mandal agitations under the auspices of the All India States People's Conference spread like wild fire imperilling their status and position. Orissa showed the way and others followed it. The venue of this remarkable achievement was Cuttack.

Shifting of the capital from Cuttack has not affected its position as an educational and judicial metropolis. The Utkal University has shifted to

Vani-Vihar but as observed by the Radhakrishnan Commission, Ravenshaw College is the virtual University and in the meanwhile it has been upgraded to an autonomous College. The Medical College for the coastal districts is at Cuttack with its hospital. The only regret is that the recommendations of Rai Bahadur Bhikari Charan Pattnaik, Secretary of the Oriya People's Association to upgrade the Orissa School of Engineering to the Status of an Engineering College were not accepted by Utkal University. However the legacy of Ravenshaw College and S. B. Women's College cannot be transplanted in any other College and one will not be surprised if in course of time, the autonomous College is converted to a teaching University like Patna and Allahabad Universities with power to affiliate the Colleges within municipal limits.

As stated earlier the seats of the High Court and the Central Administrative Tribunal and the highest Revenue Court, the Board of Revenue are at Cuttack. The State Administrative Tribunal holds its circuit here and in course of time it is likely to shift its Headquarters here in accordance with the decision of the Supreme Court to locate it in the seat of the High Court. Because of the Courts, the floating population remains as before, rather it is increasing year after year thereby putting strain on the limited urban facilities available in the city.

Though the Dainik Asha of Berhampur and the Prajatantra of Balasore were published earlier than the Samaj, Cuttack remains as the journalistic Centre. Even the Prajatantra was shifted to Cuttack in 1946. The Dainik Asha which was purchased by Madanlal Jajodia and shifted to Cuttack has gone back to Berhampur in its recent incarnation under the inspiring patronaga of Brundaban Nayak but the Samaj remains unbeaten as the premier daily newspaper. The Prajatantra and the Matrubhumi are also being published from the City. In the meanwhile the Swarajya once published from Cuttack is being republished at Bhubaneswar The Eastern Media has brought out the Sambad and the Sun Times, two modern newspapers and there are many other daily newspapers like Dharitri, Pragatibadi, Dinalipe etc. published from Bhubaneswar, still the news published in the Samaj carries extraordinary credibility with the general public as compared to those published in other news-papers. There are no doubt better educated and more qualified journalists in some other newspapers; but the Samaj continues as the most well-accepted newspaper on account of its association with the hallowed memory of Pandit Gopabandhu Das and others of the Panchasakhas of the Satyabadi School four of whom had one time or other acted as editor of this paper. The present editor, Dr. Radhanath

Rath is looked upon as the doyen of the journalists of Orissa with his ripe old age and rich experience spreading other 60 years.

Cuttack has suffered on another count also. Once upon a time it was the cultural metropolis and almost every day, there was some literary or other meeting. The Utkal Sahitya Samaj provided literary leadership and the Bishub Milan of the Prajatantra is a notable literary meet for the entire State once a year. Even there were four permanent stages from which four dramas were staged for six days in a week. All these were without government patronage. Government servants vide with each other to secure a posting to Cuttack to imbibe literary and cultural flavour from the environment of the city. All these are things of the past. For the last one decade many ephemeral literary organisations have sprung up at Bhubaneswar who in the guise of democratising literary and cultural meetings are holding gorgeous meets in different parts of the state and there is an atmosphere of mutual admiration among the litterateurs and person in authority. There is an unhealthy scramble for bagging literary prizes and other forms of recognition with official help. The Departments of Government are financing regular drama performances provided at the cost of the state exchequer. Culture and literature based on private enterprise have languished at Cuttack, in face of this unhealthy and unequal competition. Inspite of this temporary prominence of the capital city it will not be an exaggeration to say that Bhubaneswar is at best an official colony and like all such colonies in the country all these literary activities will not be of general benefit. With ups and downs in the political fortunes of the ruling persons and parties there will be permutations and combinations among the sycophantic cultural groupings and the common people remain untouched and unimpressed. Decline of Cuttack city has led to tremendous loss in the sphere of political leadership. Leaders create public opinion which again bestows leadership on persons. Leaders of Cuttack had their roots in their village homes in different districts and their emergence as leaders here provided them with status in politics and gross-root support from their places of origin. They had this double advantage in their political play-acting. With the shifting of capital from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar, creation of charismatic leadership with all-Orissa renown is no longer possible. An official colony like Bhubaneswar may endow persons in power with temporary renown in the capital city and they have of course their grass-root support in their respective constituencies but it cannot give them all Orissa stature. This is responsible for proliferation of second class leaders in the body politic. Leadership is created through resistance movements and in recent times, such movements are only localised. The protest

demonstrations staged in gigantic forms•at Bhubaneswar do not interest the common people and they do not gather momentum.• At Cuttack a students' agitation against enhancement of tuition fees by a rupee in 1951 and for a quarrel between the owner of a radio repairing shop in 1964 and an Engineering School student created all Orissa unrest which threw up a number of present day leaders. A protest movement against not transfering Sareikala and Kharasuan by the States Reorganisation Commission in 1956 to Orissa spread to the nook and corner of the State. The movement of 1951 destabilised the cabinet of Nabakrushna Choudhury, that of 1956 brought down his government and the students' agitation of 1964 resulted in the resignation of Biren Mitra the Chief Minister inspite of a large majority behind him. No such result is seen after Cuttack lost its pre-eminence as there are no common people at Bhubaneswar and those who are there are not interested in such agitations being themselves Government employees. New leaders are not being created and charisma is non-existent. Because of this crowds are gathered even for holding meetings to be addressed by the top-leadership on issues vitally affecting the general public through official agencies at huge cost and as these are not authorised expenditure subject to appropriation by the legislature, these expenses are either misappropriations of appropriated expenditure or unearned black money spreading the tentacles of corruption all around. Leaders are not born. Given the minimum of intellectual and academic attainments, they are created out of the environment prevailing at the time or in their place. They cannot be created by deliberate efforts with official help.

This explains why both Cuttack and Orissa have suffered for lack of front-rank leaders. For instance Biren Mitra was almost a permanent fixture from 1946 till 1967 as the representative of Cuttack city. After changing his party complexion in 1971, he lost to Bhairab Chandra Mohanty by a narrow margin in 1971 and lost to Nandini Satapathi in the by-election of 1972. He became a charismatic leader of Cuttack and also of Orissa for the unstinted support given to him by the common people. Cuttack is still in search of such a leaders after his death. Such lack of leadership is felt in every sphere of social life. Orissa will not find another leader of the stature of Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab who inspite of his migration to Ekamra Nibas on the shifting of the capital to Bhubaneswar never lost touch with Cuttack and its common people as these• were at the root of his pre-eminence as a political and cultural leader of the State.

All the world is a stage and we are all actors on it. Leaders of successive generations have played their role on or in regard to the stage

of Cuttack which has withstood all kinds onslaughts. The Kesharies, the Gangas, the Turko-Afghans, the Mughals the Mahrattas and the British and the rulers of independent India have come and gone after playing their respective roles and Cuttack has extended its warm hospitality to all of them. They have wrought havoc in their own way but Cuttack remains as before excusing all acts of ingratitude perpetrated by its own sons and daughters. With rapid increase in the population of Bhubaneswar the problem of scarcity of drinking water may assumes dangerous proportions and one may not be surprised if the capital of the city may be relocated here or Cuttack-Bhubaneswar becomes one city in course of time.

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A. J. M. Mills and Cuttack

Dr. Prasanna Kumar Mishra

A. J. M. Mills was the Commissioner of Orissa from January 1839 to January 1847 During this period of his commissionership he had undertaken some major works of Cuttack town.

Circuit House

The headquarters of the Commissioner was stationed at Cuttack in the circuit house. It was a double storeyed building and was used permanently as the Katchery of Mills. The rooms in the ground floor were used as office rooms and the upper part of the building as his residence.

Cuttack Town

Cuttack town then contained a population of about 50,000 persons, with about 6,300 houses. One sixth of the houses were pucka, and many of them built of stones. Among them was the "fine mansion, the 'Lall Bagh', which was built on the revetment situated on a tongue of land at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and on the high road to Ganjam." "Mills greatly valued the historical, political and commercial importance of Cuttack. Cuttack, to a great extent affordeds convenience for carrying on commerce with Sambalpur to the west, Madras to the south, and the low countries to the east, while its proximity to the hills" From political point of view, Cuttack was the most 'desirable place for the cantoning of troops.'

Cuttack Revetment and Shifting of the Capital

Mills had stressed much for the protection of Cuttack town from inundation and hence felt the urgent necessity of re-building the revetment. The river Mahanadi rising from Bastar region entered the 'plains at the station of Cuttack, throwing off its tributary, the Kajoori, to the south of the town'. In the rainy season the torrents descended with fearful rapidity. In order to protect the town of Cuttack from inundation on the southward, a solid embankment had been constructed by the Mogul Government in the reign of Jahangeer, 225 years ago (1847 – 225 = 1622) and had been always

kept in repair by the British government. Mills felt that the existence of Cuttack town depended on the continuance of the revetment. The revetment gave way at several places, either its restoration or shifting of the headquarters of the Government was felt very much. Mills was of opinion that it would be cheaper to establish the station (headquarters) at some other place' But the questions depended 'on other considerations, viz. the value of the city, intrinsically and commercially' Hence he looked to the other proposition i. e. restoration of the embankment. After calculation, he estimated that the restoration of the revetment would cost not less than Rs. 390,595/-. At the same time he observed. "The amount of the estimate is large, and the value of the government property at the station is not of that extent as would justify the restoration of the embankment" Hence, both from a political and commercial poin of view the restoration of the revetment weighed a work of great public advantage. Finally, Mills recommended for rebuilding the embankment. A committee was formed comprising the consulting Engineer of Government, the Superintending and Executive Engineers, the Commissioner, the judge and the Collector of Cuttack. They were appointed by the government to examine and report upon the revetment. It was found from the report that the cost of reconstructing in order to make it capable of resisting the encroachment of the river, would not be less than 40 lakhs of rupees. Therefore, the committee recommended as the preferable measures of the two, for the removal of the station i. e. the headquarter at Cuttack to the opposite bank of the river. But no orders were passed on the subject by the Government of Bengal. Mills remarked thus,"...........it is probable that the matter will be allowed to rest until the river makes further encroachments"

Removal of Stones from the Fort of Barabati

The next task of Mills was to discontinue using the sandstones from the fort of Barabati for repairing the roads in the town of Cuttack. But he did not prevent those stones for the repair of the revetment. He also allowed for a large indent of those stones for works at the False Point. As far back as 1827 the stones in the Barabati fort were disposed of in the form selling them and using them for the construction of Public works. Subsequently prohibition was imposed on selling the stones and the officers of Cuttack were directed to keep them for the repair of the Cuttack revetment. Later on, in 1840 a stone embankment was constructed at the False Point, which required about 12000 stones. More and more demand was made for the stones in the fort. The demand increased to 16000 pieces. But the authorities doubted about the sufficient availability of the articles

in the fort to supply the wants for completion of the works in the town and for the stone embankment at the False Point. Some alternative measures using the red conglomerate stones (which were useless for building purposes) for the roads were adopted. But great anxiety disturbed the Commissioner of Cuttack regarding the detraction of stones from the Barabati fort.

Cuttack Jail and the Prisoners

Mills was eager enough to improve the Cuttack jail and the prisoners. He visited the jail and thus observed. "The drains from the jail deposit them contents into two stagnant pools to the right and left of the jail not 150 years distant, the street omitted from them is of late highly offensive now to casual passenger as is greatly complained of by the neighbourhood. the nuisance can be remedied by the construction of two large Cess pools which would be further removed from wards of the jail. They should be deepend, larger and properly covered in. Behind the Hospital to the west ward of the jail is an extensive tank overgrown with vegetable matter and the banks boarded with renewed deposits" They polluted the atmosphere. Hence Mills suggested that they should be cleared out in the cold weather and no persons be permitted to resort to it for any other purpose than bathing or drawing water. He also ordered for construction of cesspools and pucka drains.

As regards the condition of the prisoners Mills observed "the blankets which each prisoner receive for the cold season from being thrown loosely over the shoulder cannot be worn during working hours, hence no protection is afforded the Body against the mud in daily alterations of temperature which occure" He, therefore, recommended for two blankets to each prisoner and a jacket with some material. The sick prisoners were also provided with *Charpays* to sleep on instead of the bare ground, but the common prisoners were not allowed as they had been provided with a mat each. A maximum money allowance of 9 pies per prisoner was sanctioned as per the old practice.

Police Out post (Phandy)

In order to protect Cuttack town from dacoits and robbery, Mills tightened the patrolling system and reviewed the Police functioning at the Outposts. This was felt necessary because of the occurrence of a robbery at Telenga Bazar in the evening of 19 March 1846. Mills could not tolerate the general laxity of the Police. He observed that there was no strictness or regularity in night patrolling in the town. Although the Police force required the most coercive treatment, Mills suggested thus : "My experience

tells me that it is by entesting the kindly feelings of the employees and appreciating their exertion when deemed as well as by dealing with them with the utmost strictness that good work is got out of them." A set of rules for the guidance of the Police Officers of the different *Phandies* was framed. The *Phandies* should be appertained into small and in convenient divisions. A barkundaz should be appointed to each beat and the Balugustee of the sadur thana patrol should be required to visit each station at least three or four times during the night. Mills made provisions for six hourly night watching thus increasing vigilance and providing greater safety and security to the inhabitants.

Educational Institution at Cuttack and Educational System

Mills' next attention fell on the education and educational institution of the Cuttack town. Inspite of the fact that Mills was critical of the Oriyas and their language, he promoted the introduction of the vernacular language instead of Persian, in the offices of the Revenue Department. At the same time he encouraged for spread of english education, preferably appointing competent English Tutor and providing instructions to the Private institutions. The Cuttack English School was established in 1824 by the agents of the Baptist Missionary Society in England assisted by private subscription. The school belonged to the society, but since 1836 its management had been vested in a Local Committee comprised of two subscribers associated with one Baptist Missionary until the school was superintended by a Dissenting Society consequent on the withdrawal of its original subscribers. Mills, under such circumstances felt it unhealthy to place the school under the direct management of the General Committee of Publics Instructions at Calcutta. Therefore, he recommended the establishment of a Government School at Cuttack, but got no support from the highest authority who did not want to displease the missionary. But later on, the missionary itself agreed to place the school under the control and better management of the Public Instructions Department. Further, Mills observed that many Anglo-Indian Christians and others of Cuttack town were learning English and the higher classes of the native community had already evinced a strong desire of imparting an English education to their children. Hence he recommended for allotment of sufficient fund for building a school house and appointing an efficient school teacher. Besides, the natives of Cuttack who had pleaded poverty as an excuse for not coming forward, now showed greater zeal in giving more and extended support to such an institution. One thousand rupees were sanctioned for the government school at Cuttack.

The minor boys of the wards estates were given education in the government school. Vernacular books were introduced in the government vernacular schools. Reverend Sutton was put in-charge of translating rules into vernacular language and also publishing book on natural philosophy for the boys of the senior class. Mill's another achievement was that he could be able to establish village schools in Mahanga, Kendrapara and Hariharpur. The Council of Education was entrusted with providing school masters to those schools and for that purpose the Committee of the Government School at Cuttack was requested to hold examination to select best qualified candidates. The school Committee was authorised to supply the schools with Oriya class books. The boys who attended the schools should purchase the vernacular class books. Further, for better management of the schools he persuaded some of the respectable inhabitants to form themselves into a Committee to appoint a Secretary and to undertake the same duties as those performed by the Committee and Secretary of the English School.

Cuttack Pilgrim Hospital

On the question of abolition of the Cuttack Pilgrim Hospital, Mills advocated against this decision of government of Bengal. He observed; "Although called the Pilgrim Hospital and supposed to be maintained for the convenience of pilgrims on their way to Pooree, the establishment is in fact chiefly resorted to by the poorer inhabitants and houseless wanderers in Cuttack and its vicinity. It has as far as its means extend been a great blessing and benefit to the sick and poor. This is really the case" Mills strongly felt the great utility of this establishment. He remarked that the town of Cuttack alone contained upwards of 50,000 inhabitants and particularly at the time of scarcity, the town was crowded with mendicants many in various stages of disease. He argued and suggested that the Pilgrim Hospital should continue on the funds earmarked for the 'Annachhatra' which had been established since the beginning of the British rule solely for the purpose of supporting the poor who were unable to provide for themselves. His other argument was that the sudden abolition of the establishment would be attended with the most lamentable consequences to its present inmates and particularly at that critical hour which felt as a severe grievance. He, therefore, suggested that a portion of the 'Annachhatra' funds be appropriated for the continuance of the hospital establishment. But the Government of Bengal gave its finai decision to abolish the Pilgrim Hospital at Cuttack.

Cuttack Cantonment

Mills also took interest in solving the problems relating to the Cuttack Cantonment and Military Bazar called Buxi Bazar. He observed "The Cuttack Cantonment as constituted by Regulation 20 of 1810 will hold one entire Regiment and includes a very large Bazar attached to it. Since to Regiments have been quartered at Cuttack, the extra corps has occupied a large range of Cavalry stables which was many years ago built for the Cuttack Legion and is distinct from the Regular Cantonments about one and a half miles and about 2 miles from the town of Cuttack" He made certain arrangements which would bring in some revenues to the government.

Liquor Shop

Mills too, regularised the system of collection of Tax from the lincensed vendors in spirituous liquor in the town of Cuttack. He was not in favour of reducing the daily rate of tax even when there was scarcity. Rather, he deprived of the defaulter Pattadar ordering for closure of his shop, cancelling his lease and putting it up again to the highest bidders.

Thus, A.J.M. Mills during his commissionership at Cuttack took up various matters relating to all round development of Cuttack.

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Cuttack City in the eyes of T. Acland

Sri Kshirod Prasad Mohanty

It was in the year 1842 that T. Acland, a clergyman of England came to India. He had to assume the post of Clerical Superintendence of the Province of Assam.[1] But, soon after his arrival the bishop of Calcutta changed his appointment from Assam to Cuttack.[2] The different towns that came under his jurisdiction were Midnapore, Balasore and Puri. On 10th January 1843 he arrived at Cuttack. During his stay in this headquarter, he visited many parts of the above region and narrated his travel accounts in a book namely "A popular account of the manners and customs of India"

On the topography of Cuttack City he describes that the Station of Cuttack was situated on a small island formed by the confluence of two rivers. During the hot weather this island became a peninsula joined to the mainland by a narrow neck of sand. The advantage of this insular position was that, whilest they (T. Acland and others) were abounded in alligators, they were free from bears and tigers.[3] The opposite bank was swarmed with tigers. with a small telescope they could sometimes see them coming down to drink by moonlight. On the opposite bank, all round the island, except to the south rose the rugged hills which dropped from Vishnu's finger. There was one great comfort here. The sea was about fifty miles from it in a straight line towards the South. At about five O' clock every evening, a deliciously cool sea-breeze set in from that direction. About seven it became quite gusty and continued to blow until about one in the morning. So that it was necessary to have lived in such a climate and to enjoy a truely luxurious evening after the intense heat of the day.[4]

Bungalow

His house there at Cuttack belonged to Government. It was the best in the Cantonment. The house had only the ground floor. The roof was a thick thatch, extended over the verandahs which in England would be called porticoes and these were supported on thick white columns. The ceilings in bungalow were nothing but large sheets of convass white washed.[5] It had one French window opened into the verandah in front,

another towards the Church. A door opened into the next room, and another into the godown. The beds were nine to ten feet wide, with short posts on which one might hang mosquito curtains. There were no feather-beds, but the mattresses were generally stuffed with the fibres from the outside rind of the Cocoanut, called coir.[6] At that time there was no Electric fans. A pûnkah or fan about eighteen feet long and three feet wide made of convass stretched on the wooden frame and also white washed. This hanged from the ceiling or rather from some bamboos placed up in the ceiling. Suspended from the lower edge of the punkah was a sort of full flounce of white Calico circling along the whole length. This was swung backwards and towards over his head by means of a long rope pulled by a bearer sitting in the verandah.[7] The compound contained about twenty acres and there were in it several beautiful clumps of trees. In front of the house were fine groups of cedars; in one part was a hill, on the top of which were several trees. Though he did not know their names yet their foliage was of a bright green more than any ever seen in England. They had an orchard containing mangoes, custard apples, mulberries, guavas etc. Besides a flower garden there were oranges and lemon trees in it.

River

A river three miles broad (Mahanadee) flowed near it and there was ghat or landing place for pilgrimage proceeded to Juggernauth. They could see in the distance a range of hills, rising abruptly from the other side of the river which were a continuation of those at Balasore. On the sands were storks, wild geese and all sorts of aquatic birds, even all the tanks there abounded with alligators.[8] Gold-dust was mixed with the sand of the river but the quantity was very small and it was therefore not considered worth the trouble and expense of collecting.[9]

Barabati Fort

At a very short distance from their garden stood the remains of a fort. When the English took Cuttack this fort was garrisoned by the Marathas. They, however, soon gave it up. The angles of the bastion were rectangles which prevented it being so strong as if they had been obtuse angles. Its great strength consisted in the ditch which was about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards wide with the perpendicular side faced with bricks, full of water and swarmed with alligators. The water was most foul and offensive. According to some medical men if they were to empty and drain it, it would make a most fearful pestilence for many months. But the people paid no heed to it. At that time the natives had offered them 30,000/-rupees and 'allowed them to drain it up.[10] The fort here was of

great extent comprised at least 100 acres. The walls had been demolished and a great portion of the interior was then occupied by a botanical garden and a racket court.

Church

The church adjacent to his bungalow was very nicely fitted up. There was a door leading into it from his study, which served on Sundays as a vestry. The greatest inconvenience there was punkahs. Over the pulpit, alter and reading desk were three small punkahs. and over the body of the building three very large ones extended over the whole breadth. These were kept constantly in motion and they sadly intercept the voice of whoever was preaching. The government allowed three servants for the use of the church.[11]

From his account it is also found that Cuttack was a halting place of Jugernnath pilgrims who came from a very far distance. During their stay there, many of them died due to want of food and disease. In his compound alone skeletons of eight to ten pilgrims lay scattered. In order to eat one fresh dead pilgrim a large hyaena glided across his compound.[12]

Besides this, his descriptions on the observance of Mohurrum in Cuttack city, Dol yatra and chena Puja or swinging festival and the manners and customs of the natives of Cuttack city, its near-by villages and especially of the whole region are very accurate and descriptive. As his object was to plan a new village for some native christians, he spent most of his time with Mr Lacey, a missionary in preaching christianity and had a keen interest in keeping all these accounts in diary of his own.

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John Beames and Cuttack

Sri Sisir Mohapatra

Among the few Englishmen who were the welwishers of Orissa, John Beames is one of them to be ever remembered by the Oriyas. When a few Bengalees started propaganda for abolition of the Oriya language saying "Oriya is not an independent language" John Beames considered it impolitic and stood as a hillock to protect Oriya language placing sufficient reasonable argument, thereby it was saved from this conspiracy. In referring to this controversy he wrote in his 'Comparative Grammer of Modern Aryan languages of India'—"We are bound to fight tooth and nail against the Bengalee theory by upholding the speech of land folk and helping them to purify and improve it, to render it impossible for interested persons to establish any barrier between the free intercourse of all classes of society" Realising the contribution for restoration of Oriya language and literature the portrait of John Beames has been placed at the Sree Ram Chandra Bhaban, Cuttack as a token of memory. Anybody may remember or not, but he will remain in the hearts of the Oriyas for his past deeds. He was a man of such principle and bold in action against illegal work, and for which he was the cause of fear for all. Moreover, he loved Orissa and the people for their innocency. His Orissa life was happy and it was better than other places of India. Vyasakabi Fakir Mohan Senapati praised John Beames in referring to his noteworthy benefit given to his personal cause and being the admirer the Oriya race, so designating him as 'Mahatma' Kavibar Radhanath Ray, the first wellknown Oriya modern poet had close association with Beames for cultural and literary discussion. He was the cause of the upliftment of the Kavibar's service in Education Department in his official capacity. There were some correspondences between them even after the departure of Beames from Orissa. A few lines may be quoted from a letter written to Radhanath—"I am always glad to turn my thoughts to the happy days I spent in dear old Orissa and look back with much pleasure to the kind and amiable people of that province......".

John Beames, Bengal Civil Service served one year as collector and District Magistrate at Balasore in 1869 and again four years from 1871 to

1873. Then he joined at Cuttack in the same post and continued till 1878. He was also officiating as the commissioner of Orissa when T. E. Ravenshaw was either going on leave or in charge of Board of Revenue.

The days of Beames at Cuttack have had some historical importance. He loved the city very much for its geographical prominency of the river Mahanadi and Kathojodi in both the sides picturing scenic beauty. It is to be worth saying that he fell in love of Cuttack. He has described about Cuttack city in 'Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian' which was written at Cuttack in 1875. He has narrated : "This great city of Cuttack, the capital of a large and isolated province was a curious study. So many little worlds lived side by side, understanding each other often very heartily, and yet all dwelling peaceably on the whole under the strong hand of British law and order. Its situation was peculiar and, in many respects, inconvenient. The Mahanadi, an immense river more than two miles broad issues from the hills and divides into two great streams, which in their turn divide lower down into several others, so that all this part of central Orissa is, in fact, the delta of the Mahanadi,...[1]"

On giving as a first grade magistrate and collector of Balasore, Beams drew his monthly salary of Rs. 1, 916 per month. But his post was upgraded at Cuttack as a collector at a salary of Rs. 2, 250 a month. Regarding his residence he writes. "We took a beautiful but rather uncomfortable house at Chauliaganj, a suburb of Cuttack, a broad, open plain near the river with a race course, a canal, and a row of handsome houses in large compounds. It was the healthiest part of the station, though it had the inconvenience of lying rather a long way from the rest of the station and the Government offices. I had a drive of three miles to my cutcherry."

The present children's hospital at Lalbag was the Commissioner's residence. Here there was a park, where a herd of spotted deer used to roam. At the entrance gates there was a long row of tall trees. Narrating about the cutcherry Beames states : "The collector's office (cutcherry) stood on the same revertment as the Lalbagh, a little lower down. In its spacious, park-like grounds were numerous other public offices, including the college. The native city possessed no ancient or remarkable buildings. It was a large, busy place with many shops and some handsome streets, a market-place and a few old temples. To the north of it lay the lines of the Madras Regiment, a very wide, open plain used as a parade ground, lines of broad roads bordered by the houses of Europeans, a church, a Roman catholic chapel, a Baptist chapel and finally the still imposing ruins of the Old Fort

of Barabati within whose encloser was the Station club, a racquet court and other buildings. The whole inhabited space between the two rivers was about fiye miles.

Some development works of the city were started by Beames as per his own plan. He had the habit of checking different places of the town by moving in his horse. The Utkal Dipika, a foremost Oriya newspaper of that time praised and commented on his note worthy works. This news paper wrote in its issue on the 20th June 1874 as follows "Mr Beames saheb, the magistrate is so prepared that a few magistrates can be compared to such development and reformative work of the city. We cannot dare to point out an iota of fault of him, because of his daily visits of different spots as to check so wonderfully. Moreover, we are forced to state that rain water stored at both the sides of the main roads due to taking over late work...". Regarding the market place and other developmental work Beames writes.

"Meanwhile I was busy with improvements in the town of Cuttack. The old market a strange, ill-arranged mass of low, dark, stone vaults, had fallen into the hands of a close corporation of koyals,...This market was built against the outerside of the great wall surrounding the park in which the Lalbagh—the commissioner's residence—stood. Attached to this ancient wall, and dating from the sixteenth century or earlier, there were several other half-ruined ancient buildings, empty and disused; strange, tall, gloomy structures of dark red stone. I at first thought of making use of these for an opposition market, but they were found to be too ruinous to be put into repair, and inconveniently shaped and situated. So I had to search elsewhere, and at length, at the eastern end— I found a large neglected patch of ground grown over with jungle which was said to have been the site of the Maratha Governor's law—courts. It was the property of the Government, so I could do what I liked with it. On cleaning the jungle and digging up the soil the workmen came upon six or seven beautifully carved capitals of pillars, and by degrees unearthed the drums of the pillars themselves,...with these materials I set to work and designed a handsome market, which was built on this site. × × × A little on one side we found a deep, ancient tank lined with laterite and adorned with carvings of gods, goddesses, men and animals. All this we restored, cleaned out the tank, rebuilt the ghats or steps and made a very handsome place of it. I put up an inscription over the front of the market house and opened it as a public market free from all interferance of the koyals. In India one never remains long enough in any place to see the fruits of one's work. I do not

know whether the new market was successful or not. It began well and was doing well as long as I remained in Cuttack."

It was the first effort of Beames to establish a medical at Cuttack and the Utkal Dipika published the news : "We are very glad to inform the Public that the authority is taking care for a branch hospital. At first the proposal was taken in the Dole Committee for famine and Mr. Beames is collecting donations when the doctor suggested him the matter"

In the month of November 1874 Sir Richard Temple paid a visit to Orissa and grand reception was prepared at Cuttack. Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw was the Commissioner at that time and Mr. Beams had to look after all the arrangements in the City as the Collector. The Lieutenant—Governor was entitled to a salute of fifteen guns. The decoration at Lalbagh was very beautiful. Long lines of Chinese lanterns were hung from end to end. The floor was covered with scarlet cloth and rich carpets. Rows of chairs were set down in both the sides and a broad path way down the middle was fenced off by a light railing. All the Europeans were present on that occasion.

There was a Durbar of Garjat States of Orissa, so all the Rajas were summoned to meet the Lieutenant Governor at Cuttack as well as all the Principal Zamindars from all parts of Orissa. The Commissioner was the Ex-officio Superintendent of all the seventeen states at that time. Mr. Beames expressed the scene in his Memoirs "Of course, there was a magnificent Durbar or State assemblage, at which all the Maharajas and Rajas of the Tributary States—the Kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hills' as we called them—appeared in all their barbaric pearl and gold, with hosts of wild retainers in ancient, rusty coats of mail, tiger-skins, spears and jangling chains and ornaments. One man brought six hundred of these wild followers with him, and was very angry with me because I insisted on his sending three quarters of them away again. I could not allow six hundred High land caterans to stalk about my peaceful city of Cuttack armed with dirk and sword, swaggering and brawling and snatching anything they took a fancy to from the shops without paying for it. The police had a hard time of it to keep these light—fingered gentry in order".

Some news were published in the 'Utkal Dipika' about the visit of the Garjat kings. The news states "The kings love started coming to this city from last Sunday and our collector Mr. Beames saheb cannot decide how to send them back to their respective states as quick as possible. He has sent one constable to each king. It is welcome if this order is for their

respect, but the motive is otherwise not to allow the government clerks, peons, constables and other servants to collect money or such help."

Cuttack was an ancient city and there was some historical importance which was realised by Beames. At the time of the Great Famine of 1866 he was not in Orissa, but a few years after his coming he planned for some social and economic development. He maintained some discipline in every stages of work and was adopting some measures what considered as right, and such examples were many.

As an administrator, the services of Beames were remarkable and long standing. These were reported in the local 'Utkal Dipika' from time to time. In the year, 1873 when Mr. Ravenshaw went on three months leave, Beames assumed the charge of officiating commissioner. Within this period he made a total change in the government offices for lethargy and corruption. His actions were published on 25th November 1873."...Now the saturn has turned to cutchery...services of three head clerks are now nomore, what will be the future of others when three months yet to be completed,—Mr. Balaram Bose, the head clerk of the collectorate is under order of transfer to Balasore in a lower pay and Mr. Jagatbandhu Ghose of that place is to join in his place. Beames also himself writes : "Being both Commissioner and collector at the same time was rather hard work and I was not sorry when it was over. But I had discovered one thing. The immense accumulation of arrears of work was due not merely to the disorder caused by the famine, not to the unmethodical habits of the two last collectors. It was due in a great degree to the slowness and dishonesty of the native ministerial staff. × × × A strong hand, an inflexible will, and rigid method and punctuality were required to restore order to this large and important district. As soon, therefore, as I had set my own work as Commissioner in order, and had allowed Steven's time to clear off his arrears, I had my official inspection of the Cuttack Collectorate. × × × In order to break the neck of the opposition I resolved on drastic measures, dismissed the heads of all the departments or compelled them to retire on pension, filling their places with younger men of more advanced views, some of whom I brought from my old district of Balasore. When Ravenshaw returned from leave after three months absence, he found all the principal officials of Cuttack changed, all the work reorganized and absolutely no arrears ! He rubbed his eyes with astonishment and was not at all pleased !"

In the month of February, 1878 a serious case occurred due to the misconduct of Divyasingh Deb, the Maharaja of Puri who was regarded as the 'Walking Vishnu'. This sensational case of Puri was happened towards

the end of the administration of Beames and there was a special trial at Cuttack. The King was the adopted son of Bira Kishore Deb. The title of Maharaja was conferred upon him in the month of December, 1877 and six months of after it was cancelled. Beames has also narrated this fact "Being displeased with an old fakir who visited him at Pooree, he ordered him to be put to the torture in a particularly brutal fashion and then thrown over the palace wall into a lane behind. The police patrol passing by the head of the lane at night groans, and by the light of their bull's-eyes discovered the old man nearly dead. They carried him to the hospital where he lingered long enough to make a dying deposition to a Magistrate. The Maharaja was arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He is now, if still alive at the convict prison on the Andaman Islands. Immense excitement was aroused all over Orissa and crowds assembled round the Judge's Court everyday during the trial. The boy was smuggled away at night with a strong guard to the Steamer. No actual outbreak occurred, though the authorities fully expected it and had taken their measures accordingly. But the Oriyas are too timid for actual ementes."

After Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa Division, Beames hoped to continue in his place, but he was transferred to Chittagang as Commissioner and Judge. Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor who had succeeded Temple, thought that Beames had been too long in Orissa. Ravenshaw left Orissa on 5th April 1878, but Beames left on 14th February 1878. He wrote his feelings to Kavibar Radhanath Ray from Chittagang on 10th October as follows :

My dear Radhanath,

It was a great blow to me to leave Orissa, and a still greater one when I found that I was not allowed to return there on Mr. Ravenshaw's transfer. Some one, I know not, who told Sir A. Eden on the occasion of his visit to Cuttack that I was very unpopular in Orissa, and that is I suppose the reason why I am not allowed to return to that place. I dislike Chittagang extremely. I have never been in so bad a place in my life. I am always sick here. I have no Society, and the natives are detestable people—the lowest class of Bengali Musalmans—full of treachery and litigiousness. x x x I am sorry Kailas has behaved so badly. I was thinking of getting him a berth here, but I cannot of course do so now.

Please remember me to all my friends in Orissa.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN BEAMES

Mr. Beames was a great Oriental Scholar who possessed sound knowledge on Sanskrit, Oriya, Bengali and some other Indian languages. While in Orissa he patronised with great zeal of Oriya language and literature. With the assistance of Vyasakavi Fakir Mohan he organised a company donating some heavy amount as to bring to light many Palm-leaf manuscripts of Oriya. He was contributing learned articles to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other Journals on Orissan Culture and literature at regular intervals. His 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India' was published from London in 1872 and it was appreciated by different quarters. In addition to Oriental languages, he had interest in Persian, German, French, Italian and some other European language. To quote one remark : "He was a man of strong personal opinion, and by temperament unable to suffer gladly those official superiors with whose views he did not agree—" He retired from India in 1893 and lived in England. He died on May 24, 1902.

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Cuttack as an Administrative Centre

Sri B. R. Patel

What is remarkable about Cuttack is that it has maintained its pre-eminence as a city or town all through in the history of Orissa or by whatever names the teritories comprised in the present State of Orissa were known from time to time in the past. It was the capital city of seven or eight successive regimes that ruled over these territories. It was also the capital for a short while of the State of Orissa as a part of Independent India.

Etymologically 'Kataka' means, in Sanskrit and Oriya, both a city and a military contonment. John Beames who was the Collector of Cuttack for four years from 1873 and has written two volumes of 'Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India' has translated the word 'Kataka' into English as 'camp.' The dictionary meaning of 'camp' is a place where people (eg. people on holiday, soldiers boy scouts, explorers) live in tents. Because of its situation between the two arms of the mighty mahanadi, Cuttack was of great strategic importance to the rulers of the day. It is likely that the temporary camping in course of time led to the establishment of a military contonment and later to the location of the headquarters of the Government.

Prof. G. S. Das in his 'History of Cuttack' has written as follows "It started as a military contonment because of its remarkable situation and then developed as the capital of the State of Orissa. As Calcutta grew out of three villages of Gobindpur, Sutanati, Kalikata, Cuttack also developed into a city out of five villages existing in this area at a distance from one another."

In a foot note to his Article, Prof. Das further mentioned

" It Is probably because of this that Cuttack is sometimes known as 'Pancha Kataka'. The word 'Pancha Kataka' may also mean five different Katakas (Contonments) viz. Chaudwar, Baranasi Kataka, Sarangagada Kataka, Kasiagada Kataka and Amaravati Kataka".

There is considerable controversy as to when Cuttack became the capital city for the first time. Relying on an entry in the Madala Panji, the temple chronicles of Lord Jagannath, Stirling wrote in 1822 as follows

> Authorities vary as to the date of foundation of Kataka Baranasi, but there seems a good reason to think that it became a capital city 'asearly as the end of the 10th century, during the reign of Kesari Princess."

There is also another interesting entry in the Madala Panji about the Anantavarma Chodaganga (AD 1078-1150) who wrested the throne from Karnadeva (AD 1100-1110), the last King of the Soma/Kesari dynasty. Karnadeva was a liberal King who had made Karpura-Sri, a Devadasi or a dancing girl his queen. This was resented by the courtiers. The Madala Panji has recorded that Basudeva Rath,the Commander-in chief (Bahinipati) invited Chodaganga to invade the Kesari Kingdom. The Ganga King was waiting for such an opportunity. According to the entry in the Madala Panji, one day on receiving invitation, Chodaganga NATYA VESARE ASI KATAKA MADI VASI RAJA HOILA. which translated into English would read as' one day Ganga King came in disguise and pounced upon Kataka and made himself King'. This Kataka was no doubt the capital city which was founded by Nrupakesari in 989 AD. The legend of Nandikesari, the daughter of the last Kesari King inviting Chodaganga to take over possession of her father's kingdom has probably grown out of the fact of the Army Chief of Karnadeva inviting secretly the Ganga King from across the border to occupy the country. It is likely that Basudev Rath and his co-conspirators deliberately fostered the growth of the legend to conceal their treachery.

According to Madala Panji, Raja Nrupakesari founded the city on the site of modern Cuttack in about 989 AD. The Panji also records that Marakat Kesari constructed a stone revetment or embankment to protect the new capital from inundation in 1006 AD., The Madala Panji mainly deals with the affairs of the temple of Lord Jagannath. It has a section known as Raja-Bhoga which professes to deal with history of the ruling dynasties of Orissa. According to Late Shri K. C. Panigrahi and many other scholars, the internal evidences (the language used etc.) of the chronicles clearly show that the political events embodied in it were written at one time towards the close of the 16th century, most probably during the reign of the Bhoi dynasty. According to Sri Panigrahi, Madala Panji was written when the Ganga and Suryavamsi Kings had become legendary figures and since written history did not exist the chronicles collected and incorporated

in the Panji such traditional accounts as were available then. "The accounts of the Panji from the reign of Ramachandra Deva, a scion of Bhoi dynasty, who was nominated to the Gadi of Khurda by the Moghul General Mansingh have assumed a regular form of history." It is risky to write history solely on the basis of the entries in the Madala Panji. Some traditions recorded in the Panji may have the real facts but it is prudent to accept them after some other evidence is available. The corroborative evidence may be circumstantial in nature, as for example, the political situation obtaining during the reign of Karnadeva the last King of Kesari dynasty. The last three Kings of this dynasty were weak and they had lost parts of their kingdom particularly Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir region, to Kalachuris of Ratnapura. The Palas had become powerful in the North and Gangas in the South. Either Palas or the Gangas could conquer the Kesari Kingdom at any time. In this view of the history of the time, the entry of Madala Panji on the conquest of Orissa by the Ganga King on the invitation of the Commander-in-chief of the last Somavamsi King should not be dismissed off-hand as unworthy of credence.

In a recent article under the caption of 'A-City of Thousand Years' published in the October, 1989 issue of the Heritage' Dr. Manmatha Nath Das has observed.

> " Keshari Kings of Orissa not only built the city of Cuttack into fortified capital but also converted the ancient site of Bhubaneswar into a city of temples"

Most scholars agree that Cuttack was the capital of the Gangas. Sri K. C. Panigrahi in his 'History of Orissa' has written as follows

> " Chodaganga's ancestral capital was at Kalinganagara identified with Mukhalingam situated in the Srikakulam district of Andhra, but after his occupation of Orissa he transferred his capital to Cuttack which was more centrally situated in his vast kingdom. Here the Gangas ruled for fourteen generations and gradually became Oriyas and lost their former identity. Chodaganga also built a number of strong forts in Orissa, and Sarangagarh (near Baranga) became most famous."

Writing about Janmajaya-I (AD 882-992) founder of Suryavamsi dynasty at page 104 of History of Orissa (Hindu Period) Second Edn. 1966 Sri Panigrahi has observed as follows

> " We have stated above that Janmajaya's capital was Survarnapur or modern Sonepur situated on the Mahanadi, but he also issued copper

plate grants from Murasima and Kataka. The latter place simply means the victorious camp evidently referring to his permanent residence Suvarnapura, but not to the modern city of Cuttack which in all earlier records have been referred to as Varanasi-Kataka and which became the capital of Orissa *only from the time of Gangas*."

In his article "Empires and Kingdoms in Ancient and Medieval Orissa' published in Vol-I No.II July 87-December 87 issue, Dr. Manmathanath Das has said

" He (Cholaganga or Chodaganga) ascended the Ganga throne at his ancestral capital of Kalinganagar, which is identified with modern Mukhalingam, in the year 1078 AD. From there he began his conquering career and when the whole of Orissa and also its adjoining territories had been over-run and united with a powerful State, he transferred his capital to the city of Cuttack, very late in his reign, in the year 1135 AD. During the next 12 years of his rule with Cuttack as the centre of his political activities, he gave the final touches to his empire building while strengthening and fortifying his capital city in an effective way."

Some scholars maintain that it was Anangabhima Deva-III (1211-1238 AD) who shifted his capital from Chaudwar Cuttack to Cuttack. This view is presumably based on the following entry in the Madala Panji

"While he was residing at Chaudwar Kataka one day, the King (Anangabhimadeva) crossed the Mahanadi and on the southern bank of it, in the vicinity of Bisveswara Siva situated in the village Barabati in the Kodinda Dandapata, he saw that a heron killed a hawk. The king was astonished at this unusual event and laid the foundation of a Kataka in the Barabati village, and after building the place and making it a Kataka, called the place as the Baranasi Kataka and left Chaudwar Kataka". This account of Madala Panji is corroborated by Nagari Copper plate that was issued by him in 1229 AD. from Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. Anangabhimadeva is also credited with construction of a gigantic temple for Lord Jagannath at this new capital. Scholars are unanimous that Anangabhimadeva was the founder of Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. The entry in the Madala Panji corroborated by the Nagari Copper plate raised some questions; (I) If the capital was shifted for the first time from Chaudwar Kataka to Cuttack in the reign of Anangabhimadeva how do we reconcile the fact of Chodaganga transferring his capital from Kalinganagara to Kataka ? Did Chodaganga only build a fort at Kataka as a part of his fortification plan

around his capital which was Chaudwar Kataka ? Was he occasionally holding court in the fort at Kataka ? If it was so which was the fort he built, was it the Barabati Fort the ruins of which still stand on the bank of the Mahanadi ? The other question that arises is in which part of the modern city of Cuttack was Abhinava Baranasi Kataka situated ? Was it at the place which is known as Bidanasi where the Cuttack Development Authority are now planning to construct a new township ? On this question late Sri K. C. Panigrahi in his 'History of Orissa' has stated as follows

"The story of Firuz's invasion of Orissa (Firuz Shah Tughluq, the Sultan of Delhi in 1361 AD. during the reign of Bhanudeva III (AD. 1352-1378) as given by the Muslim chronicles (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi and Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi) shows that when the Sultan occupied Ganga King Bhanudeva submitted. The name of the capital has been given as Banaras which is without doubt Varanasi Kataka or Abhinava Varanasi Kataka as given in the Nagari Plates of Anangabhimadeva III. It is now represented by the modern city of Kataka". This however, does not help us much in precisely locating the capital of Anangabhimadeva-III as the city of Cuttack has in the mean-time developed considerably by absorbing the nearby villages. The entry in the Madala Panji refers to the foundation of a Kataka in the Barabati village and to the construction of a palace calling the place as Varanasi Kataka. If this account can be accepted because of its corroboration by Nagari Plates then we may not be wrong in assuming that the Abhinava Varanasi Kataka was in fact around the place where the Barabati fort and the palace inside stood.

There is considerable controversy as to who was the builder of the Barabati Fort and the palace inside it. Abul Fazl Allami writes about Cuttack in his Ain-i-Akbari as follows ;

"Kataka; the city has a stone fort situated at the bifurcation of two rivers the Mahanadi held in high veneration by the Hindus and the Katjuri. It is the residence of the Governor and contains some fine buildings. For five or six kos round the fort during the rains the country is under water. Rajah Makand Deo built a place here nine storeys in height, the first storey was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants; the third by the patrol and gate-keepers; the forth by the workshops; the firth by the kitchens, the sixth contained the public reception room the seventh, the private apartment; the eight, the women's apartments; and the nineth the sleeping chamber of the Governor".

Many scholars hold that Barabati fort as well as the palace was built by Mukund Deva who was killed in 1568 AD, though according to Ain-i-Akbari Raja Mukund Deva built a nine storey palace. Raja Mansingh finally subdued Orissa in 1592 AD. The description of the nine storey palace in Ain-i-Akbari was complied in 1594-95. On the Ist of May 1633 AD a small party of English merchants headed by Cartwright arrived at Cuttack from Masulipatam and stayed there upto the 9th May. William Bruton accompanied the party. In the Early Annuals of the English in Bengal Vol. 1 page 7 C. R. Wilson has given the following account

"Agha Muhmmad Zaman of Teheran, a Mogul Viceroy, now abode in the stately palace of 'Malcandy' The English Travellers reached the palace from the east over a long narrow causeway and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the Court of public audience"

W. Bruton writes as follows

"Thus have I, plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the Court of 'Malcandy', but although the palace of the Nawab be so large in extent and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodged in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him; for it is an abomination to the Mughals (which are white men) torest or sleep under the roof of a house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore, he was building a palace, which he proposed should be fabric of rest, and future remembrance of his renown"

Bruton's Malcandy court is probably the Manikhandi Naura of the Madala Panji which was occupied by Mukunda Deva.

Some historians believe that the word 'Malcandy' is derived from Mukunda Deva the last Independent King of Orissa who is credited with construction of the Barabati Fort and the palace. Professor G. S. Das in his article 'History of Lalbag' has demonstrated that Malcandy is a later misprint of 'Mahanadi'. The earliest account about the fort and the residential quarters inside the fort are to be found in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi which describes the invasion of Jajnagar by Firuz Shah Tughluq. This account reads as follows

"The country of Jajnagar was very prosperous and happy. The author's father who was in the royal suite, informed the writer that it was in a very flourishing state, and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all the wants of the army and animals so that they recovered from the

hardships of the campaing. Sultan Firuz rested at Baranasi, an ancient residence of the arrogant Rais. At that time the Rai of Jajnagar by name Adayat had deemed it expedient to quit Baranasi, and to take up his residence elsewhere. So Sultan Firuz occupied his palace. The writer has been informed that there were two forts in Baranasi, each populated with a large number of people. The Rais were Brahmans and it was held to be religious duty that every one who succeeded to the title of Rai at Jajnagar, should add something to these forts. They had thus grown very large".

As the account of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi was compiled sometime after the invasion of Orissa by the Sultan and the author got the information from his father who accompanied the Sultan there is bound to be some inaccuracy in the account. There is, however, no reason to d ubt the information that the Sultan occupied the palace. One of the two forts mentioned may be the mound of ruins which is generally known as Barabati fort. There is no trace of the other. I donot subscribe to the view that it was Mukunda Deva the last independent King of Orissa who constructed the nine storeyed building described by Abul Fazl in Ain-i-Akbari. Because, Mukunda Deva who had to contend with many rivals at home and enemies abroad was not likely to have enough time to construct the fort and the palace or either of them within the short period of eight years. It is more plausible to hold that the Barabati Fort was built for the first time by Anantavarma Chodaganga and strengthened by Anantabhima Deva-III who also constructed the palace with the Jagannath Temple. There were subsequent additions some of which must have been made by Mukunda Deva.

There are many accounts about the Barabati Fort some of which have been mentioned above. Thomas Motte visited Cuttack on his way to Sambalpur. On 6th May, 1766 he saw the Barabati fort from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi and wrote that "The great number of mosques with which it is adorned and the regular appearance of the citadel strongly resembling the west side of Windsor Castle unite to make the perspective view of the place extremely grand" He describes the Fort as follows :

"Cuttack is not fortified now; but on the side next the Maha Nuddee is a citadel, called Barahbattee because it is said to contain 12 battees, or 240 biggahs of land. But this must be understood not only of the fort itself, but of the official fief annexed to the command; for the fort itself did not appear to me above 800 yards in circumference. It is square with a small bastion at three angles; at the fourth, to the N.W.a very large one, evidently the improvement of an European engineer, to counteract a lofty mosque, which commands that quarter of the fort, the ditch is 20 yards

widen and 7 deep, lined with stone, and a perfect square without; for the bastions having been added since the fort was built there are no projections in the ditch to answer the projections of the bastion. The works are formed of two stone walls, each 18 inches thick, built perpendicular two feet from each others, which distance is filled up with rubbish. The outer wall being raised five feet higher than the inner forms the parapet, which is only one stone thick. The entrance is defended by three gateways, so strong, it would be impossible to force them, if they were manned by brave fellows, for the passage between them in narrow and winding, with a stone wall on each side, thirty feet perpendicular, from the top of which, if they were to let large stones fall, every man in the passange must be crushed. The fort is, however, two small to make a long defence against an European enemy"

Leckei, an English traveller who halted at Cuttack from 31st March to 17th April, 1790 saw Barabati fort as follows

"The fort of Beerbautty, to the northward of the town, is surrounded by a wet ditch, about 150 feet broad, which is supplied from the Mahanuddy by a channel covered with large stones. It is built of the stone already mentioned and the walls do not appear thick or in good repair. There are emurasures for cannon only in the bastions, in the parapet and curtain loopholes". (Journal of a route to Nagpore by way of Cuttack etc.)

The fort of Barabati was occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Clayton, in the afternoon of 17th October, 1803. Hunter has described the occupation of Barabati fort by the English as follows

"We reached Cuttack city, which we entered unopposed-' the gates open, and all the inhabitants' houses empty. Six days sufficed to build our batteries and extend our approaches to the Fort. This stronghold, firmly fixed between two branches of the Mahanadi, formed the one difficult fortification in Orissa. Faced with stones, defended by eight small towers, surrounded by a high rampart and a deep moat, '20 to 30 paces broad, and in some places by a double ditch, its single weak point was the number of hollows in the neighbouring fields, which afforded good cover for the besiegers. At 10 A.M. on the 4th October, an English Officer blew open one of the small gates, receiving a wound the same moment in the neck, and a storming party dashed into the heart of the fortifications. A few moments ended the struggle. The Colonel of the attacking party fell with a wound in his leg; two or three soldiers were killed the Marhattas leaped the ramparts and streamed out of the other gates; about thirty of their dead

bodies were carried out in bullockcarts to the river, where they were eaten by wild beasts and birds'."

Stirling was at Cuttack from 1818 for a year or two and saw the condition of the Barabati fort as follows

" Its square sloping towers or bastions, and general style, bespeak clearly a Hindu origin. The Mohammedan or Marhatta Governors added a round bastion at the N. W. angle, and constructed the great arched gateway in the eastern face, which alterations are alluded to in a persian inscription, giving for the date of the repairs and additions according to the rules of the Abjed,the fourth year of the reign of Ahmed Shah or AD. 1750. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area measuring 2, 150 by 1,800 feet. The entrance lies through a grand gateway on the east, flanked by two lofty square towers, having the sides inclining inwards from the base to the summit. A noble ditch faced with masonry surrounds the whole, measuring a flag staff. This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river face, give to that edifice an imposing, castellated appearance, so much so that the whole when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi, presented to the imagination of Mr. La Motte, who travelled through the province in 1767 AD. some resemblance to the west side of Windsor Castle. No traces of the famous palace of Raja Mukund Deo nine storeys in height, mentioned in the Ahin Acberi, are to be found within the walls of fort Barabati but the fragments of sculptured cornices, and c. which have been dug up at different times, and more especially a massive candelabra, or pillar furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine grey indurated chlorite or pot stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid edifice."

The fort suffered much from the vandalism of the Public Works Department of the Government. Toynbee saw it in 1872 as follows:

" There is but little in the present appearance of the fort which answers to the above description. The Public Works Department have converted this fine building into an unsightly series of earthen mounds, and the ground within the moat into widerness of stone-pits. The stones composing the walls of the moat which surrounds the fort are now being used for the light house at false point and for other public buildings, the dust of the rest is shaken off our feet against us on the station roads. "The great arched gateway of the eastern face," as Stirling calls it, and a fine old mosque, called after Fatteh Khan Raham, are almost the only objects of antiquarian interest which remain intact. The fate of many interesting ruins in the province has unhappily been similar."

Fegussion has written about the Barabati fort as follows

" It too however, has suffered, first from the intolerant bigotry of the Muslim and afterwards from the stolid indifference of the British rulers, so that very little remains. But for this the great palace of Mukunda Deo, the contemporary of Akbar, might still remain to us in such a state at least as to be intelligible. Abul Fazl's description of this palace, however, has been misunderstood by the translators, who have represented it as consisting of nine storeys instead of nine courts or enclosures."

There is still difference of opinion amongst the scholars as to whether the palace described in Ain-i-Akbari was of nine storeys one above the other or horizontal spread of nine "courts or enclosures" The controversy centres round the translation of the Persian language in which the Ain-i-Akbari account has been written. When Sir Jadunath Sarkar was consulted about the translation he wrote as follows

" I accept the first suggestion of Monomohan Babu that the town of Katak and not its fort was situated at the junction of the two rivers. This is the correct interpreation of the Persian text, which uses the words "Katak is a stone (Persian Sangin may mean either built or stone or very hard and strong) fort" loosely in the sense of 'a city with a fort'

"But I cannot see how Monomohan Babu's second suggestion that the "Nine storeyed palace" can be a mistranslation of "a palace with 9 quarters of residential wards." The persian text has Ashinah, which means a nest, perch, or lofty seat, and cannot be taken to mean paras or wards lying side. There is nothing incredible in a palace of nine storyes if built of wood and bamboos on a stone foundation. The Dravidian temples have gopurams (gateways) towering up to 13 storeys, but built of stone. In the Gaekward's dominations in the old Hindu city of Sidhpur, there are the ruins of a stone palace known to have been of seven storeys." The controversy can be resolved after the fort site has been excavated.

" The people of Orissa" writes Nuniz, the Protugues traveller in the Court of Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar" are very good fighting men" and the King of Orissa "has a mighty army of foot soldiers". The Ganga dynasty (the greater Gangas) counted among its rulers such powerful monarchs as Ananta Varma Chodaganga who was the greatest General of his time in Intia, Anangabhimadeva-III and Narasimhadeva-I who had established a vast empire stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the South. The Gangas kept the Muslim rulers of Bengal at bay and maintained their independence for long 325 years (from 1110 AD. to 1435 AD.). The

Suryavamsi rulers carried on the tradition and Kapilendradeva, the founder of the dynasty pushed on the boundary of his Maharajya to the Pennar in the South. His son Hamvira who was responsible to a great extent for the military triumphs of the Gajapati was the greatest general of the time in India. Sri K. C. Panigrahi in his 'History of Orissa' has written about Kapilendradeva's military prowess as follows "The distant monarchs like those of Jaunpur, Delhi and Malwa felt the weight of his (Kapilendradeva's) powers. From his reign Orissa became the standard bearer of Hindu culture...."

Without a trained efficient army, such extensive conquest was not possible. Contemporary records throw a flood of light on the kind of skill imparted and training given to the soldiers in the Gymnasia in the capital of the Gajapati King. Similar arrangement must have been there elsewhere also in Orissa. Krishnadeva Raya, the emperor of Vijayanagar, a contemporary of Prataprudradeva the grandson of Kapilendradeva was bent upon pushing back the boundaries of Orissan Maharajya to North of the Godavari. He sent his spies to Orissa to ascertain the secret of the fighting quality of the Gajapati army. The spies visited Cuttack, studied the training methods and submitted their report to the emporer. The report is still available and a summary has been given in "Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, Vol-III page III" which has been reproduced at pages 261-262 of the History of Orissa by Sri K. C. Panigrahi.

"We entered the city, and saw the palace of the Gajapati, the mansions of the sixteen Patras, the Gymnasia and the people who take exercises therein. Even the gods and the demons are not capable of exhibiting such skill in physical exercises as they show. Your Majesty might have observed the skill in physical exercises shown by the great wrestlers of other countries; but the style of the people at the capital of the Gajapati is totally different. They alone are capable of lifting up such heavy dumb-bells. They lift them up, and what is more, they lift them up cross-wise. They raise a sack weighing 10 paddes to the height of uplifted arm of a standing man and throw it upon their own bodies. Moreover, they catch the sack between their thighs and suspend themselves in the air taking hold of the cross-beam (of the gymnasium). The reason for taking this exercise is this: While engaged in battle, the troopers are accustomed to carry away their opponents bodily imprisoning them between one of their arms and the body; if, however, the opponents fight without losing their hold on their steeds, they abandon their attempt, considering the opponent to be unmanageable. The riders on the armourned horses are not afraid of any wound

which they might receive. They attempt t carry away under their arm such riders(?), The soldiers practise this exercise in order to remain firm courageously (in their seats on such occasions. They completely demolish walls of hundred feet with a *rummi mattakhandam* (?) which is heavy enough to be carried by a man on his head. They also cut with that sword strong tamarind pillars as easily as they cut the pitch of the plaintain trees. Planting two crow-bars together on the ground they cut them to pieces with their sword. They bring a basketfull of cymbal-discs, and twist four or five of them together. As the blacksmiths are not able to separate them, they place them on the anvil, and detach them (with the aid of the hammer), and bring them again in good condition for the next day's use. Moreover, they break iron clubs at any given point. The wrestlers of the country who go there return with a feeling that it is not possible for them to cope with their methods of taking exercise. The wealth and strength of that place cannot be seen any where else."

Most of the modern historians are unable to believe the account given by the spies. There is at present no trace of these Gymnasia and Akhadas in the city of Cuttack as there is no trace of the fighting qualities of yore in the people.

The spies also gave the following interesting account of the daily life of the Gajapati King

"He used to get up from the bed early in the morning two hours before the sun rise and salute two brahmanas first before looking at any other person. Then accompanied by the Sixteen Patras he used to go on a ride of about twenty or thirty miles and then return to the palace. After taking his bath he engaged himself in daily worship of Lord Jagannatha. Then he had his midday meals. After food he used to recite '*Samkshepa Ramayana*'. Then putting on official robes bedecked with jewels he used to sit in the court and transact his daily business"

The Afghans ruled from Barabati fort from 1568 till 1592 when they were finally ousted by Raja Mansingh. The palace continued to be occupied by Mughal Viceroys as is clear from the account of the English Merchants which says that Agha Mohammad Zaman of Teheran a Mughal Viceroy "now abode in the stately palace of Malcandy", It is immaterial whether Malcandy means Mukunda Dev or is a misprint of Mahandi because in either case it would refer to the Barbati fort and the palace inside.

William Bruton who accompanied the English Merchants in May, 1633 has referred to the construction of a new palace in the following words

"Therefore, he was building a palace which he proposed should be a fabric of rest, and future remembrance of his renown" Scholars agree that this new palace was known as the 'Lalbag palace' The building still stands on the bank of the Kathjori. It was probably built by Muta-Ud-Khan Mirza Makki, who was the Mughal Governor of Orissa from 1632-42 AD. In 1741 it was occupied by Saulat Jung, Deputy Naxim of Orissa as mentioned by Ghulam Hussain Salim in his persian Chronicle Riaz-Us-Salatin (1786-87). In 1766 Thomas Motte, wrote about it as follows

"Each of the sides of the triangle, on which Cuttack is built, is two miles, but on the banks of Cutjuree is best inhabited. On it is Lalbagh the residence of the Governor of the Privince, a large building, laid out in a number of courts, in the Morisco taste, but much out of repair, the Governor when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of the palace runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line one mile and half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English Factory, the meanness of which does no credit to so flourishing a company" Some scholars surmise that the name of Firingi Bazar indicates the locality where the English factory stood.

It was occupied by the Mughal Subedars till 1751 AD. when it passed on to the control of the Bhonslas of Nagpur. The Maratha Subedars had their residence in the place from 1751-1803 when Cuttack was occupied by the Britishers. Leckie, the English traveller, who halted at Cuttack in 1790 AD describes in his Journal of a route to Nagpore by way of Cuttack etc, as the residence of the Rajah on the Cutjoora "surrounded by a high stone wall with gateways". In 1822 Sterling, Secretary to the Commissioner of Cuttack wrote "The Mughal and Maratha Subedars always resided in the palace of the Lalbagh on the banks of Cutjooree". Lalbagh came into the possession of the British in 1803 AD. The East India Company leased it out but apparently came again into the khas possession of Government which sold it In January, 1862 AD when the purchaser sold the estate with the building to the Irrigation, Company for Rs. 15,000. In 1868 AD Government took posession of the palace when they took over the irrigation works from the company. Since 1868 AD the building was occupied by the Commissioners and sometimes by Collectors till about 1939 AD. Notable among the Commissioners who had their residence here are Mr Thomas Eric Ravenshaw "A kindly patriarchal sort of old man, grey headed and stout and quite free from any official stiffness or haughtiness" who was responsible to a great extent for the great famine (1865-66) but who made adequate amends subsequently by undertaking a large number of welfare measures and

Sri R. C. Dutta (1896 AD) the-well-known historian and President of the Lucknow Session of Indian National Congress in 1899. Shri Dutt wrote to his daughter in 1896 AD about the building of Lalbagh as "The best situated Commissioner's house" In 1941 AD it was occupied by Shri K.C. Gajapati Narayan Deo, Maharaja of Parlakhemundi and premier of Orissa. Since 1942 it was being occupied by the Governor of Orissa till finally the Rajbhawan shifted to Bhubareswar. John Beames who was Collector, Cuttack for four years from 1874 has written about Lalbagh in his book 'Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian' as follows

"On the highest point of the revetment stands the Lal Bagh, the Commissioner's residence, a large and stately building in a park-like compound in which, in our time, a herd of a spotted deer used to roam. A long avenue of tall trees with dense foliage (a species of Uvaria) led to the entrance gates, beyond which lay the native city". Lalbagh now serves as a children's hospital under the Directorate of Pediatrics. The State PWD effected extensive modification to the structure to make it serve the needs of a hospital and in the process many things of historical importance might have been lost. Inits life of 356 years the building must have undergone considerable changes.

During the reign of the Gangas, the Suryavamsis and the Bhoi rulers, Barabati fort was the principal centre of governance of the State of Orissa. It also served as the administrative centre during the Afghans and the Mughals till after 1633 when it shifted to Lalbag. The Marathas took possession of Orissa in 1751 and considerably improved the fort by strengthening the ramparts, widening and deepening the moat around the forst. The Marathas also beautified Cuttack by building some temples and Maths like the Amaresvara temple in Buxibazar and the Mastaram Math at Shaik Bazar. (Prof. G. S. Das in History of Cuttack). During the rule of the Marathas Cuttack prospered as a trade centre as it lay between the Maratha headquarters at Nagpur and the headquarters of the English merchants in Bengal and Northern Sircar. The city of Cuttack also extended considerably particularly in Chauliaganj area where the Marathas set up their military camp. This camp was visited by Thomas Motte during his stay at Cuttack in 1766. Motte highly appreciated the strength and organisation of this stronghold. The stables located here are now utilised as residential quarters one of the armed police battalions of the State. The Marathas also strengthened the massive revetment which was constructed by Markat Keshari according to Madala Panji and which for centuries protected the city of Cuttack. (Prof. G.S. Das is of the view that the revetment was possibly

constructed sometime after the foundation of the Abhinava Baranasi Kataka by Anangabhimadeva-III) Though the Maratha Subedar lived in Lalbagh they carried on the administration from the Barabati fort and their Military camp at Chauliaganj. The Barabati fort has thus served for centuries as the residence of the ruling dynasties as well as the principal seat of administration. It also served as the prison for several important personalities. Ramachandra Deva II, the Raja of Khurda was imprisoned here by Mahamad Taqi Khan a very notorious Governor of Cuttack who died in 734 AD burried in the compound of Kadamb Rasul. During the Mughal rule between 1660 to 1667 many local Oriya rulers were put into prison at Mankhandi palace according to the Maraqat-i-Hassan. Among those imprisoned here during the British regime were the Raja Kujanga (1803), the Raja of Khurda (1808 AD) and the Raja of Surguja with members of his family (1819).

The Marathas had also their law; courts in addition to their administrative offices and military camp. The artefacts found by John Beames, Collector of Cuttack in 1874 AD while laying foundation of a new market and the people's account he has recorded in his 'Memoirs of a Bengal Civilan' would throw some light on the site where the lawcourts were located. The old market was controlled by a group of Koyals (weighets) who used to weigh all grain brought to market on payment of fee, but in course of time acquired considerable power to regulate market rates and tyrannize over the traders and customers. As it was not possible, for reasons of law, to take over this old market, he set up a new market. This is what Beames has said in his Memoirs.

"When I proposed to rebuild their market they objected and produced an ancient document granting them the propriety right in the building. It was impossible to say whether this document was genuine or not (probaly not) but when I consulted the law-officers, I was advised that there was no legal means of contesting it, as through the carelessness of former Collectors the Koyals had been allowed to remain in possession long enough to establish a prescriptive right to the buildings, as well as to the exclusive exercise of their functions. This market was built against the outer side of the great wall surrounding the park in which the Lal Bagh-the Commissioner's residence stood. Attached to this ancient wall, and dating from the sixteenth century or earlier, there were several other half-ruined ancient buildings, empty and disused; strange, tall, gloomy, structures of dark red stone. I at first thought of making use of these for an opposition market, but they were found to be too ruinous to be put into repair, an inconveniently shaped and situated. So I had to search elsewhere, and at length,

at the eastern end of the town-the old market was at the western end-I found a large, neglected patch of ground grown over with jungle which was said to have been the site of the Maratha Governor's law-courts. It was the property of the Government, so I could do what I liked with it. On clearing the jungle and digging up the soild the workmen came upon six or seven beautifully carved capitals of pillars, and by degrees unearthed the drums of the pillars themselves, together with numerous finely carved fragments of sandstone and great quantities of laterite blocks, which had evidently been used for building. With these materials I set to work and designed a handsome market, which was built on this site. It was of laterite, a lofty hall with chambers for warehousing grain, and in front a long wide portico supported by the pillars above-mentioned which were duly pieced together. A little on one side we found a deep, ancient tank lined with laterite and adorned with carvings of gods, goddess, men and animals. All this we restored, cleaned out the tank, rebuilt the ghats or steps and made a very handsome place of it. I put up an inscription over the front of the market-house and opened it as a public market free from all interference of the Koyals.

With the description of the location of the new market it should be possible for the scholars to identify the place where the market was built and consequently the site of the Maratha law-courts. The law-courts were probably somewhere within the Shahid Bhavan—Municipality office complex.

The British Covernment took no step to preserve the Barabati fort and the palace inside, on the other hand, they did everything to wipe out the fort. In 1828 under the suggestion of Peckenham, the then Commissioner of Orissa, the stones of the fort were used to make the Contonment Road, stones were even sold to moneyed persons of the town at a price of Rs. five to six per hundered pieces of dressed stones. in 1829 the light house at the False point was constructed with stones removed from the Baarabati Fort. In the same year the fort site was excavated but no account has been left of this excavation. Demolition of the fort continued till 1855 when the Collector of Cuttack made a feeble attempt to stop it. In 1857 stones from the rampart were removed to strengthen the embankments. Even during the time of the Mughals the fort retained much of its splendour as the following lines from the account left behind by the English merchants would show.

" The palace durbar was forthwith spread with rich carpets, gold pillars being placed at the corners to hold them gown and in the middle a red velvet holster for His Highness to recline against."

Immediately after the occupation of Cuttack in December, 1803, Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melvill were appointed the Commissioners of the province and were stationed at Cuttack, while Mr. James Hunter was sent to Puri as 'Acting Collector at Lord Jagannath' The Commissioners were given the charge of making the land revenue settlement. The Regulation XII of 1805 abolished the office of Special Commissioners and empowered the Board of Revenue at Fort William to superintend the revenue administration of Orissa. In the same year the earlier two divisions were merged into one under the administration of a Collector, Puri continued to be the headquarters of the Collector and the Capital of the province till 1816. In 1806 there was a proposal to remove the headquarters to Jajpur but that did not materialise. In August, 1814, a part of the Collector's establishment was removed to Cuttack which was again brought back to Puri in December of the same year. A number of Zamindars however, petitioned to the Company to have the Collectorate removed to Cuttack, which was the seat of administration under the Mughals and the Marathas. The headquarters was finally shifted from Puri to Cuttack in 1816. After some abortive administrative arrangements, finally on 23rd October, 1828, the province was divided into three districts namely, Balasore, Cuttack and Jagannath later known as Puri each under a Collector. After abolition of the office of the Special Commissioners "for settling the affairs of Cuttack" in 1805 the province was placed under the charge of a Collector and of a Judge and Magistrate. For 24 years after this, the whole province formed but one district having its headquarters at Puri until 1816 when Cuttack was made the capital". (P. 199 Cuttack Gazetteer compiled by L.S.S.O' Malley, ICS). It was enacted by Sections 5 and 6 of Regulation 10 of 1807 that a Commission was to be constituted, consisting of one or more members (as the Governor General in Council may direct) for the superintendence of the settlement and for general control of the Collector, Cuttack in performance of his public duties. The Commissioner or Commissioners were to be vested with all duties, powers and authority which had been exercised by the Board of Revenue in the district of Cuttack and of the Pergunnah of Pattaspore and its dependencies. The Commissioner of the Orissa Division, was also appointed as the Superintendent of the Tributary States. The system of superintending, the magistracy and the police by the Revenue officer was found to be defective. The Board of Revenue in which all the powers were concentrated was not able to discharge its functions satisfactorily. It was therefore felt necessary to have posts of regular Commissioners of Divisions or Revenue Commissioners created. Accordingly the Governor-General in Council ordered the creation of such posts from 1st of March 1829.

On 1st April, 1936, a new province of Orissa was carved out of the areas of Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Madras. In view of the frequent change of ownership of the Lalbagh palace in the early years of the British rule, it is not possible to say how many Commissioners of Orissa had their residence in this palace till 1868 AD. Though after 1868 Lalbagh palace became the residence of the Orissa Commissioners, there is no information available as to which of the Commissioners had also their office here. The Red building which still stands within the premises of the Board of Revenue was definitely the office of the Commissioners of Orissa and later of the Board of Revenue. This building has been declared unsafe for further use and is to be demolished. There is no record available as to when this building was constructed. It is perhaps one of the oldest structures of Cuttack still standing. Earlier than this building was the old Collectorate building. A new building has since been constructed but a portion of the old building is still standing on the bank of the Kathajodi. John Beames has given a description of the Collector's office and the Cuttack town as it was in 1873 in his Book, Memories of a Bengal Civilian' as follows

" The Collector's office (Cutcherry) stood on the same revetment as the Lalbagh, a little lower down. In its spacious park-like grounds were numerous other public offices, including the College. The native city possessed no ancient or remarkable buildings. It was a large, busy place with many shops and some handsome streets, a market-place and a few old temples. To the north of it lay the lines of the Madras Regiment, a very wide, open plain used as a parade ground; lines of broad roads b rdered by the houses of Europeans, a church, a Roman Catholic chapel, a Baptist chapel and finally the still imposing ruins of the old Fort of Barabati, within whose enclosure was the station club, a racquet court and other buildings. The whole inhabited space between the two rivers was about five miles long by two broad, and for along distance down-stream to the south east were struggling suburbs-Jobra with its extensive workshops, Chauliaganj with a racecourse and a row of pleasant, spacious villas in large compounds, in one of which we lived for four years."

About Chauliaganj this is what Beames says

"We took a beautiful but rather uncomfortable house at Chauliaganj, a suburb of Cuttack, a broad, open plain near the river with a race-course, a canal, and a row of handsome houses in large compounds. It was the healthiest part of the station, though it had the inconvenience of lying

rather a long way from the rest of the station and the Government offices I had a drive of three miles to my cutcherry. Here we lived for four years perhaps on the whole the busiest, brightest and happiest period of my service in India. Not only was the sphere of my activity much enlarged, but the station in which we lived was a big one. There was a regiment of Madras Infantry with six or seven officers and their wives, about a dozen of the civil servants besides missionaries and merchants and men in other departments."

Cuttack was constituted a municipality in 1876. Jajpur and Kendrapara had each a municipality earlier in 1869. The Cuttack municipality had a Municipal Board consisting of 30 members of whom 24 were elected, 4 ex-officio and 2 nominated non-official members. In 1930-31 the municipal limits were approximately 20 square miles and the number of rate payers was 9,205 which was 14.1 per cent of the population. The municipality had annual income of Rs. 1,35,000/-out of which Rs. 53,000 was derived from Holding tax, Rs. 44,000 from the latrine tax. Miscellaneous tax account for Rs. 16,000 and tax on hackney carriages and motor vehicles accounted for Rs. 8,000. The Government gave a grant of Rs. 9,000. In 1930-31 an amount of Rs. 5,400 or 3.4 per cent of the total expenditure was spent on general establishment, Rs. 8400 or 5.3 per cent on lighting, Rs. 70, 800 or 44 per cent on conservancy, Rs. 35,000 or 22.5 per cent on public works, Rs. 4,400 or 4·1 per cent on medical relief and Rs. 11,100 or 6.9 per cent on public instruction. In spite of the low incidence to taxation, the collection of taxes was far from satisfactory as is the case today. There was at that time no piped water supply and the population depended on tanks, wells and the two rivers Mahanadi and Kathjuri for water supply. The municipality maintained 40 miles of metalled and 25 miles of unmetalled road, a municipal dispensary with a leper clinic attached, a veterinary hospital 3 upper primary and 5 lower primary schools. In that year, electric lighting was introduced in some streets of the town by arrangement with the Cuttack Electric Supply Company. The municipality has had a fluctuating fortune and has often been superseded on one pretext or the other. Government control is, however, no answar to the problems of local self-government. (The statistics on the Cuttack Municipality of 1930-31 have been taken from the Cuttack Gazetteers compiled by L.S.S.O' Malley, I. C. S.).

Orissa was constituted into a separate province in 1936, but it was not until 1948 that the State had a separate High Court. On March 3, 1948 the Orissa Legislative Assembly made a motion for the establishment of a

High Court for Orissa. And Orissa at long last had a High Court of her own under the Orissa High Court Order, 1948 made by the Government of India. The said order provided that as from July 26, 1948 there shall be a High Court for the Province of Orissa which shall be a Court of record and shall consist of a Chief Justice and such other Judges as the Governor General from time to time appoint, in accordance with the provisions of Section 220 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The High Court of Orissa was inaugurated on July 26,1948 in front of the present High Court building at Cuttack, in the very same premises, by Sir Harilal Kania, Chief Justice of India, in the presence of a distinguished gathering. After independence cuttack continued to be the capital of Orissa and the Secretariat functioned in the temporary quarters constructed during the war by the side of the Cantonment Road and for sometime Orissa Legislative Assembly held its session in the Union Hall of the Ravenshaw College. However, the administrative importance of Cuttack declined when Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the Independent India laid the foundation of a new capital for Orissa at Bhubaneswar on 13th April, 1948.

This is, however not the end of the history of Cuttack. It still remains the largest city and the largest cultural centre of the State and Orissa's biggest trade centre. It is the seat of the Orissa High Court. The office of the Board of Revenue, the highest Revenue Tribunal is located here. The Police Hd. Qrs. is still at Cuttack. It is also the Hd. Qrs. of the Revenue Divisional Commissioner (Central Division) and Divisional level officers of various departments of the Government of Orissa. Industries are developing in and around the city and it is likely to be linked up in no distant future with the new capital of Bhubaneswar which is 25 to 30 Kms. away. Cuttack and Bhubaneswar may soon form a twin city like Hyderabad and Secunderabad and each would glory in the greatness of the other.

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Cuttack Jail

Dr. Amarendra Mohanty

Prison administration is one of the three important elements of Criminal Justice system, the other two elements being the Police and the Judiciary. Prisons in the shape of dungeons and existed from time immemorial in all the ancient states of the world. Punitive imprisonment was extensively used in India, China, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Rome from time immemorial. Death, mutilation and fine were common forms of punishment. Gradually it came to be realised that the process of imprisonment involving detention in isolation from family and community could itself be considered as punishment in place of old corporal punishment. Kautilya, Ashok, the Jatakas, Harsa Charita, Hiuen-Tsang make a mention of prison life in ancient India. The prison system in medieval India resembled that of ancient India. Imprisonment as a form of punishment (as we know it today) was introduced in India by British Government in 1773. It came to be applied on uniform basis through out India in 1860.[1]

The jail represents the smallest unit of the prison system. It is a permanent place of detention for the antisocial elements of the state. According to the prevailing use in India, the term, "Jail" is a generic term which applies to penal institutions housing both prisoners awaiting trial and prisoners committed to sentences. Consequently the jails perform the function of remand institutions and prisons.[2]

The Cuttack Jail stands at the apex of penocorrectional institutions for adult offenders in Orissa. It is one of the circle Jails of the State. This is also called the only Central Jail. It is learnt from the sources of Cuttack Jail that this jail is functioning since the year 1864. Like every social institutions it has grown and developed through a process of evolution. The birth of this Jail goes back to the early phase of British rule in Orissa. The East India Company annexed Orissa in 1803. Added to the Company's Bengal Presidency, the Orissa territory was designated as the district of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri. It was administered by an official who combined in him the functions of Collector, Judge and Magistrate.

In, 1823, Cuttack, Balasore and Puri areas were brought under 'Regulations, or administrative laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council at Calcutta. The remaining territories in Orissa were the 'non-regulation' areas. These areas were administered by Tributary Chiefs.[3]

Under the Company's administration, political prisoners of high rank were confined in Fort Barabati at Cuttack, under the charge of military authorities. Ordinary, civil and criminal prisoners were located in huts at Lalbagh the old lines of the European regiments which took part in the conquest of province, and other similar buildings near the magistrate's Cutchery, being utilised for the purpose as occasion required.

The present Cuttack Jail was built by contract and was ready for occupation in February, 1881.[4] The internal administration and management of the Jail was in the hands of the Magistrate. He and the civil surgeon both were bound to visit it at least once a week. the Jail code contained only eleven pages. The pay of the Jailor of Cuttack Jail was only Rs.25/- per mensem.

The Prisoners instead of their present allowances of food, had a daily diet allowance paid to them in money. They purchased their daily requirements from the Jail store. The scale for each prisoner varied from 2 to 3 pice a day till 1810 and finally it was fixed at one anna. Each prisoners received a yearly supply of clothing and bedding consisting of the following articles, one blanket, two dhotis, two chadars, one turban, two mats and two straw-pillows. The total annual charge for the clothing and bedding of each prisoner was limited to Rs. 3/-. The total annual cost of his maintenance varied from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 25/- between 1803 and 1828.[5]

In the matter of prison labour profit was made subordinate to punishment. Prisoners who were sentenced to public labour wore fetters. They worked in gangs on the public roads. At night they were fastened, like a dove of pack bullocks by a chain passing through the rings of their fetters. Those prisoners who were sentenced to private labour remained inside the Jail. They pounded surki and made baskets, gunny, mats etc. Thus the objective of public labour was to warn and to deter where as for private labour it was reform. This distinction between private and public labour for the prisoners started since 1820. Jail discipline and management and sanitation did not claim in these early time much attention.[6]

The ward for women prisoners remained in the middle and it was surrounded by the wards for male prisoners on both the sides. The Civil ward was a room 70 feet long and 34 feet wide. It could keep nearly a

hundred civil prisoners. Since some years past the average number of civil prisoners remained eight only. The doors of the Jail and some of the coverings of the walls were much out of order and apparently quite worn out.[7]

F. J. Mouat, the Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces inspected Cuttack Jail on 22nd January, 1959.[6] In his inspection report he had given a detailed description of Cuttack Jail.

According to him; the ventilation in the Jail was inperfect, as it was too much surrounded by buildings, and the arrangments of its wards rendered classification of prisoners impossible. All total there were 13 wards in the Jail.

There were 334 prisoners in Cuttack Jail at the time of his visit. They were classified as Labouring (293), Non-labouring (16). Hajut (20) State Prisoner (1) and Lunatics (4).

The labouring prisoners were employed such as cleaning Jail, mehturs, washermen, barbers, making papers, weaving cloth, spinning thread, on road work and in hospitals. The lunatics were exempted from labour.

Caste wise statistics of prisoners were maintained.

The I. G. Lower Provinces was greatly dissatisfied with the existing night privies. These were unsightly experiences which interfered in ventilation. They were of no use for conservancy purposes. He wanted them to be replaced by the privies on the Agra plan.

The Raja of Banki who was sentenced to life imprisonment was found occupying most improfitably a whole ward in the Jail. He had more servants than he needed and deserved in confinement.

The I. G. was afraid that two much prisoners were employed on the roads and too few inside. He suggested that if other manufactures were not sufficiently profitable, the weaving of cloth for the whole jail and for poore and Balasore prisoners would certainly afford suitable and remunerative employment.

The absence of a jail garden was felt by the I.G. which made him to write, "It is much to be regretted that the position of the Jail prevents the formation of a garden, as some out-door labour f that sort is much required for the sickly convicts from Sumbalpur. Like all other Junglees they die rapidly in confinement and are usually too stolid to be employed in

manufactures. Road labour however is not a healthy employment, in addition to its other disadvantages. The garden alone would have dissipated the difficulty".[10]

The Jail authorities were very indifferent to prisoner's health, On 30th July 1870, about forty five prisoners at a time suffered from cholera. On the very night two prisoners died. Three days after again 13 to 14 people were affected and four prisoners died. Because of lack of space for segregation and to avoid contamination these patients were shifted to Chauliaganj and they lived under temporary tents. It was a regretable fact that during this time there was no doctor in the Jail to attend upon the ailing prisoners.[11]

It is in the month of February in the year 1875, the Cuttack Jail authorities installed a sign board for the public. This sign board contained a detailed description of the Jail products including their prices. They were gunny bags, bedsheets, napkins, towels, table cloth, mill made dhoties, mustard oil and castor oil etc. These products were meant for public sale.[12]

This was followed by a paper industry in the Jail campus. In 1876 the Jailor of Cuttack Jail sent the sample of papers prepared by the prisoners to a company at London. The quality of this paper was highly appreciated by one British merchant who became very eager to purchase such paper in huge quantity.

Thus the conditions of prisoners of Cuttack Jail were far from satisfactory when Orissa remained as a part of Bengal Presidency.

In 1912, Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal Presidency and a new province of Bihar and Orissa was created.[13]

Cuttack Jail remained to continue as a District Jail under Bihar-Orissa Government. A large number of prisoners suffered every year from tuberculosis, cholera, dysentery and various epidemics. The steps taken by the Jail administration to segregate the ailing prisoners and their treatment was not satisfactory. As a result the death rate of the Prisoners increased. The diet supplied to them were of poor standard.[14]

This continued till 1936 when on 1st April 1936 Orissa became a separate province. The Cuttack Jail started functioning as the Central Jail since April 1936 for confinement of life or longterm prisoners. After the creation of the province, the Congress Ministry in Orissa rightly devoted its energy to produce a change in the outlook of jail authority and to diminish the rigour that governed and controlled the life of the prisoners.

It endeavoured hard to convert jails into centres of cottage industry, Vocational education and moral reforms. The traditional system of "Ghani" was dicontinued. The humiliting and provoking practice of "Sarkar Salam" was discontinued. Better food, better medical attendance and better dress and utensils proceeded from new reforms. These changes were brought about to make prison life less intolerable and more human.[15]

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Cuttack Jail in 1859

Sri S. C. De

F. Mount, Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces, inspected the Cuttack Jail on Saturday, the 2nd January, 1859. His memorandum on the Jail contains many interesting facts and gives us an idea about the Jail, almost a century back.

Wards

The Jail was divided into 13 wards, of which 7 (Nos. 1—6, and No.10) were meant for labouring convicts, one for Hajat (No, 7), one for non-labouring convicts (No. 8), one for females (No. 11), and one for non-labouring Diwani prisoners (No. 12). Ward No. 9 was used as a condemned cell and No. 13 as Jail hospital.

Prisoners

There were 334 convicts at the time. Of them, 293 were labouring, 16 non-labouring, 20 Hajat prisoners and 4 lunatics. There was 1 State-prisoner.

Of these prisoners, 25 were sentenced for life, and what is most interesting, 18 females were among the 25 life-prisoners. Raja of Banki[2] was, at the time, in the Cuttack Jail as a life-prisoner. He occupied one whole ward (No. 8) and was allowed to have his own servants. The I. G. who disapproved this arrangement remarked," × × × I should like to know if there is anything in the sentence of the Raja of Banki to prevent his transfer, as he occupies most profitably a whole ward in the Jail and has more servants than he needs and deserves in confinement." He suggested transfer of all the life-prisoners to Alipore Jail.

Among the prisoners, 31 were sentenced to imprisonment for a period between 10 to 14 years, 8 for 7—10 years, 55 for 5—7 years, and 33 for 2—5 years. The remaining were sentenced to terms of imprisonment within two years. There were 20 prisoners in Hajat.

It appears that the Pana class topped the list in respect of number. There were 70 Panas among the prisoners. Next comes, in order, the

Chasas, their number being 68. As regards other important castes or tribes, there were 49 Kandaras, 27 Gondas, 17 Brahmins, 17 Musalmans, 13 Mahantis, 14 Sauras, and 10 Mehetars. There were people of some other castes or creeds, but their number did not exceed ten in each case.

Manufactures

Most of the labouring prisoners were employed on the roads. The I. G. of Prisons remarks in this connection, " I am afraid that too many prisoners are employed on the roads, and too few inside. If other manufactures are not sufficiently profitable, the weaving of cloth for the whole Jail and for the Puri and Balasore prisoners will certainly afford suitable and remunerative employment. The thread instead of being spun with a native spindie should be prepared by means of one of Mr. Maney's machines, which I will obtain and send from Calcutta when I have time to attend to it. All positively unprofitable manufactures should cease" Cloth, paper and thread were the principal manufactures of the Jail.

Distribution of Prisoner in Different Works

There were 293 labouring prisoners. They were given to do various works. But the majority of them, numbering 146, were employed in road making, of the rest, 22 were engaged in cleaning the jail, 33 in paper-making, 32 in spinning, 20 in Hospital duties and 9 in weaving cloth, 2 washermen, 2 barbers and 4 mehetars were allotted their professional work. 10 were engaged in the lines. 3 were exempted on health grounds.

It appears, no body was employed for gardening purpose, probably due to the fact that there was no space for it then.

Hospital

There was one Hospital for Jail in charge of a 'Native Doctor', who had to dispense with the prescriptions of the 'Civil Station' in addition to his Jail duties without the help of a compounder. So, the I. G. suggested, "If he has the whole duty of the Civil Station to perform in addition to that of the Jail, a compounder on ten rupees a month should be allowed and the salary of one or other of them be debited to the Station."

With regard to the Doctor, one remark of the I. G. of Jails is worth-noting. He says, "There is not at present, sufficient stringent check upon the expenditure of medicines, all of which are left entirely in charge of the Native Doctor". This shows that the European officers had not much faith in the 'Native' officer's honesty.

The Civil Surgeon used to visit the Jail each week and examine the prisoners, their fetters, clothing, beddings, food and also the general sanitary condition of the Jail. His inspection report was sent to the Magistrate who gave such orders, or took such actions, as he deemed necessary.

Lunatics

There were four lunatics among the prisoners in the Jail. The I. G. of Prisons remarked in regard to them, "Although in some respects a convenience, the prison is really a most unfit place for lunatics. The moral means of cure which are now found to be so efficacious, can not be applied there, and the dread, unvisited solitude to which they are condemned is more than likely to prove prejudicialy." He further remarked, "If the amount of madness in the province is in sufficient for maintenance of a separate Asylum, half a dozen properly constructed cells should be added to the charitable dispensary" He advised not to keep the lunatics in solitary cells meant for refractory prisoners.

Food

The I. G. of Prisons expressed his appreciation over the nice fooding arrangements made by the Magistrate. He says, "It has proved economical and has secured better food than could have been obtained at a higher cost under contract system" But what was the exact nature of arrangement made by the Magistrate in place of the Contract system, or what was the type of food supplied, has not been indicated. It seems, formerly a contractor used to supply food, The Magistrate probably did away with the system and introduced cooking by paid servants under the personal superintendence of the Jailor, or the doctor. Since no prisoner was allotted the duty of cooking, it is presumed that the work was done by paid-cooks.

Convicts from Sambalpur

The remarks of the I. G. with regard to the Sambalpur prisoners is interesting. He says, "Like all other Junglee they die rapidly in confinement and are usually too stolid to be employed in manufactures. Road labour however, is not a healthy employment, in addition to its other disadvantages". So he thinks, "The garden alone would have dissipated the difficulty" relating to the Sambalpur prisoners. But unfortunately there was no space for garden.

He makes some suggestion regarding improvement of wards, privy, etc. As regards the general condition, he says, "The Jail is in excellent

order throughout; it stands first among the prisons of the Lower Provinces for economy during the past year, its manufactures have increased; every injunction issued by me has been carefully observed; the records are well and carefully kept, the visiting book shows that the constant care of the authorities has been bestowed upon it; and I am satisfied that it is in as good state, as its faulty construction admits of. Its ventilation is imperfect; it is badly placed and too much surrounded by buildings; and arrangement of the wards renders classification impossible"

The memorandum of the I. G. of Prisons on the Cuttack Jail was submitted to the Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for his information and orders by C. T. Buckland, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in his No. 3445, dated the 2nd March, 1859. While submitting the above report he wrote, "It has been ascertained from the Commissioner that the Rajah of Banki can not fairly be removed to Alipore. I have directed the transfer of female prisoners to Alipore."

The remarks of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was communicated to I. G. of Prisons by C. T. Buckland in his letter No. 1869 dated the 22nd March, 1859. The Governor expressed his appreciation over the general state of the institution.

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2. The name of the Raja referred is Jagannath Srichandan. He got Raghunath Paramguru, who was the most influential person in the Estate, murdered through some people employed by him. He was arrested, convicted and was sentenced for life in that case. He was released from Jail in 1865 A.D, and he died in the same year. *(Banki Itihas*, by Nilakantha Sarma, pp. 34 ff.)

□□

The Age of Cuttack City

Dr. S. N. Rajaguru

The age of Cuttack city is a controversial subject among scholars which perplexed the minds of many on the issue whether 1990 is the befitting date for celebration of its millennium.

Some scholars think that originally this city was called Varanasi Kataka which was the capital of the Imperial Ganga kings of Utkala after the country was subjugated by Chodagangadeva in or about 1112 A.D. Then, he shifted his residence from Kalinga-nagara (Mukhalinga) to Varanasi-Kataka, situated on the bank of the Mahanadi.[1]

Some scholars also assume that Anangabhima (III) (1211-1239) was the builder of 'Abhinava-Varanasi-Kataka' together with the fort of Barabati. The later view i.e. Maharaja Anangabhima's creation of Cuttack and Barabati fort in the second decade of the 13th century A.D. cannot be accepted on the ground that the name of Varanasi-Kataka had been clearly mentioned in a Telugu inscription of the temple of Varaha-Narasimha at Simhachalam (Andhrapradesh) in the Saka year 1035 (A.D. 1113).[2] A Telugu Lady, called Siriya Mudusiri was perhaps the wife of a Telugu officer posted by Chodaganga to guard that richly abounded capital of the defeated Somavamsi-king, Karnadeva. It goes without saying that Chodaganga had little time in his hand for construction of a royal residence in a newly built capital-city to run the administration in Utkala. Hence, he would not have refrected that old capital 'Yayati nagara', which formed a fascinated amorous charm due to perenial flow of the Mahanadi by her side. Not only that the capital city was a place of luxury in the time of peace but also an advantageous locality for operation of statocracy in the time of war. As such, the city of Yayati-nagara must have attracted a powerful and clever monarch like Anantavarma Chodaganga deva for establishing his seat of administration in the same place without much dealy. He must have only changed the name of the city from "Yayati nagara" to "Varanasi-Kataka" and posted there a garrison under some officers of Kalinga to guard the fort of Barabati and also to maintain peace and tranquility in Utkala.

Perhaps, the broken parts of the fort during the war were renovated in the time of Anangabhima, when the capital was called "Abhinava Varanasi" in the Arulalan Temple Inscription in the Tamil country.[3]

Maharaja Karmadeva, the last known king of Somavamsa in Utkala, had issued a copper plate grant from Yayatinagara in his sixth reigning year.[4] That inscription mentions the date as the 12th tithi of the bright half of *Asvina* which was probably the *Tula Sankranti*, corresponding the 27th September, 1091 A.D.

Now, we should discuss the event when Yayati (I) had acquired Utkala and under what circumstance he left his parental home of Suvarnapura. To explain this we should go back to the history of down-fall of the Bhaumakara dynasty in Toshali (Utkala).

The last known male king of that unfortunate dynasty was Lalitahara who died in young age. After his death, his two queens, Pruthivi and Purayi, both had claimed the throne in the Bhauma years 158 (=894 A.D.) and 160 (=896 A.D.) respectively. The senior queen who must be about 20 years old, had issued two grants from a military camp (Skandhabhara) in 894 A.D. From her said inscription we learn that she was the daughter of Svabhavatunga, the king of Kosala who belonged to "Somakula".

ସିତାଂଶୁବଂଶନଳିନ ଶ୍ରୀ ବିକାଶୈକଧାମ୍ନଃ
ରାଜ୍ଞୀ ସ୍ୱଭବତୁଙ୍ଗସ୍ୟ କୌଶଳାଧିପତେଃ ସୁତା ||

The Junior Queen, Purayidevi who possessed the title of "Tribhuvana Mahadevi" had issued a grant in the Bhaumasamvat 160 (=896 A.D.). She was the daughter of a king ot the South named Rajamalla

ଦକ୍ଷିଣାଶାଧିପସ୍ୟ ରାଜମଲ୍ଲସ୍ୟ ଦୁହିତା ||

The above inscriptions prove that immediately after Lalitahara, there was no male member in the Bhoumakara dynasty. Therefore anarchy prevailed in Utkala. The Chedi kings of Tripuri who were seeking for invasion of Kosala against their enemy king Mahabhavagupta Janmejaya(I) alias Svabhavatunga, now found a good opportunity to raid Kosala and Odra-desa. Under such a conflicted situation Janmejaya(I) should not have left his young daughter Pruthvi Mahadevi in a military camp, from which place she issued two grants in 894 A.D.

From a C.P. inscription of Yayati(I), son of Janmejaya(I), we learn that Janmejaya(I) had formerly attacked Dahala which was under the rule

of Duggaraja or Yuvarajadeva(I) of the Kalachuri line of Tripuri. The panegyric passage engraved in this regard is quoted below

ଯୋଽଭୂତ୍ ସୋମକୁଳାବ୍ଜ ଭାନୁଃ
ପ୍ରଭବଧୂର୍ଜେଟୀ ନିଜପୌରୁଷେଣ ।
ସ୍ୱଃ କୋଶଳାପାଳନ କୌମୁଦୀଷ୍ଟ-
ବିଜିତ୍ୟ ଚୈଦ୍ୟାନ୍ ଅଡଡାନ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀଃ ॥

Janmejaya-Svabhavatunga was credited for his victory against the Chedis. Now, the Chedi king Yuvarajadeva(I) had retaliated during the tension period in Odra-desa and Utkala. According to Bilhari stone inscription, the Chedi king had successfully won victory fighting against the king of Kosala (Janmejaya-I) and acquired a gold image of Kaliya (Nila-Madhava ?) adorned with precious jewellery from the king of Odra. That inscriptional verse runs as follows

ଜିତ୍ୱା କୋଶଳନାଥମୋଡ୍ରନୃପତେସ୍ତସ୍ମାତ୍ସ ଯୋ କାଳିୟୋ ।
ରତ୍ନା ସ୍ୱର୍ଣ୍ଣମୟଂ ଯ ଯେନ ବିହିତ ଯୋମେଶ୍ୱରାଭ୍ୟର୍ଚ୍ଚନମ୍ ॥

The enclosed map will show the geographical boundary between Kosala and Odra-desa that extended on both sides of the Mahanadi in between Kosala and Utkala. The Bhanja kings of Khinjili-Mandala were ruling in the western part and the Nandodbhava kings of Airavata-Mandala were ruling in the eastern part of that river. Both the families were subordinate rulers under the Bhaumakara kings. But, after the death of Lalitahara in or about 857 A.D. they proved repugnance against imperial status of Pruthvi Mahadevi and her co-sister. Thus their hostility was aggravated and created anarchy in Utkala. That situation of conflict must have invited the Chedi king Yuvarajadeva to invade Kosala and Odra-desa in or about 898 A.D. when Janmejayadeva(I) might have abandoned his capital Suvarnapura at the confluence of the Tal and Mahanadi. He issued a charter from Suvarnapura in his 3rd regnal year.[9] But, from his 6th regnal year he issued some grants from a place Murasima-pattana upto the 8th R. Y.[10]

Most probably, he found that Murasima was not safe place for his stay; so, he again changed his capital to another place called Arama Vijaya-Kataka" where he granted a village to a Brahmana in Nivina Visaya during his regnal year 17th.[11] He also made another grant from the same residence at Arama in the 17 regnal year.[12] Such a frequent change of royal residence was not usual if there was no occurrence of some havoc in the country. We therefore, presume that Janamejaya (I), father of

Pruthvi Mahadevi and Yayati(I), might have been attacked and pursued from place to place by his enemy kings. His main powerful enemy was the Chedi king yuvarajadeva(I) who might have captured Bhanja ruler of Odra-desa at Khinjali-Mandala after having acquired from him a valuable Kaliya-image (Nila-Madhava ?)

From a copper plate inscription of Solana Bhanja of Gandharabadi Mandala, we notice the following verses

ଟେସ୍ମା ମଣ୍ଡଳଂ ଗନ୍ଧଟାଡ଼ିସଂଜ୍ଞି-
ମୂଗ୍ନାଦସ୍ମାମାସ ଭଞ୍ଜେନାବଳେନ ।
ବଳେନ ଯୋମୋଭବମୁକ୍ରମାର୍ଯିତ୍
ସ ଶ୍ରୀ ଶିଳାଭଞ୍ଜ ଜଦାରକୀର୍ତ୍ତିଃ ॥
ତସ୍ମାତ୍ମଜା ଦୁର୍ଜ୍ଜୟଭଞ୍ଜନାମା
ନୃପୋ ବଯନ୍ତ୍ ସ୍ୱର୍ଣ୍ଣପୁରେନ୍ଦ୍ରାଚ
ଶ୍ରୀମଣ୍ଡଳେଶା ନିଜବାହୁବୀର୍ଯା-
ଦାସିନ୍ଦ୍ରଧେ ଶ୍ରଜନାନ୍ତର୍ଣିଙ୍କାଃ ॥

It proves that Suvarnapura was attacked by some enemy kings of Janamejaya(I) when the Somavamsi capital (Suvarnapura) was temporarily possessed by Durjaya Bhanja of Gandharabadi-Mandala (Baudh).

From a stone inscription of the temple of Brahmesvara at Bhubaneswar, we get information that Janamejaya(I) had killed a king of Odra-desa with spear *(kunta)*. The relevent verse is quoted below

ରାଜା ଶ୍ରୀଜନମେଜୟଃ ସ ରିପୁହାଭୂତ ତ୍ରିକଳିଙ୍ଗାଧିପଃ
ଦନ୍ତାଦନ୍ତ କଣ୍ଠକର ଭ୍ରମମିଷାଦ୍ ଭଗ୍ନେ ରିପୂଣାଂ ଦ୍ୱିପେ,
ସ୍ୱଃ କୁନ୍ତାଗ୍ରହତୌ ଓଡ୍ରଦେଶନୃପତେର୍ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ସମାକୃଷ୍ଟବାନ୍ ।

It means that Sri Janamejaya, the king of Trikalinga, was the destroyer of the enemies. He killed the Odra king by his spear and possessed his Lakshmi (wealth), after defeating his army, consisted of an elephant-squad. It strengthens our theory that not only the Chedis, but also the Bhanjas of Odra-desa had become hostile against the Somavamsi kings viz. Janamejaya(I) and his son, Yayati(I), who must have been expelled from Kosala for some period.

From inscriptional evidence we may trace the following facts

(1) There was a prolonged struggle between the Kalachuri (Chedi) kings of Dahala and the Somavamsi kings of Kosala.

(2) The Chedi king, probably Yuvarajadeva(I) was at first attacked by the Kosala king Janamejaya-Svabhavatunga who burnt the Dahala by defeating Duggaraja (Yuvarajadeva I ?).

(3) The Chedi king retaliated by invading Kosala and perhaps by spreading net of intrigue for creation of hostility between Janamejaya I and the neighbouring ruler of Odra-desa, Silabhanja and his son, Durjaya-bhanja from whom he acquired a costly image of Kaliya (Nilamadhava).

(4) Janamejaya killed Silabhanja and left his capital Suvarnapura in the 3rd or 4th reigning year, where after Suvarnapura was captured by Durjayabhanja of Gandharabadi Mandala.

(5) Janamejaya-Svabhavatunga took shelter at Murasima with his son, Yayati, for some years and then left that place for Arama-Kataka while he was pursued by enemies. But, in his 34th reigning year, when he was too old he could regain Kosala and the capital city of Suvarnapura in about 928 A.D. There, he issued a charter in Kosala-desa to a Brahmana named Devi of Kasyapa *gotra.*[15] Perhaps, he issued that grant in the fag end of his life viz. 79 years as per our estimation.[16] Our calculation of his age is based on assumption that his daughter Pruthvi Mahadevis age was only 20 when she granted two copper plate inscriptions in 894 A.D. from a military camp and then left the throne in favour of her co-sister, Purayidevi in 896 A.D. Therefore, if the daughters age was twenty years, then her father's age must be at least 45 years. Basing on this hypothesis, we have added the number of years he ruled which brought us to conclude that Janamejaya Svabhavatunga must have lived at least 79 years. On the same hypothetic process if we estimate the age of Yayati(I), son of Janamejaya(I) atleast ten years in 894 A.D. and forty-six in the year of his accession (931 A.D.), then his last known c.p. grant was issued when he was 73 years old. Choda-gangadeva as is stated before, would not have allowed to destroy a beautiful city like Yayati-nagara whose glory was sung in the copper plate inscriptions as follows

ଅତ୍ୟୁତ୍ତୁଙ୍ଗକଶାନ୍ତ୍ରଦନ୍ତମୁସଳ ପ୍ରୋଦ୍‌ଭିସିରେ ଶୃଣ୍ଡୈ-
ର୍ଧ୍ୱାନ୍ତ ଧ୍ୱଂସନ ନିଷ୍ଫଳୀକୃତ ଶରଚ୍ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରୋଦୟୈଃ ସର୍ବଦା ।
ସ୍ୱନାସିଦସତ୍ତଜନସ୍ୟ ବିସଦଂ ମୁକ୍ତାମୟଂ ମଣ୍ଡନଂ
ସଂକେତାଷ୍ଟଦମପ୍ୟଗାବ ଧବଳପ୍ରାସାଦଶୃଂଗାଗ୍ରତଃ ॥
ମହାନଦୀ ତୁଙ୍ଗତରଙ୍ଗ ଷ୍ଟାଗ୍ରେ-
ଚ୍ଛଲଚ୍ଛିକରବଦ୍ ଭସ୍ମବତ୍ ।
ସ୍ୱସ୍ମିନ୍ ରତାସକ୍ତମଦଂଗନାନାଂ
ଶ୍ରମାପନୋଦଃ କ୍ରିୟତେ ମରୁଦ୍ଭିଃ ॥

It means that where, at the top of the high buildings, nicely white washed and the dwelling places of the unchaste women folk who give signal to their lovers from the topmost parts (Srungagra) of their buildings, while the ornaments made of pearl, is adorned by them, glittered by the cluster of beams that was produced from the club-like tusks of very big elephants, like the autumn-moon but defied in dispelling darkness; and where the particles of water that rise high from the waves of the river Mahanadi, could remove the conjugal fatigue of the women folk"

The same verses were not only used for Yayatinagara but also sung the glory of Vinitapura which are found mention during the 9th regnal year of Yayati (I), in his Cuttack plates.[18] We, therefore assume that Vinitapura was not far from Yayati nagara. (We are not able to accept the identification of Vinitapura with Binka of Sambalpur, which is too far from Cuttack). Most probably,it may be correctly identified with either Banki or Chaudwar, not far from Yayatinagara alias Varanasi Kataka (the Cuttack city).

After Yayati (I) there were eight kings in Somavamsa who ruled Utkala from Yayatinagara and they covered about 157 years. It is quite probable that the average ruling period of each king was 19.5 years in accordance with our calculation. After gaining victory in the capital of Utkala, Chodaganga had possessed the Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) of the king of Utkala in the east and also the same from Vengi in the west, where he fixed two pillars of victory on both sides. A charming verse was composed by his court poet in this regard, as quoted below

ପୂର୍ବସ୍ୟାଂ ଦିଶି ପୂର୍ବମୁକ୍ଳଲପତେଂ ପ୍ରେକ୍ଷ୍ୟ ନିଧାୟୋଦ୍ଭୂତଂ
ପଶ୍ଚାତ୍ ପଶ୍ଚିମ ଦିକ୍ ତଟେ ବିଘଟିତଂ ବେଂଗୀଶଗେହେଶ୍ରିୟୋ-
ର୍ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ବନ୍ଦନମାଳିକାମିବ ଜୟ ଶ୍ରୀତୋରଣ ସ୍ତମ୍ଭୟୋ-
ର୍ବଧ୍ନାତ ସ୍ମ ସମିଦ୍ଧକୀର୍ତ୍ତି ବିଭବଃ ଶ୍ରୀଗଙ୍ଗଚୂଡାମଣିଃ ॥

After merging Utkala in the east and Vengi in the west of Kalinga his dominion was called Trikalinga and the main capital was permanently fixed at Varanasi Kataka which was a revised name of Yayati Nagara established by Yayati (I) in or about 951 A.D.

After about a century or so, Anangabhima (III) might have repaired the fort of Barabati, which must have been damaged in the time of struggle between Karnadeva and Chodaganga in 1112 A. D. Therefore, he (Anangabhima) was credited as the builder of Barabati fort in Cuttack. It is curious to note that like revision of the name of Yayatinagara to Varanasi Kataka, the name of the river Mahanadi, by the side of Barabati,

was changed to Chitrotpala in between the Siva temples of Chitresvara and Utpalesvara. We get that revised name from Nagari C. P. Inscription of Anangabhima (III) in 1230 A.D.[20].

In consideration of the above historical evidence corroborating the fact that 'Yayatinagara', built by Yayati (I) in our about 950 A.D. and renamed as Varanasi Kataka (now called Cataka or 'Cuttack'), may be as old as 1050 years approximately.

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16. Please refer to the Chart, appended in the next page.
17. *Ins. Or.*, Vol. IV, PP. 191 and 197 ff.
18. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLVI, Pt. I, PP. 149-157
    EP. 2nd., Vol. III, PP. 351-355 ff.
    We are not able to accept the identification of Vinitapura with Binka of Sambalpur, which is too far from Cuttack.
19. *EP. 2nd.*, Vol. XXXIII, P. 263 ff.
20. *EP. 2nd.*, Vol. XXVIII, PP. 235 ff.

CHART

Sl. No.	Date A.D.	Rulers name	Ruling year	Ruler's age (in year)	Headquarter	Remarks
1.	894	Pruthvi Mahadevi	1	20	Skandhabhara	The *Skandhabhara* or military camp was in Odra-desa (Baudh).
2.	896	Purayidevi	1	—	-do-	The *Skandhabhara* was near Guhesvara-pataka (Dhenkanala).
3.	894	Janamejaya(I) Svabhavatunga	3	48	Suvarnapura *Skandhabhara*	The *Skandhabhara* was at Sonpur.
4.	928	-do-	34	79	Suvarnapura Vijaya Kataka	Suvarnapura was reconquered (Vijaya Kataka)
5.	894	Yayati (I)	—	10	-do-	Yayati was living in Suvarnapura with his father in about 10 years old.
6.	931	-do-	4	49	Vinitapura	Vinitapura may be identified with Banki near Cuttack.
7	942	-do-	15	60	-do-	Yayatinagara was not yet built.
8.	951*	-do-	24	69	Yayatinagara	The first known record in which Yayatinagara is mentioned.
9.	955	-do-	28	73	-do-	

* Yayatinagara seems to have been built and established as the capital of Utkala in between 932 and 941 A D. Therefore, the present age of Cuttack may be roughly 1040-1050 years.



Cuttack Municipality

Dr. Kartik Chandra Rout

About the Cuttack City

The disastrous fall of the Barabati Fort on the 14th, October, 1803[1] sounded the death-knell of the Maratha power and paved the way for the establishment of the British Rule in Orissa. Through Puri was initially by the British as their capital in 1803, it was shifted to Cuttack in 1816[2]. Since then Cuttack had been the nerves-centre of the entire activities of the British in Orissan districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore. Cuttack was the seat of the British Commissioner of the Orissa Division.

The history of the Cuttack city goes back nearly to one thousand years. It is said that Nrupakeshari of the great Keshari dynasty founded this City about 989 A. D.[3] Since then Cuttack has been the capital for many kings of many dynasties. The Cuttack City is situated on the peninsula formed by the bifurcation of the Mahanadi where it throws off Kathjuri, at latitude 20° 29′ 4″ N, Long 35° 54′ 29″ E[4]. As the City is exposed to the havocs of floods every year, Markat Keshari of the same Keshari dynasty constructed the stone embankment in 1006 AD.[5] around the bifurcation of Mahanadi and Kathjuri rivers to protect the lives of the people. Cuttack is a great metropolitan city in Orissa with a mixed population of all religions. Cuttack is famous in the world for its beautiful filgree works and is an emporium for traders.

The population of the Cuttack City according to the census of 1872 was 42667 souls, 42656 in 1881, 47186 in 1891 and 51364 in 1901 including the Cantonment areas.[6]

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway lines which was opened to Traffic on October, 1899 passes through the Cuttack City.

Establishment of Cuttack Municipality

The East India company (1803-1857) in Orissa rendered no useful services to its people. The historic Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 compelled the British Govt. to pay attention to the outstanding problems of the Indian

people. Though Cuttack was the premier City and the Head Quarters of the Orissa Commissionership, it was not constituted itself into a municipality prior to the Kendrapara and Jajpur. Kendrapara and Jajpur were the two Sub-Divisional H. Qrs. in the Cuttack district and were constituted into Municipalities on the 10th,March, 1869 and 1st,April 1869 respectively.[7] Cuttack was constituted into a municipality on the 4th July, 1876[8]. The cause of the delay in the establishment of Cuttack Municipality was attributed to the great Orissa Famine of 1866 which devastated the systems of life of the Orissan people.

The affairs of the Cuttack Town were looked after by the Town committee before the establishment of the Municipality. The Town committee of Cuttack was brought under the District Towns Act VI (B.C.) of 1868. The total number of the members of the Town committee of Cuttack was 19 of whom 12 were Natives and 7 Europeans in 1874-1875.[9] The town committee was later on brought under a new Municipal Act V (B.C) of 1876 when it was put into force on 1st, July, 1876[10] by the Bengal council. On 4th, July, 1876, the Cuttack Municipality was established. In 1884, the Bengal council modified the Municipal Act V (B.C) of 1876 in the light of the pronouncements of Lord Ripon who passed the Resolutions of Local self-Govt. On the 18th May, 1884. He made the self-governing agencies broad-based and popular in India though they were imported from England. The local self-governing units in India were all English in taste and origin. Ultimately, the Cuttack Municipality was constituted under Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act VII of 1922 which was introduced by Madhusudan Das, an Oriya Minister for local self-Govt. in Patna. This Municipal Act VII of 1922 was made effective from the 1st, January, 1923[11]. Though the province of Bihar and Orissa was separated from Bengal on the 1st, April, 1912, the old Bengal Municipal Act III (B.C) of 1884 was allowed to be continued for a decade (1912 to 1922) in Bihar and Orissa. The Bengal Municipal Act III (B.C.) of 1884 was first put into force on the 1st, August, 1884.[12]

Boundary of Cuttack Municipality

The total area of Cuttack Municipality on 2-7-1903 was of 4.3 square miles only, but in subsequent years, the boundary was extended in different directions so as to reach its dimension to 20 square miles during the year, 1934-1935[13].

The Cantonment area of Cuttack Town has been included with the Municipality with effect from the 1st, July, 1911.[14]

The main drain which carried off the dirty water of the Cuttack Town into Kathjuri river was handed over to the Municipality by Notification No. 15424-M, dt. 12th November, 1917. Previously the drain was maintained by the Public Works Department.

In 1918, another attempt was made to include the whole area between the north and south bank of the Mahanadi, i.e. from Chahata ghat Terminus of the Cuttack-Anugul road at Nuapatna along the left or north Bank of Mahanadi to the Railway bridge on the east of the Anicut and from the city protective. Embankment at Biranasi along the right or south bank to the above Railway bridge. The Govt. sanctioned the inclusion of this whole area with the Cuttack Municipality by the notification No. 12211-M-dt. 30th, August, 1918.[15]

The Western boundary of the Cuttack Municipality was extended owing to the inclusion of the villages of Deulasahi and Biranasi in the municipal area vide Govt. Notification No. 1980-M. dated the 18th, May, 1920.[16]

During the year 1921, Mr. J. F. Gruning, the Commissioner of Orissa Division, recommended the inclusion of the area between the Taladanda and the Railway Line including the Ravenshaw College and the Govt. sanctioned it in their notification No. 1194-MR. dated the 4th, October 1921.[17] With the inclusion of the eastern area the entire boundary of the Municipality has been increased to 17 square miles. The inclusion of villages, Chhatra Bazar, Sankarpur,Khannagar and Naya Bazar was proposed in 1934-35.

Election of Municipal Commissioners

The Cuttack Municipality had six wards before its first election. Then the entire municipal area was divided into 9 wards and the total number of Municipal commissioners was fixed at 18 when the elections were held on the December, 1884. Out of 9 wards, ward Nos. I, III, IV, V, VII and IX have the provision to elect one commissioner only whereas the ward Nos. II, VI and VIII would elect two commissioners each to the Municipal Board[18]. Out of total 18 commissioners, 12 were directly elected by the rate-payers and the remaining 6 were nominated by the Govt. The entire municipal area of Cuttack was divided into 9 wards in the first election and the places were arranged as such[19] in December, 1884.

Ward No.—I

Katak Chandi, Stoney Road, Dagarpara, Bramhana Sahi, Kathagara Sahi,

Alisa Bazar, Mangala Sahi, Kafla Sadei Square, Mansingh Patna and Tulsipur.

Ward No.—II

Cutchery Road, Chowdhury Bazar, College Lane, Normal School, Malasahi, Harijan Sahi, Bhandari Sahi and Bouri Sahi.

Ward No.—III

Katak Chandi, Cutchery Road, Ganesh Temple, Aparti Sahu Lane.

Ward No.—IV

Ram Choudhury Road, Banka Bazar, Ganga Mandir, Mehendipur, Bauri Sahi, Khatbin Sahi and Oriya Bazar.

Ward No.—V

Katak Chandi, Shaikh Bazar, Fakir Sahi, Bamphi Sahi, Telenga Sahi, Cutchery Road and Sutahat.

Ward No.—VI

Cutchery Road, Chawdhury Bazar, Ghola Sahi, Mangala Thakurani Lane.

Ward No.—VII

Telenga Bazar, Raghunath Lane, Bamphi Sahi, Kukuria Pada, Nanu Sahi and Kumbhar Sahi.

Ward No.—VIII

Telenga Bazar, Dhoba Sahi, Maria Sahi, Kesharapur, Bepari Sahi, Bania Sahi, Bramhana Sahi and Nayak Sahi.

Ward No.—IX

Commissioner's Road, Hospital Road, Telenga Sahi, Ranihat and Chhatra Bazar.

The first election of the commissioners of the Cuttack Municipality was scheduled to be held on the 25th, November, 1884 and it was notified on 24th, October, 1884. But this date was postponed to 17th, December, 1884 and the new date of election was notified in the Calcutta Gazette on the 5th, November, 1884. The election of the Municipal Commissioners of Puri and Balasore was held on the 25th, November 1884. To make the rate-payers understand about the election, a meeting was held on the 2nd Nov, 1884 at 4.30 P.M.

The following places were selected as the polling booths for the elections.[20]

Ward No. I	Chandini Chawk
Ward No. II	Collector's Cutchery.
Ward No. III	Juma Masjid.
Ward No. IV	Adalat Cutchery.
Ward No. V	European Boy's School.
Ward No. VI	Municipal Hat (Market)
Ward No. VII	Sadar wire-House.
Ward No. VIII	Haji Abdul Rehaman's house.
Ward No. IX	Ranihat Road cess Godown.

A feature of the electioneering campaign of the candidates was that they moved from place to place and delivered speeches at the most convenient centres of their wards.

On the day of election, i. e. 17th, December, 1884,[21] the voters began to assemble at their respective polling booths at 12 noon and cast their votes till 4 P. M. The Presiding Officers were essentially the men of the Govt. who took utmost care to conduct the election successfully. The persons who paid Rs.3/-as Municipal taxes or who were matriculates, or licence practitioner of law or medicine, were allowed to cast votes.[22] The women were debarred from casting votes. Out of total 1400 voters, only 651 (40.18%) persons voted in the election[23]. The voters of ward No. VII took maximum interest for election.

The elected commissioners of the Municipality were to enjoy the office for a period of three years.

The following gentlemen were elected as commissioners of the Cuttack Municipality in the election of 1884, December, 17.

Ward No. I	Darpa Narayan Das
Ward No. II	Hari Charan Benerjee
	Janaki Ballov Ghose
Ward No. III	Ramadas Chakravarty
Ward No. IV	Nanda Kishore Das
Ward No. V	Mr. S. Sampson Rout
Ward No. VI	Jogeswar Chunder
	Harekrushna Das
Ward No. VII	Jaga Mohan Lalla
Ward No. VIII	Krupasindhu Sahu
	Madhu Sudan Mohapatra
Ward No. IX	Chandra Sekhar Benerjee

Though the election went off well as reported by the then Commissioner of Orissa, Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, the result of the election was disastrous. Having been defeated from ward No. IV, Mr. Dinanath Sarkar, a Bengali by birth, criticized the Oriyas in "Statesman" as 'the idiots of all',[25] which strained the Oriya-Bengali relations. The Utkal Dipika, an Oriya weekly of 1884, commented that those Bengalis who are the permanent residents of Orissa are virtually the Oriyas. So all should set themselves to work for the betterment of the town (Cuttack).

From 1884 to 1st July, 1911,[26] the total number of Commissioners remained at 18, but after the inclusion of the cantonment area in the municipality, there was an increase of population, consequent upon which the total number of Commissioners was increased from 18 to 21. By 1923, the membership rose to 30 and the number of wards increased to 12,-each ward would elect 2 commissioners and 6 were to be nominated by the Government.

The new Municipal Act VII of 1922 of Bihar and Orissa Govt. that was passed in the Patna council (Presented by Mr. Madhusudan Das) was enforced in the province from the 1st January, 1923. It allowed the women to cast and contest in the elections. It also relaxed the qualifications of the voters. The tax of Rs. 3/- was reduced to Rs. 1.50.

Supercession of the Municipality

For some administrative lapses, the Cuttack Municipality was superceded by the Govt. in their letter No. 10478-L.S.G. dated the 4th December, 1933[27] for a period of two years with effect from the 4th December, 1933 under Section 404 of the Bihar and Orissa Municipality Act VII of 1922. The justifications of supercession by the Govt. have been described by the officiating Secretary to Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Hamid in his report No. 5151-L.S.G. dt. 8th June, 1935. "The Cuttack Municipality was superceded for a period of two years for default in collecting taxes and general mal-administration chiefly arising from acute internal dissensions and intrigues in the Municipal Board"

The period of supercession was subsequently extended upto 30th September, 1937 under Govt. notifications No. 8222-L.S.G. dt, 29th July, 1936 and No. 3143-L.S.G. dt. 4.5.1937. It was finally decided by the Govt. after almost four years that the municipality should be restored to non-official control from the 1st October, 1937 and a general election of commissioners was held on the 1st October, 1937 from which it was

administered by a Board. Mr. Bhagirathi Mohapatro[28] took over charge as the Chairman of the Cuttack Municipality from the District Magistrate, Mr. R. P. Ward, I.C.S. on 1-10-1937, Letter No. 2603-84.

Creation of the Office of the Executive Officer

Mr. Phillip, the commissioner of Orissa Division suggested to appoint a Chief Executive Officer in 1932 for the Cuttack Municipality because of its vast area and over-work. The Chief Executive Officer as a permanent Official would be in distinct control of all branches of its work and be responsible to the Municipal Board for the efficient working of the Office and of all executive works During the normal days, Mr. Phillip's suggestion was not carried out, but when the Cuttack Municipality was superceded by the Govt. in 1933 December, 4th the Govt. left the urgency of an officer who would relieve the District Magistrate of his loaded works, an Executive Officer was, the therefore, appointed to help the District Magistrate who was also the Chairman of the Cuttack Municipality. Subsequently this post was regularised even during the normal days of its administration. Thus the post of Executive Officer in a municipality was evolved.

Following is the list of District Magistrates and the Executive Officers who were in charge of the Cuttack Municipality during supercession

District Magistrates and Chairman

1. Mr. B. C. Mukherjee, I.C.S. from 4-12-1933 to 7-5-1935.
2. Rai Bahadur K. C. Chandra from 8-5-1935 to 29-10-1935.
3. Mr. R. P. Ward, I.C.S. from 30-10-1935 to 29-5-1936.
4. Rai Bahadur B. N. Misra from 30-5-1936 to 1-12-1936.
5. Mr. R. P. Ward, I.C.S. from 2-12-1936 to 30-9-1937.

Executive Officers

(1) Mr. P. K. Das, Sub-deputy Collector from 4th Dec, 1933 to 18th December, 1933.

(2) Rai Saheb S. N. Mohapatro, Deputy Collector, from 19th, December, 1933 to 30th September, 1937. (except for a month from 19-5-1937 to 20-6-1937, during which Debendranath Das, Sub-Deputy Collector was incharge).

The Bihar and Orissa Municipal (Amendment) Bill of 1935 was introduced during the year 1934-35 and extended the tenure of Office and

Election of Commissioners to Five years instead of 3 years under Section 29 of the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act of 1922.

Orissa became a separate province on 1st, April, 1936.

Finance of the Cuttack Municipality

The Municipality derived its financial strength chiefly from the taxes on persons or holdings. Besides this, it collected rents from the Latrines, Lodgings, roadside stalls, Rickshaws, bicycles, wheeled carriages, ekkas, carts, horses within the jurisdiction of the Municipality. It also got annual financial help from the local Govt. The Bengal Municipal Act III of 1884, Section 85 (a)[29] enumerates the tax upon persons occupying holding within the Municipality according to their circumstances and property. It was a sort of income tax which was difficult to assess upon the persons.

This tax should not be more than Rs. 84/- whereas the tax on holdings was assessed at the rate of seven and half percent upon the gross annual rent the holding is expected to fetch.[30] The Commissioners of Cuttack Municipality imposed the tax on persons in the entire municipality from the 1st April, 1877.[31] The practice of collecting taxes upon persons continued to be operated till 1905. The Municipal authorities suddenly substituted by a tax on holdings from the 1st of July, 1905[32] on the plea that the tax on persons fetched a very low income. Remission of taxes were purely considered on the ground of extreme proverty and for the physically handicapped persons. The Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act VII of 1922 increased the tax on persons to ten percent and the maximum was fixed at Rs 120/- per annum as against Rs. 84/- but the tax on holdings was continued to be collected at the rate of seven and half percent. The duration of assessment holdings was of 3 years.[33] Tolls on roads, water and lights were not collected in any of the Municipalities of Orissa.

The local Govt. was very much keen to punish the economic offenders in cases of embezzlement. Abdul Waheeda tax daroga in 1893, was dismissed from his service on the ground of misappropriation of Rs. 6/- only. Mohmmed Mozzam was sentenced to 3 months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 2000/- for misappropriating of Rs. 163-1-3 paisa in Sept, 1930.[34]

In 1936, Govind Prasad Misra a tax Collector, embezzled a sum of Rs. 119-8-0 out of municipal money. He was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one year.

Development works

The Municipality works within a limited boundary of its own. As the members of the Municipal Board are the elected representatives of the Tax-payers, they shoulder the entire responsibility of the developmental works in respect of Municipal roads, drainage, water supply, lighting, education, markets, ponds, health and sanitati n and a host of other items. For each item of work, there is a special class of officers and workers who implement them. The Chairman and other members of the Municipal Board inspect and supervise their works.

Cuttack was by far the largest municipality in the Orissa Division and formed the nucleus of the administrative activities of the local Govt. So the Govt. had concentrated all its efforts in the Cuttack Municipality itself. The sources of income were too limited to take up the unlimited problems of the town. With the progress of civilization there was a pressing demand for the welfare measures in the Municipal areas.

Education

Education in Orissa during the 19th Century was in a very dismal position because of the apathy of the people of Orissa. A British Officer in 1921 lamented that an Oriya boy in the scale of Rs. 10/- per month was not available to be appointed as a Clerk in the Office.

However the Cuttack Municipality maintained 30 vernacular Schools out of which 4 were girls' Schools and admitted 833 pupils and spent Rs. 2329/- on education during the year 1883-84.[36] It did not maintain any high school or Middle English School. The member of Schools gradually increased in 1915-16 and the Municipality by now maintained three U.P. Schools, for boys, one U.P. School for boys aided, one U.P. School for girls aided 49 L.P. Schools for boys, 1 L.P. School for girls and six markets.[37] In 1919-20, the Cuttack Municipality introduced two night schools for boys and 2 Sanskrit tols. Gradually, the number of schools increased day by day.

Conservancy

In Cuttack town, there were 23 public latrines in 1881. The night soil from the public and private latrines was burried in trenches away from the town. The work of conservancy was carried by means of wooden carts with a single bullock and two mehtaras. There were two trenching grounds in Cuttack one at Khaṇ Nagar and another at Tulsipur.

The main roads were swept daily between 6 A.M. to 11 A.M. and the lanes and by-lanes were swept at intervals of not less than a week.[38] The street sweepings and garbages were utilized for filling up of unwholesome holes and ditches and some times they were sold to the private parties. In 1886-87, the Cuttack Municipality maintained a scavanging staff of one Inspector, one sub-Inspector, three Jamadars, 56 Mehtaras, three Chawkidars, one tencher, one Peon, two dry earth cutters, 24 Mehtaras, 6 nightsoil carters, 37 bullocks, one Ponis and 36 carts. The conservancy establishments of Cuttack Municipality had the unexpected rise in 1935 with the rapid growth of population. And the Municipality spent nearly half of the entire budget on sanitation. Generally, it has been pointed out that laxity in supervision over the conservancy staff is one of the fundamental errors for slow works or no works.

Water Supply

The Chief source of water supply of the town are two rivers-Mahanadi, Kathjori and Taladanda Canal. Besides, there are tanks and wells in Public and private places. During the rainy seasons, the percolation of flood water from the rivers renders the water of the wells unfit for drinking.

That was why a project for a water supply for Cuttack town was first crystalised in 1895 on 1st November, 1895[39] at an estimated cost of Rs.221350/-but it was dropped because of the non-availability of such a huge amount of funds.

In 1908, July, the proposal was again revived by the Commissioner of the Cuttack Municipality at an estimated cost of Rs. 250,000/-. The problem of raising funds was the greatest hindrance to the implementation of the Project. So it was dropped.

In 1913, a sketch Project was prepared at a cost of 5 lakhs which too was difficult a task to be done. Inspite of several attempts, the water supply scheme had not been given any definite shape till 1936 except digging some tube wells in different wards.

Public Health

The Cuttack Municipality has a dispensary of its own for the outdoor patients only and treated 12,207 patients in 1886-87.[40] The Health Officers and staff undertook the works of vaccination, registration of birth and death, inspection of fermented food, probibition on the sale of adulterated

food, disinfection of the wells in the town. Indignant persons are given facility of a tirabies treatment when bitten by rabid animals. Besides, the Health Officer daily inspected Municipal slaughter houses and classified meats,—inspected Municipal drains, roads, godowns, Municipal Markets and bazars, wells and tanks. The Cuttack Municipality started a maternity and child welfare Centre in 1935 and 5 midwives were appointed to look after the expectant mothers of the town.[41] The Medical Staff started an anti-mosquito campaign in the town and with the help of the coolies they also cleared off the weeds and bushes of the Private holdings and in Municipal lands.

Lights

Cuttack was the premier city in Orissa and was the Head Quarters of the Division. So the Govt. introduced the system of street lights for the first time in the Cuttack Municipality during 1882-83[42]. There was no electricity in the town in those days. So the light posts of wood or iron were installed on streets at intervals. In 1910, there were 387 lamp posts in the entire Cuttack town and the number rose to 751 lights in 1929-30. In 1929-30, the Cuttack Municipality entered into a contract with the Cuttack Electric Supply Company Limited and from the 1st of Dec. 1936, the company commenced supply of electrical energy to the Cuttack town at a total cost of Rs.26,282/-[43]. Along with 200 electric lights, the Municipality maintained 688 Kerosine Street lights.

Drainage

The Cuttack Municipality had no definite drainage system. Only the Kutcha drains were being utilised for the flushing of the water of the town. But they too were not properly fit to discharge either the rain water or house water for which the entire town came under water during rainy season.

The drainage question had not been taken up until 1936, and it presented a difficult problem to the Municipality. No drainage system worth its name existed in Cuttack. The 12 miles of the main drain and 120 miles of the road side branch drain in 1934 were all kutcha and made in such a zigzag manner and having such narrow culverts that the discharge of water was utterly impossible[44]. The indiscriminate building of houses in the towns put obstacles to the smooth discharge of water. Besides, the drain need be cleared at every intervals, and the inhabitants should be made aware of throwing fruit skins, sweepings into the drains.

Roads

In 1894-95, the Cuttack Municipality maintained a total length of 24 miles road and 67 miles of unmetalled roads in the town.

Markets

The Municipality had two markets in the town-one at Alamchand Bazar and another at Choudhury Bazar.

On 7th May, 1935, the foundation stone of a market was laid down by Mr. E. S. Hoarnle, Commissioner, Orissa Division and was named as the Municipal Jubulee Market" The work of construction was completed in July, 1937 at a total cost of Rs. 20,000/- and was opend on 1st August, 1937[45] for Public use.

The Cuttack Municipality maintained 5 pounds and several ferries in Mahanadi and Kathjori rivers. It also killed stray dogs, poisonous snakes. The degree of success of the local self-Govt. varies from place to place, but there was a definite and satisfactory evidence of the growth of a feeling of good citizenship in the towns. The self-Govt. institutions left very much to be desired by the people. The local self Government has definitely proved to be an asset and have no doubt rendered valuable services to the people living in the Urban areas. It taught the first principle of a western type of Local-Self Govt. to the people and laid down the foundation of the future Local Self Government in India to be improved and designed. If it develops and consolidates in a particular manner, it will gradually inspire loyalty and trust and that the public spirit and efficiency must triumph over personal and sectional interest.

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Impact of Natural Calamities on Cuttack

Brajabandhu Bhatta

Cuttack or Katak, the central of the three districts of Orissa, is surrounded by Balasore district on the north, Puri on South, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Athagarh (the tributary States) in the west and the Bay of Bengal in the East. The town of Cuttack is situated at the delta head of the Mahanadi river in 20°29′ North latitude and 85°50′ East longitude. The Forest-clad hills surrounded its north, west and South which reveals its unique geographical location in India. Etymologically the word "Katak" means "army cantonments" and also the "capital city" It started as a military cantonment because of its natural impregnability and in course of time developed into the capital of the State of Orissa. Cuttack was the capital of Orissa all through the British rule. "This town is built on a neck of land washed by two branches of the Mahanadi river, which diverge about three miles to the west of the city and in the rainy season insulate it. Near Cuttack the Mahanadi during the rains is about two miles from bank to bank, but in the dry season it is fordable with less than three feet of water. At this station there are large and solid embankments mostly faced with cut stone, having a descent of steps to the water, which are essential to the preservation of the town of Cuttack and the military Cantonments, both of which would otherwise be annually inundated. Past records show that the Kathjudi, which flows on the southern side of the town and Mahanadi, which flows on its north have risen during great floods eight feet above the level of the town"[1]. Due to its geographical position the town was always prone to natural calamities like floods etc. in the nineteenth Century.

Taking into accounts the communication difficulties, caused by the Mahanadi and the Kathjudi, the English Officials did not like to be posted at Cuttack, but once posted at Cuttack; they used to like the place because of its natural charm, and Chesive social life fostered by natural barriers. John Beams, a former Collector of Cuttack observed "Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant Governor used to say that he could not get men to go to Cuttack but once they had got there he could not get

them to come away from it. Men did not like going there because it was so out of the way, but when they once get there they found it so pleasant, they wished to say."[2]

When the rivers rose to an unusual height, or the crops failed to any considerable extent the inhabitants of Cuttack experienced great difficulties in getting food.[3] To get rid of this difficulty the Collector was authorised in 1805 to advance a sum of (Sicca) Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of purchasing and storing a supply of rice for the town of Cuttack and for the military or cantonment bazar.[4] "Cuttack now begins to be noticeable, as it is at frequent intervals throughout the early years of British rule as a place in constant want of supplies and always on the verge of famine".[5]

In the year 1806 the grain market appeared to be tighter than ever, owing to the failure of the rains between 17th September and 11th November, and the consequent loss of crops.[6]

In July 1807, the usual lightness of the grain market was enhanced by exceedingly high floods, which temporarily disrupted communication between Cuttack and the interior. In a report to Government dated 6 July 1807, the Collector observed "The town of Cuttack depends Chiefly on the wholesale dealers or Beparis for supplies of grain, so that when the intercourse is abstructed by temporary in aundation the troops and inhabitants are forced to purchase from the moodis or retailers. The price is consequently enhanced, and the augmentation producing a degree of discontent, the existence of a scarcity is industriously circulated and stubbornly believed.[7]"

Another partial failure of the rice crop occured in 1809, and prices being from 8 to 10 seers higher than usual, all the former difficulties were revived. The merchants, profiting by experience, brought up all the grain on which they could lay their hands. The Magistrate, in the hope of avoiding previous difficulties, advanced sicca Rs. 1,000 from his own pocket to purchase supplies for the use of the troops. When this news got abroad the grain dealers industriously circulated a report that the person employed by the Magistrate to purchase grain in the interior had an absolute monopoly of all the whole supply of the province. At last the Governor-General in Council issued orders, prohibiting the interference of any Government Officers with the grain market.[8]

The danger to the Cuttack town, caused by the floods on the masonry revetment that protects it came under the notice of the British

authorities. In 1818 a Committee was appointed and authorities seriously contemplated abandoning the existing site of the town, and shift it to the other side of the Mahanadi for the purpose of avoiding an enormous expense in renewing the revetment.[9]

In the year 1822, the stone revetment which protects the town of Cuttack from periodical inaundation and which is said to have been originally constructed in 1006 A.D. by Markatkesari and subsequently restored and repaired by the Marathas, needed urgent repair and the British Government also appointed J. Blechynden to supervise the work.[10]

In the year 1937, rice was selling in the bazar at 10 seers a rupee and the dealers were hoarding up their st res in consequence of the protracted drought as soon as the rains set in which may be daily except, the price will fall and an abundant supply be poured into the market.[11] The Commissioner of Orissa wrote to the Collector of Cuttack (A. J. Mills Esq) that, "there having become so exceedingly scarce, I am apprehensive that in a few days we shall not be able to procure any even at the high rate at which it now sells. Under the existing scarcity Government would have the risk of sustaining a tripling loss."[12] Any interference on the grain market is the part of the Magistrate was not only impolite but was strictly prohibited. I will however use my best endeavours to persuade the principal Zamindars and dealers to bring grain but failed.[13]

In the year 1855 there was a very high flood, which indeed, with the possible exception of the flood of 1834, was the highest of which we have any authentic record. The flood directed more particular attention to the critical state of the revetment which protects the town of Cuttack from the flood of the Kathjudi branch of the Mahanadi river.[14] On the recommendation of the Superintendent of Embankments, Lieutenant Harris was placed on special duty to survey the Mahanadi and to investigate the question of the disposal of the flood waters. His first report, dated 5 June 1856, dealt chiefly with flood situation as it affected the town and cantonment of Cuttack.[15]

It appears to be fairly certain that for a considerable period prior to 1855 the volume of flood had been increasing in the Kathjudi branch and lessening in the Mahanadi main channel. The result was that the town was liable to be severely flooded from the Kathjudi, while it was fairly secure on the Mahanadi side. Lieutenant Harris expressed the opinion that the Kathjudi was of recent origin in the following words. "The Kathjudi has doubtless sprung from nothing originally risen from insignificance within the space of a few centuries."

This matter had received some attention previously, and the Superintendent of Embankments in his letter of 24 September 1855 to the Chief Engineer, wrote

"A stone weir across the Kathjudi head is the first great work to be constructed. It will then, I think, be necessary to place a weir across the Kuakhai head, for it was not desirable to shut up the Kathjudi".[17]

Lieutenant Harris submitted a series of cross´ sections of the Mahanadi river commencing from Bydesur, which was about 37 miles above Cuttack. By using Etelwyn's formula, he told the maximum volume of discharge of the flood of 1855 was 1,800,000 cubic feet per second.[18]

A section was given showing the flood line along the revetment, which had been topped in places, the water being only kept from pouring over by the use of sand bags. Another interesting section was that which connects the flood line on the Kathjudi with the flood surface, 6 feet below it, on the Mahanadi taken across the town of Cuttack. This shows that in some parts the connecting line assuming a uniform fall in the flood line, was 7 feet above the level of the ground. It was therefore quite clear that a breach in the revetment during a high flood would be a very serious thing indeed.[19]

Lieutenant Harris proposed the remedial measures like the construction of a stone spur or groin at Naraj, and of brush-wood spurs along the revetment in the bed of the Kathjudi. The aim of the former was to cause the Mahanadi main channel to deepen and so to take a greater relative volume of the flood.[20]

The Superintendent of Embankments (Captain Beadle) submitted the report and plans to the Chief Engineer with his letter dated 21 August 1856, in which he reviewed the report and made certain suggestions of his own. In paragraph 7 he wrote as under with respect to the conclusion drawn by Lieutenant Harris, that the Kathjudi had been formed from an insignificant stream in the lapse of a few centuries:-" I cannot in this conclusion for the construction of the revetment is referred to A.D. 1006. It is therefore eight and a half centuries since the two sides of Cuttack were faced with a revetment wall of similar construction, height and strength, from which I should infer that at that time both sides were subject to a somewhare similar danger."[21]

Lieutenant Harris describes the City of Cuttack and the revetments. According to him one of the principal roads in the City was 7 feet lower

than the inclined plan (3 feet in a mile*) connecting the highest flood levels of the two rivers. He told that the revetments have no foundations below the bed of the river, and may at any time be undermined, •the path of the current being along the foot of the wall on the Kathjudi side [22]

"The information as to the original construction of the revetment is doubtless somewhat mythical, and I think it is safer to be guided by the natural evidence afforded by the state of the river channels."[23]

Captain Beadle suggested the construction of a complete weir across the head of the Kathjudi, both for the purpose of lessening the danger to the town of Cuttack and also of giving some relief to the Puri district from inaundation. He also touched on the question of the desirability of making use of the river for irrigation, and quoted from a report by Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith on the delta of the Cauvery to show that the flood waters of deltaic rivers can be apportioned with sufficient accuracy to the various branches by the use of dams or weirs at the point of divergence.[24]

In March 1857, the Bengal Government called on the Superintendent of Embankments to submit a full report "on the causes of the numerous and constantly occuring breaches in the embankments of Cuttack district, and to take immediate measures for the prevention of the recurrence of similar evils."[25]

Captain W. D. SHORT., who was at that time officiating as Superintendent of Embankments, furnished the report dated 3 August 1857. In the report he reviewed the action that had been taken in the past with respect to the embankments, and stated that the orders issued in 1847, at the time when the general question of retention or abolition of embankments was being discussed, had been the main cause of the unsatisfactory state in which they undoubtedly were. He argued that the chief thing to be remedied was the undue development of the Kathjudi and the consequent silting up of the head of the Mahanadi at the off take of the former.[26]

He wrote in favour of the spur proposed by Lieutenant Harris and also of removing by blasting some rock in the bed of the Mahanadi near Naraj, and take some permanent works at the head of the delta to control the division of the flood between the two main branches. Attached to this report was a memorandum, also by Captain Short, in which he gave his opinions on the general state of affairs in Orissa so far as rivers and floods were concerned. In this he also advocated removing the cantonment,

* This is fall per mile between High flood marks of the Kathjudi and Mahanadi, the distance being 2 miles, and difference of 6 feet level.

civil station and town of Cuttack to the left or north bank of the Mahanadi and throwing open to flood the present site.[27]

The flood (1854-55) level was the highest on record, (although since exceeded by that of 1855-56) topping the revetment in many parts, and only kept out by unceasing labour day and night (by means of sand bags and stone work), and the embankments which had been strengthened were breached in 878 places.[28]

The Mahanadi and Kathjudi floods met below the station, and finding their way through the Budja Kawat sluice, the town was threatened with an inundation similar to that of 1828, and as the level was 6 feet below the then high water mark the danger was very serious. The height of the flood, its duration, and the danger to the town and the embankments was increased manyfold from the fact of a terrible gale opposing the volume, which was lashed into a sea during a continuous period of 42 hours.[29]

"During such a terrible visitation the danger was averted by the assistance afforded by the Collector, Mr. R. Harrison, who gave the prisoners for the work, whilest the populace slunk panic stricken within their houses."[30]

In the year 1857 there was a very high flood rising to 126.68 of the Lalbagh gauge, that was, within less than 6 inches of the flood of 1855.[31]

The Paik Rebellion brought about a great change in the policy of land revenue administration in Orissa. Then after the British authorities gave serious attention to devise a stable system of settlement. Accordingly, the settlement of 1837 to 1845 was made for a period of 30 years, expiring in 1868.[32] Before the end of 30 years term there broke out a great famine in 1865-66 which devastated the whole of Orissa. Although the monsoons failed in 1865 the complete apathy and negligence of the government were the chief causes of this famine and so it was more of a man made catastrophe than a natural one.

The Famine of 1865-66 was no doubt not new to Cuttack. This place had enough experience of famines and starvation during the British rule in the past. Famines for instance, had broken out in Cuttack in the years 1806, 1808, 1809, 1817, 1828, 1836, 1837 and 1842.[33] All such caused more or less alram, and the last of which brought on the great famine of Orissa, provisions have been made in the irrigation works to supply the cultivators with water, so that the district may be now said to enjoy comparative immunity from danger, even when there was a protracted cessation of the rains.[34]

But this particular famine which was known as the 'Na-anka' because of its occurance in 9th Anka (regnal year) of Raja Divyasinghadeva of Puri was of a colossal nature and the human misery and mortality in it were horrible and incalculable. Sri Pyarimohan Acharya, a public spirited man of Cuttack who witnessed the horrors of famine has left the following description of it. "One feels stunned when one remembers the shocking events that took place at that time. It is quite impossible to give a faithful picture of the horrors of the famine that came accompanied by death itself."

The towns were filled with the sorrowful shrieks of thousands of men, women and children, who had been reduced to mere skeletons. The crematory grounds near the towns and villages were full of innumerable dead bodies and upon them the vultures and jackals feasted to their heart's content. Men and women foreshook their natural instincts owing to the unbearable pangs of hunger, parents cast away their starving children before wild animals to be devoured by them. Some even ate the dead bodies of their own children like demons. Social evils such as murder, suicide etc., became a very common thing at the time. Some people tried to live upon wild shrubs and inedible materials."[35]

The laissezfair attitude of the government aggravated the condition. The Officers had no Control over the private traders who in their turn had no other interest except their personal gain. The first report of scarcity was brought to the notice of the District Magistrate of Puri by his Deputy Magistrate Ramakoy Mukherjee. Barlow, the then District Magistrate reported the matter to the Commissioner of Orissa, T. E. Ravenshaw. Similarly the Collector of Cuttack also reported to the Commissioner. T. E. Ravenshaw did not understand the gravity of the situation. He believed that there was enough stock of rice with the people and the condition was not that alarming. Ravenshaw was new to the province and had no idea about its social and economic position. It was unfortunate that the Commissioner paid no attention to these proposals and dragged Orissa into one of the worst famines of history.[36]

On the 29th May, the Lieutenant Governor having received at Darjeeling Mr. Commissioner Ravenshaw's telegram of the 28th quoted in paragraph 283 of our report announcing the total failure of rice in the town of Cuttack and recommending immediate importation for the use of the troops for the jail, for the labourers on relief works and for supply for the starving through the relief committees at once issued instruction by telegraph, directing the Board of Revenue to send down rice immediately to False Point, Balasore and Dhamarah as proposed by the Commissioner."[37]

On receipts of these instructions the Board promptly despatched Steamer Court Heg with the Cargo of 3,000 bags of rice to False Point. This Cargo had been purchased for the government and was placed with the disposal of the Commissioner for sale at the cost price of Rs. 5 a maund to the different government departments. The Commissioner was authorized to sell any surplus which might not be required for these departments at cost price to the Relief Committee and even to the general public provided that such a sale should not interfere with the disposal of the Cargo of the Jacquies Fourestier which was being sent down on private account. The Board had found this ship ready laden with 86,000 bags of rice intended for a foreign port and they induced the owners Mrs. Robert Charriol & Co. to divert her to False Point by guaranteeing a minimum price of Rs. 5.10 per a maund.[38]

Due to the presence of large rivers like Mahanadi and Kathjudi, the grain supply to the City was blocked in several occasions on the other hand the Dandeedars have exploited this situations by creating artificial scarcity (hoarding of food grains) and the resultant was the closing down of all rice sales in the town. Ultimately there was a complete panic among the people as there were no reserve of food grains. [39]

The scarcity of grain was lately been experienced in the Cuttack town due to the unauthorized exactions and oppressive interference in the grain market of a person named Gourharry Choudhury. It was practised by virtue of a Perwannah granted to him by the then acting Magistrate; Turnbull of this district. The Office of Choudhury became not only useless at this station but liable to a great loss and hardship to the inhabitants.

From Commissioner Blunt's letter to the Magistrate on this subject dated 4 August 1821, it appears, that the inhabitants of Cuttack have suffered severely from scarcity of grain; occasioned by the Dundidars or weighman merely to serve their own purposes. With a view to preventing a recurrence of such a calamity Blunt directed the Magistrate to abolish the Office of Choudhury who seems to have superintended the sale of grain generally. The last nine years had shown however that this order did not remove the grievance. The grain market continued to be under the control of a few individuals who were officially appointed and made it their business, to regulate the supply and prices for their particular interest. The inhabitants of Cuttack generally continued to feel the sad effects of such an arbitrary system.[41]

Under such circumstances, the Magistrate (J. Dunbar) observed the situation prevalent in the society and then he took several steps to relieve the inhabitants of Cuttack from such a grievance. Accordingly from this day he allowed the Beparies to carry out their grain to whatever market they choose and disposed of it where they like. The perwannah granted to the Dundidars was recalled and the Darogahes were directed to take special care about the weights generally used through out the Town. To ensure fairdealing the Beaparies were required to use weights stamped with the seal of the Thannah to which they belonged.[42]

The great famine and the flood of 1865-66, broke down the lethargy of the British authorities whose sympathetic attention was not drawn to Orissa. It was evident that the relief measures of these critical years suffered greatly due to lamentable deficiency of communication.[43] There was no regular communication between the sea coast and Cuttack at the prevailing time of distress.

John Beames, a former Collector of Cuttack told "In Orissa the loss of life had been principally due to the great difficulty of getting food into the province, there being at that time few roads and those bad-and no safe ports. Much, however, was due to the sapineness of the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, and the wrong headedness of Mr. R. B. Chapman, Member of the Board of Revenue, both of whom underrated the necessities of the case".[44]

The flood of 1872 was the highest known since 1855, and it probably was the highest ever recorded, as the readings at Naraje weir on 27 July 1855, 93.11, while the readings on the gauge on 4 July 1872 were 93.30 on this day the floods topped Ganjam and Puri roads, and breached the embankments which protected the Calcutta road in its firstmile north of the Mahanadi.[45] Cuttack city was in imminent danger and was only saved by the energy of the engineer staff who, aided by the military and prisoners from the Jail, spent general nights on the earth works. The gauge readings on the Mahanadi river were on the 29th June 71.75 above sea-level at 6 P.M. The river continued to rise from 74.50 on 30 to 75.85 on 4 July.[46]

During the flood Cuttack was completely cut off from any communication with the surrounding country. It was difficult to procure rice in Cuttack market and the nominal price was about 13 seers per rupee. There was a tendency on the part of Dandeedars or grain bokers to agitate for a closure of shops to raise prices at the time of distress.[47]

The Naraje weir, which had been damaged by the flood of 1872, was strengthened. The Mahanadi weir was repaired and at the same time Jobra workshop strongly revolted. The old Marahatta walls of 240 feet round the city of Cuttack were rebuilt. At the same time 325 feet of length was in progress with the reconstruction which fell during the year.[48] "The City protective works were maintained in good order."[49]

After the great famine (1866), steps were taken to improve the economic conditions of the people of Orissa. Roads were opened up during the later part of the 19th century to provide Cuttack with the means of internal communication. To minimise the effects of the recurrence of such calamity, the Famine Commissioner put emphasis on development of communication by the provision of access by seat at False Point.[50] By the improvement of False Point, the communication facilities were developed with the Cuttack.

As a post famine measure the Railway line of Bengal-Nagpur railway constructed through the coastal districts of Orissa was opened in the year 1899 connecting Cuttack directly with Madras and Calcutta and providing a number of opportunities for the growth of trade and inland communications, this line created facilities for the healthy growth of the township.[51]

The construction of canals was suggested by Colonel Cotton as the only remedy against the droughts and floods to which the Cuttack district suffered. He also suggested to make weir across the Mahanadi.[52] The East India Irrigation Company which was started as early as 1862, agreed to put Colonel Cotton's project into execution. In the Mahanadi three separate weirs were built which were known as the Naraj, Mahanadi and Birupa weirs "The Mahanadi weir has been constructed across the head of the main branch of the Mahanadi at Jobra immediately below Cuttack, and supplies water to the Taldanda Canal and its branch, the Machhgaon Canal."[53]

The stone revetments which was constructed along the banks of Mahanadi and Kathjudi about a thousand years ago by a monarch of the Kesari dynasty called Markat Kesari (according to tradition and the Madla-Panji, though it was not accepted by Scholars). Cuttack would have long ago been washed away by the devastating flood of those two rivers.

The present good condition of the Cuttack revetment, is due to the constant repair during the British period and subsequent special repairs and improvements by the Government. It is pity that we don't know exactly

when and how this great work of engineering skill was executed as a protective measure of the capital of Orissa.

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Cuttack and Growth of Political Consciousness in Orissa

Dr. Nihar Ranjan Patnaik

Political consciousness was aroused in Orissa, partly due to the creation of a congenial atmosphere by the Missionary activities, spread of education, establishment of Priniting Press, Publication of periodicals, new trend in literature, socio-cultural activities, entry of the Oriyas to the Government service and partly for the participation of the Oriyas in Congress activities, protest against the Bengali agitation against Oriya language and agitation for the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts. And in each case Cuttack city played no less important a role in preparing the ground for the growth of political consciousness in Orissa.

The Christian Missionaries had a conspicuous role in preparing the ground for the growth of political consciousness in Orissa. Bampton and James Peggs led the first mission and landed on the coast of Orissa on 12th February 1822.[1] From there they came to Cuttack and started their operations.[2] The Missionaries criticised Hindu orthodoxy, idolatry and superstitious customs, and magnified thereby the goodness of the Christian doctrines. They succeeded in converting the Hindu Oriyas to Christianity. The second person in this regard was Ramchandra and he was Baptised at Cuttack in May 1830.[3] The number of converts gradually increased. The Missionaries taught the native Christians the spirit of mutual help so as to promote community life. The community spirit was thus fostered in Cuttack and some other parts of Orissa. Bringing with them the store of western knowledge to Orissa, the Missionaries became the pioneers of education among the people.[4] And the first Native school that the Missionaries founded in May 1822 was at Cuttack.[5] Vigorous efforts in this direction were made thereafter. From June, 1822 to December, 1823 fifteen such Native schools were established at Cuttack and at nearby places with a strength of 305 boys and 63 girls. In August 1823, a fund was created for the promotion of the Native schools. And under the auspices of this fund, the Cuttack English charity School was established in October, 1823.[6] Thus Cuttack was most fortunate to see the

growth of education through the efforts of the Missionaries. The Missionaries also opened Orphan Asylums. One such institution in the name of Board School was started in 1829 at Cuttack for housing indigent Christian children of the town. All of them were destitutes, generally fatherless. As such they were neglected by their relatives or friends with regard to their welfare.[7] Expressing satisfaction on the working of the orphanages in Orissa, David B. Smith, the Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, has recorded excellent working of two orphanages located at Peyton Sahi of Cuttack in his diary published in 1868, after visiting these two on July 6, 1868.[8] Besides destitutes, some rescued victims of the Meriah operation were also housed there.[9] The Missionaries also made some efforts and succeeded to a considerable degree in removing caste prejudices. By rendering various services to the sick, suffering and the indigents, the Missionaries came closer to the common people of Cuttack town after which they gradually instilled in them the ideas of getting rid of the superstitious beliefs and socio-political conservatism. Thereby they succeeded in changing the socio-political outlook of the native people. Thus the Missionaries through various efforts produced a sort of reaction leading to reform and reconstruction of the socio-political system in accordance with the contemporary need of Cuttack as well as Orissa. Thus a ground was prepared for the growth of political consciousness in future.

Spread of education in the 19th Century was most important factor in the growth of political consciousness of Orissa. Before the advent of the British the indigenous schools were the only centres of learning in Orissa.[10] In such institutions greater emphasis was laid on importing culture rather than making the students literate.[11] The British administrators realised the inadequacy of education. So they took steps to further education in Orissa. The Missionaries were the first in this field. Gradually schools were opened. The love for English education began to increase in Orissa.[12] Side by side measures were also taken by the Government to spread vernacular education. Thus progress was made in the field of education, by the generous steps of some Commissioners, School Inspectors, and the Missionaries. And Cuttack city became the chief centre for the spread of education. At Cuttack in 1845 a higher class English school was opened, which finally became the principal citadel of education in the Province.[13] Meanwhile the English education was becoming more popular in Cuttack. This can be known from the report of 1849-50 of the Council of Education which mentioned that 'for Cuttack higher class English school, numerous applications were daily received from the natives for admission, but all were not entertained owing to a strict enforcement of the rules'.[14]

From 1851, the Cuttack School was called Cuttack Zilla School. After the great famine of 1866, marked improvement took place in the growth of education. In the Cuttack district, the progress was still more remarkable. Instead of 3 schools with 168 pupils in 1856-57, there were 50 schools in 1870-71 with 2755 pupils. Accordingly there was also a spectacular progress in the field of education in the Cuttack city. The Cuttack School was converted to a College in 1876. Latter this Cuttack College was renamed as Ravenshaw College, which subsequently became the chief centre of learning in the State. Law classes were also opened there. A medical school was established in 1876 at Cuttack under the patronage of the Commissioner T. E. Ravenshaw with the help of Dr. W. T. Steward, the Civil Surgeon of the district.[15] During the later part of the 19th century certain enlightened families of Orissa thought of educating their female children. The Missionaries and the Government extended their help in running some girls' schools. The Rajas, Zemindars and some other enlightened persons came forward to extend help for opening of girls' schools.[16] In September 1871 Abinash Chatterjee started Cuttack Girls School at Balubazar area of the town.[17] Another Hindu Balika Bidyalaya was established by some Bengalis in 1881 at Cuttack.[18] The Cuttack Municipality also opened four lower primary girls' schools in 1883.[19] It was towards the end of the 19th century that Ravenshaw Girls' School was started at Cuttack. By 1897 a few more girls' schools had been established in Cuttack town in places like Chandinichowk, Jholasahi, Gangamandira, Buxibazar and Ranihat.[20] In the same year in July 1897, two women students took admission in the Ravenshaw College.[21] The introduction of women's education improved the status of women in the society. By breaking age-old seclusion, these women came forward to take a greater part in the socio-political life of the state.

Thus as elsewhere in India the spread of education with a western bias brought a political consciousness among the people of Orissa. And Cuttack, being the chief centre of learning played most significant role in enlightening the people of Orissa. However receiving such education they started to examine their old customs, traditions and conventions in the light of the new knowledge that they acquired then.[22] Side by side the common men, being literate, became keen for a socio-political change.[23] That was not all. The people of Orissa after receiving higher education at Cuttack, now got the opportunity to know the illustrious writings of the West. They read the works of Byron, who therein glorified liberty, the writings of the great political thinkers like Locke, Mill, Macaulay, Rousseau

and Voltaire who advocated the ideas of nationalism, democracy and self-government. Side by side they also read the heroic stories of the American War of Independence, the French Revolution and Italian struggle for Independence which heralded the cardinal principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. The more they read, the more they became politically conscious.

The establishment of Printing Press and consequent publication of journals and periodicals in Cuttack were two other potent factors for bringing political consciousness in Orissa. The Mission Press was established at Cuttack in 1838 and it was the first of its kind in Orissa. The first Oriya periodical 'Jnanaruna' was printed in the Press. Subsequently two other periodicals namely 'Prabodh Chandrika' and 'Arunodaya' were published respectively in 1849 and 1861. But these periodicals were aimed at popularising the Christianity in Orissa and any political news of general provincial interest was scarcely published.[24] Meanwhile in 1866 the Cuttack Printing Press was established by the natives. It was from this Press that Gauri Sankar Ray published 'Utkal Dipika' a journal which focussed the events of mass interests. 'Utkal Subhokari' was the next journal published with Bhagabat Charan Das as its editor.[25] In 1869 was published the first English periodical 'Cuttack Argus'.[26] A few other periodicals were published in Cuttack during this time. Those were 'Utkal Hitaishini', a weekly with Kalipad Banerjee as the editor.[27] an English weekly named 'Cuttack Star'[28] an English periodical 'Cuttack Standard'[29] and another periodical 'Cuttack Chronicle'[30]. In 1873 another Press named 'Utkal Hitaishini Press' was established at Cuttack.[31] Furthermore, three other periodicals, namely 'Utkal Putra', 'Bhagapat Bhaktipradayini', and 'Bideshi' were published at Cuttack in 1873 with Pyarimohan Acharya, Khirodnath Mitra and Dinanath Banerjee as their respective editors. However few more periodicals, newspapers and magazines were published in Cuttack during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of twentieth century.

Thus the growth of journalism, publication of periodicals and magazines coming in the wake of the establishment of printing press aroused the political awareness of the people and drew their attention to local as well as national problems. The native people thus got the chance to propagate their feelings and grievances with the result that the people of Orissa could be politically educated.

Further a new trend appeared in the Oriya literature of the 19th century. Consciously or unconsciously the writing of this century reflected

the ideals, the hopes and the aspirations of the time. They neatly described the existing condition and the various problems of the common people. When some writers developed genuine urge for the revival of the culture of the past by glorifying the same, the others gave greater emphasis on the revolutionary changes in political conditions of the State. There appeared a number of outstanding writers from Cuttack who through their patriotic and inspiring writings criticised the current institutions, religion, society and government.

The growth of education and publication of periodicals created among the Oriyas the zeal for acquisition and diffusion of knowledge more and more. And it resulted in bringing the like-minded people to form associations or organisations for exchanging their ideas on different issues. The Mutual Improvement Society established in 1859 was the first of such institutions. In February 1868 the Cuttack club was started in Cuttack High School Hall. Its members used to hold discussion on different topics twice a month. Attending one such meeting on 15th April, 1868, Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, expressed his happiness for establishing such a club as he was indeed seeking for such an institution so as to know views of the people on various problems.[32] Again on November 13 of 1868, another institution of this type called the Cuttack Society was founded with Kalipada Bandyopadhyay as its Secretary.[33] Further the Brahmins of Cuttack instituted an organisation of their own. It was the Utkal Ullasini Sabha in which the Brahmins along with others were known to have discussed different problems for the benefit of the society.[34] A parallel institution, called 'Sabha' was also started by the Karana in the residence of the Deputy Collector, Narasimha Charan Das, at Cuttack.[35] Simultaneously the Cuttack Youngmen's Association was started.[36] In 1873 Utkal Bhasoddipani Sabha was started where socio-political problems were discussed.[37] Further it was in 1874 that a meeting of the Zamindars, and the Rajas was held in the residential garden of Bichitrananda Das* at Cuttack, where they exchanged their ideas and opinions over current problems.[38] Another association named Suhrud Samaj sprang up at Cuttack which made thread bare the discussion on the matters relating to all-round welfare of the province. The students of Ravenshaw College constituted an association and named it as 'Cuttack Students' Associatione' The Sikshya Bidhayika Sabha was yet another important association founded in 1889 by Lalit Chakravarti at Cuttack for the advancement of education in the province.[39] It was in October 1884 that two societies, namely Sikshya Bidhayika Sabha

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* Bichitrananda Das was the Sirastadar of the Commissioner of Orissa.

and Sahityaranjani Sabha, amalgamated under the new name of Sikshya-bidhayini Sabha. Its principal aims were to encourage Oriya literature and language, increase the number of writers and speakers, encourage education in general and bring progress in the society and also to remove the difference between the Oriyas and the Bengalis.[40] In the last decade of the nineteenth century a few more associations were established at Cuttack. Those were Cuttack Union Club, Cuttack Reading Club, Cuttack United Friends' Reading Club, Cuttack College Council, Orissa Christian Association, and Kayastha Samaj.

Of all these associations the role of Utkal Sabha founded in 1877 was most significant. Its meeting was regularly held in the Cuttack Printing Company. The first meeting of the Association was held on 21st July 1882, for considering the best means of introducing local Self-Government in India.[41] This association politically gained more importance in 1882 when it became more constructive in its President and Secretary respectively. Its members were drawn from all sections of the Oriya people and therefore it could be regarded as a national forum preceding the 'Utkal Union Conference'. It used to send its representatives regularly to the Indian National Congress.

Thus in a short time a large number of societies and clubs were established at Cuttack. As such Cuttack town became the centre of cultural activities. The members of these associations got the opportunities to discuss on current political topics. The free disccussions and debates held there enabled them to think seriously of their own problems. Specially, in the meeting, the deliberations of the persons of repute and erudition broadened the mental horizon of the people.

The gradual entry of the Oriyas to the Government service created a congenial atmosphere for the growth of political consciousness among the Oriya people. In the mean time the opening of more schools and a college (Ravenshaw College) at Cuttack led the Oriyas to be easily educated and in great number. So it was easy to employ them in Government services. Out of the total number of students who passed from Ravenshaw College upto 1892, three were taken as Deputy Magistrates, two as Sub-Deputies, one as Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, one as Translator to the Commissioner, fifteen became lawyers and the rest were also appointed in different services. However many of them were educated and posted in Cuttack. These Oriyas being employed in Government service could no more remain indifferent to the various problems of Orissa. These English

educated Oriyas staying at Cuttack fostered the idea of change and progress. As such they became the pioneers of Renaissance movement in Orissa. Championing the cause of socialism, equality of man, freedom of thought and human rights they trained the Oriya people to work with them hand in hand. Further more, among the Oriyas there dawned a consciousness towards the identity of Oriyas.

Thus a conductive atmosphere was created for the growth of political awareness in the minds of Oriya. But three other factors were directly responsible for the growth of political consciousness in Orissa. Those were (1) Participation of the Oriyas in the sessions of the Indian National Congress (ii) Protest against the agitation of some Bengalis for the elimination of the Oriya language (iii) Agitation for the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts with Orissa with a view to make it a separate province.[42]

It was on 3rd March of 1886, a public meeting was held at Cuttack and it unanimously accepted all the resolutions passed by the National Congress in its first session held at Bombay. As mentioned earlier the Utkal Sabha of Cuttack sent representatives regularly to the Indian National Congress. Its prominent members were Madhusudan Das, Jaganmohan Roy, Janaki Nath Bose, Lal Behari Ghosh, Samson Rout, Munshi Ekamra Ali. Munshi Muhammad Atahar, Gokulananda Chaudhury, Nimai Charan Mitra and Gaurisankar Ray.[43] Not only Utkal Sabha was active in participating in the Congress activities, but also discussed current political issues of the country in its session and sent suggestions to Government on political matters.

In the meantime, the struggle for Oriya identity found its expression in Oriya language movement. Bengalis of Orissa tried to replace Oriya by their own language. But the Oriyas on the other hand came forward to protect their own language at any cost. The periodicals like 'Utkal Dipika' and 'Orissa Patriot' of Cuttack argued in defence of Oriya language. Consequently the Commissioner of Orissa, T. E. Ravenshaw also expressed his opinion in favour of Oriya language. The Oriyas and some domiciled Bengalies of Cuttack had a significant role in this language agitation. However the Government at last conceded to the popular demand by acknowledging the distinctiveness of Oriya language in 1872.[44] The language agitation very soon transformed itself into a political movement in the form of amalgamation of all Oriya speaking tracts under one province or administration.[45]

Cuttack also played a major role in the agitation for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts. A meeting of the citizens of Cuttack held on

the 10th May 1895 under the Chairmanship of Madhusudan Das unanimously passed a resolution that all Oriya speaking tracts should be amalgamated.[40] In the next month, the Utkal Sabha of Cuttack also sent a Memorial to Viceroy Lord Elgin in favour of the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts. Besides, the elites of Cuttack like Madhusudan Das, Gokulananda Chaudhury and Gaurisankar Ray condemned the attitude of Central Provinces Government in public meetings and periodicals.[47] Further, a committee was formed at Cuttack with Maharaja of Mayurbhanj as the President and Madhusudan Das as the Secretary to devise ways and means for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts.[46] Subsequently the Utkal Sammilani or Utkal Union Conference became the symbol of the political consciousness of the Oriya people. The conference was held at Cuttack on 30th and 31st December 1903. It moved resolution demanding a separate province for the Oriya speaking people. On the 16th December 1911, a public meeting was held at Cuttack Town Hall to welcome the formation of the new Province.[49]

Thus all these movements along with a favourable condition created hitherto paved the way for the growth of political consciousness in Orissa. And the role of Cuttack for creating this political awakening is remarkable.

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Freedom Movement and Cuttack City

Dr. Jagannath Patnaik

Politically significant, culturally rich, economically affluent and historically ancient, the city of Cuttack has played an illustrious role in the historic Freedom Movement of India right from the start to its end. In all phases of the movement Cuttack city was found to have actively participated for which Orissa has secured a prominent place in the political scenario of India. A brief resume of the eventful role that the city of Cuttack played in the movement is given in the pages that follow.

Role of Cuttack city in the Great Revolt of 1857

The first act of the drama of the historic freedom movement opened with the outbreak of the Great Revolt of 1857 which is also described as the First War of Indian Independence. In this Revolt, Orissa like other parts of India played a momentous role with Cuttack city remaining in the forefront. It was on the 10th May, 1857, that the Revolt was triggerred off at Meerut where the Indian soldiers in the British army being called Sepoys mutinied and murdered many Europeans. There after, it spread to different parts of India including Orissa. So the Secretary to the Government of Bengal called to Calcutta the Commissioner of Orissa, G. F. Cockburn stationed at Cuttack to take stock of the situation. In view of the rebellious conduct of the Sepoys, it was decided to adopt precautionary steps in Cuttack and other places.[1] The first step to be taken in this direction was the posting of guards at the jails and other important offices and buildings. Next step to be taken was the interrogation and search of the outside persons coming to Orissa. In the light of this discussion, the Commissioner after his return briefed the Magistrate of Cuttack. So the Magistrate asked the Officer commanding of Cuttack on the 30th May, 1857 to furnish the guards for watching the Cuttack jail, so that the outside rebellious sepoys would not be in a position to break open the jail and release the prisoners. That was immediately complied with.[2] Further more the Magistrate of Cuttack being instructed by the Commissioner issued order to the Officer Commanding Cuttack to search and interrogate any out-sider to be found

in Cuttack. Even the Fakirs, the Sanyasis and Bairagis were not be spared. In response to this order, one day three Bairagis begging alms in the cantonment area of Cuttack were arrested on suspicion. They were Akruranath, Hiranath and Durganath. They were then produced before the Assistant Magistrate of Cuttack. But finding them to be innocent and real Bairagis he ordered for their release. The order was complied with. Similarly, the Magistrate of Ganjam sent for interrogation three mendicants to Cuttack to be produced before the Commissioner. They were Karim Bux, Haji Najafd and Bholanath Bairagi. As before they were found innocent.[3] That was not the end of the role of Cuttack in the Great Revolt of 1857.

It was from Cuttack that the measures were adopted against the rebels in other parts of Orissa. In 1857, the outstanding Zamindar of Balia namely Ramakrushna Samanta Singhar uniting the Kshatriyas under his banner staged a standard of rebellion against the British. At his instance the people refused to pay the taxes to the Government. A few other anti-British activities were also resorted to by the Kshatriyas. The Magistrate of Cuttack being informed of such an alarming situation at Balia through intelligence deputed one Daroga from Cuttack to inquire into the matter. In inquiry he found Ramakrushna's rebellious attitude and in this light he submitted a report to the Magistrate of Cuttack.[4] On its basis, Ramakrushna and two of his principal associated namely Dinabandhu Mohapatra and Upendra Jena were arrested and brought to Cuttack.[5] They were confined in Cuttack jail. Thereafter they were tried by the Sessions Judge of Cuttack, J. J. Ward. The trial commenced from the 31st August 1857 The principal charge levelled against them was cooking up a conspiracy against the East India Company. Ramakrushna and Dinabandhu being proved guilty of the charge were sentenced each to five years rigorous imprisonment. Upendra Jena was released as he was found innocent. But Ramakrushna and Dinabandhu remained hardly one year in Cuttack jail as they were released in 1858 when the British government granted amnesty to all political prisoners after the suppression of the Great Revolt of 1857.[6] And there the role of Cuttack in the Revolt of 1857 did not end.

Cuttack played an eventful role in suppressing another rebellion launched by redoubtable leader of the Revolt of 1857, Surendra Sai of Sambalpur. All the steps adopted against him were taken from Cuttack. Being instructed, it was on the 10th October 1857, that the Commissioner of Cuttack G. F. Cockburn deputed to Sambalpur three companies of the 40th M. N. I. stationed at Cuttack. Furthermore 51 personnels from the Paik company stationed at Cuttack were also sent to Sambalpur.[7] It was

by that time that the British government constituted a company recruiting the Paiks with its Head Quarters at Cuttack. Its Officer Commanding was captain Blunt. But the Paiks deputed to Sambalpur were commanded by one captain Knocker.[8] Of course all those 51 personnels were sent to Sambalpur not to fight with the rebels but to perform menial duties of the British personnels. It seems that the British authority did not place complete faith in the Paiks as they happened to be the inhabitants of Orissa.[9] However, few days after, being directed, Major Bates, the Officer Commanding of the British army stationed at Cuttack deputed two officers from Cuttack to Sambalpur They were Captain Woodbridge and Leiutenant Valance. Even then the condition in the British camp worsened day by day. So Major Bates along with two companies proceeded from Cuttack and reached Sambalpur on the 7th December 1857.[10] Inspite of all these measure it became difficult to control Surendra Sai. Rather he grew stronger and stronger. Analysing the causes of such a situation, the British authority realised that all their set-backs were mostly due to the impediments caused in controlling the British army from Chhotnagpur. It was by that time that Sambalpur was under the direct control of the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur of Madhya Pradesh. So Sambalpur was placed temporarily under Cuttack commissioner and all the policies were thus directed from Cuttack city and the Commissioner of Cuttack G. F. Cockburn became supreme authority in all the affairs of Sambalpur. So from Cuttack G. F. Cockb rn himself proceeded to Sambalpur and reached on the 20th January 1858. His very presence and adroit handling of the situation worked miracles in tiding over the impediments. Consequently, Surendra Sai and his followers were successfully haunted from place to place. After the improvement of the situation, G. F. Cockburn returned to Cuttack.[11] 300 rebels were confined in Sambalpur jail although it was meant to accommodate only 80 prisoners. So 100 prisoners were transferred to Cuttack jail. Out of them 40 were sentenced each to whipping of fifty strokes, inside the Cuttack jail. This order was issued by Colonel Forster, the new Commissioner of Sambalpur appointed after the ruturn of G. F. Cockburn to Cuttack. Meanwhile the Magistrate and Commissioner of Cuttack realised that the punishment was too cruel and inhumane. So, G. F. Cockburn wrote a letter to Colonel Forster on the 13th June 1858 to that effect and the letter was so strongly worded that Colonel Forster had no other alternative than to withdraw his order.[12] Then Sambalpur was retransferred from Cuttack commissionership to that of Chhotnagpur. With this the role of Cuttack city in the Revolt of 1857 came to an end.

Thus it is to be seen that the role of Cuttack city in the Revolt of 1857 was most eventful. Of course in certain cases its role was not direct and she was a mute witness to the events which took place during the Great Revolt of 1857.

The role of Cuttack in Creating National Consciousness

The period following the Great Revolt of 1857, till the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, was by and large a period of quietude in the realm of Indian politics. During this period several steps were taken to create National and Political consciousness among the Indians in different parts and Orissa was no exception to it. Cuttack was found to have been the principal centre of all such activities.

Generally, the newspapers and socio-political organisations have been helpful in sowing the seeds of nationalism in the hearts of the Indians. In this respect the role of the Cuttack city was most illustrious. A brief resume of all such news papers and organisations founded in Cuttack is as follows.

It was in 1866 that one blessed son of Orissa took a momentous step in publishing a newspaper in Oriya from Cuttack, mainly with a view to presenting the grievances of the Oriyas and creating in them a sense of nationalism and political consciousness. He was none else than Gourishankar Roy and the paper he edited was Utkal Dipika. It was published in Cuttack printing company as a weekly paper. Behind the publication of this paper he had another aim in view and that was to protect the Oriya language and literature from the attack of a few Bengali and English officials. In a sense this was the first Oriya newspaper in Orissa. Of course prior to its publication Reverend Lacy published a journal in 1843 entitled 'Gyanaruna' It was printed in Cuttack Mission Press founded in 1838. This was the first printing press in Orissa and 'Gyanaruna happened to be the first Oriya magazine. There after Christian missionaries published two other papers one 'Probodha Chandrika' in 1856 and 'Arunodaya' in 1861. But all those papers primarily aimed at popularising christianity in Orissa. But the mission of Gourishankar Roy was something different. His was mainly to create national consciousness. In that sense Gourishankar Roy was the harbinger of political journalism in Orissa. It is heartening to note that his Utkal Dipika was regularly published for long seventy years. However, after 1866, a number of other newspapers and periodicals were published in Cuttack. Of those mention may be made of 'Cuttack Argue' published in 1869—which happened to be the first English newspaper of Orissa. Another

weekly paper entitled Utkal Hitaisani was published with Kalipada Benerjee as its editor. Two other English journals were also published in Cuttack namely 'Cuttack Star' and Cuttack Standard'. Similarly in 1871 another English newspaper entitled, 'Cuttack Chronicle' was published. Thus the publication of a series of newspapers and journals from Cuttack helped immensely in creating political consciousness among the Oriyas. But this was not the only contribution of Cuttack city in this respect. There was yet another contribution to this field.

Cuttack city was associated with the birth of several political organisations which helped in creating national consciousness. Of course behind it, lay the pious aim of folling the attempt of some persons, who were trying to introduce Hindi and Bengali languages in place of Oriya. Promotion of Oriya language and literature was yet another aim of those organisations. One such organisation was Orissa Association or Utkal Sabha founded by some elites of Cuttack in 1878. Gopal Chandra Dutta, a Bengali inhabitant of Cuttack city worked as its Secretary.

After 1878 the event of Cuttack city moved fast. Utkal Sabha founded in 1878 was converted to a political Association in 1882 with Gourishankar Roy as its Secretary. His sincerity of purpose and efficient handling of the situation led him to hold this post continuously for long 23 years. He took leave from this post in 1905. However, the first session of Utkal Sabha was held in Cuttack on the 21st July 1882.[13] The modalities for the introduction of Lord Ripon's Local Self Government in Cuttack figured in the agenda. But exactly by that time a parallel organisation with the name "Odissa people Association" was founded by Dinanath Banerjee who also became its President.[14] So the smooth conduct of the meeting of the Utkal Sabha convened on the 21st July was greatly impaired. But this Association met its burial after a few days owing to the lack of popular support behind it. So Utkal Sabha held another meeting conveniently on the 16th August in Cuttack with no challenge from any corner. There a resolution was adopted for introducing the local Self Government in Cuttack city. The promotion of development work in Cuttack district was another resolution that was adopted. One Kashinath Dash chaired the meeting.[15] Again Gourisankar Roy convened two other sessions of the Utkal Sabha on the 21 August and 1st September 1882 for discussing the constitutional and political issues of that time. On the 26th May 1883, another meeting of the Utkal Sabha was held for the discussion of the infamous and controversial Ilbert Bill which denied the Indian judges the right to try the Europeans. A resolution was also adopted in the meeting condemning the Ilbert Bill and repealing such a discriminating provision.[16]

The roll in the first phase of the National Movement, 1885-1906

Meanwhile in 1885, the Indian National Congress came into being. Its first session was held on the 26th December 1885 in Gopal Das Tejpal Sanskrit College Hall in Bombay with the renowned Barrister Womesh Chandra Banerjee as its president. No body is known to have represented Orissa in this session. Yet the birth of such an organisation created unprecedented enthusiasm among the intellectuals of Orissa. So the city of Cuttack could not be an exception to it. On the 3rd March 1886, a general meeting was arranged in the building of Cuttack Printing Press Company.[17] It was attended by the people of Cuttack city from all walks of life. There a resolution was adopted to depute from Orissa the delegates to each session of the Indian National Congress. They were to be nominated by the Utkal Sabha of Cuttack and the National Association of Balasore. Simultaneously another resolution was adopted to strengthen and help whole heartedly the Indian National Congress in realising its objectives. Accordingly the Second session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1886 was attended by Madhusudan Das, Golak Chandra Bose, Kalipad Banerjee and Hariballabh Ghose as the nominees of the Utkal Sabha. It was on the 19th December 1886, that another meeting of the Utkal Sabha was held at Cuttack with Kalipada Banerjee in the chair. Resolution was adopted to appeal to the Government for reconstituting the Legislative Assembly and introducing adult franchise. That was not all about the role of Cuttack in the Freedom Movement during the first phase.

Being nominated by the Utkal Sabha, Madhusudan Das and Gourisankar Roy attended the 3rd session of the Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1887.[18] After their return a general meeting was held in the same Cuttack Printing House. Different resolutions adopted in the Madras session were discussed in the meeting. An appeal was also made to the Congress workers to strengthen the hands of the Indian National Congress. On the same day at the same place, the Utkal Sabha convened a meeting where a resolution was adopted to see that more and more delegates attend the ensuing sessions of the Indian National Congress. The next meeting of the Utkal Sabha was convened in the first week of February 1888, where resolution was adopted to launch a protest against the salt law promulgated by the British Government. Again on the 18th February in Municipal market of Cuttack, was arranged a general meeting where Madhusudan Das, Raghu Sahu, Ekram Ali and Jogmohan Roy made an appeal to the people to join the main stream of the Indian National

Movement. This meeting was a tremendous success. There it was decided to send Madhusudan Das to Kendrapada for influencing the people to join Congress. He did it with all sincerity. There after Madhusudan Das, Jagmohan Roy, Janakinath Bose of Cuttack being nominated by the Utkal Sabha became the members of the Bengal Branch of the Indian National Congress.[19]

Similarly Biharilal Pandit, Jagamohan Roy, Madhusudan Das, Samson Rout, Munsi Sultan Ahmed and Munsi Muhammad Atahar were nominated by the Utkal Sabha as delegates to fourth session of the Indian National Congress held at Allahabad in 1889. Of them only Samsŏn Rout and Muhammad Atahar attended. After their return the meeting of the Utkal Sabha was convened on the 7th February 1889, with Madhusudan Das in the chair. Both the delegates threw light on the resolutions adopted by the Allahabad session of the Congress. Similarly in 1890, Utkal Sabha nominated Nimaicharan Mitra, Lalbehari Ghose, Madhusudan Das, Radha Behari Basu and Bipin Behari Mitra to attend the Indian National Congress session of 1890. Unlike the last session, they all attended this session. Of them the first four were nominated as the representatives of Orissa to the Bengal congress. By then there was no separate congress Committee for Orissa. However, the role of the Utkal Sabha did not end there.[20]

Madhusudan Das, Jajneswar Chandra, Gouri Shankar Roy and Gokulananda Choudhury of Cuttack attended the Poona session of the Indian National Congress in 1895 and Calcutta session of 1896 as the nominees of the Utkal Sabha. Furthermore several of its nominees attended different sessions of Indian National Congress upto 1907 and they were all from Cuttack. Mention may be made of Nanda Kumar Bal, Gopal Chandra Praharaj, Biswanath Rao and Madhusudan Rao. They were found to have actively participated in the discussions pertaining to different programmes of the Indian National Congress.

Thus it is to be seen that Cuttack played a remarkable role in the freedom Movement by sending active representatives to different sessions of Indian National Congress in its first phase. But that was not all. In the formation of separate province of Orissa,the role of Cuttack city was no less remarkable. The Utkal Sabha of Cuttack was the first to make an attempt in this regard. The union of all the Oriya speaking regions was proclaimed as one of its objectives. But more sincere effort was made from 1903 when Madhu Sudan Das founded at Cuttack a political Organisation known as the Utkal Union Conference. In doing so, he took the help of some elites of Cuttack City and Orissan Princes. Its sole aim was to create a

separate province for Orissa by uniting all the Oriya speaking areas lying under Bengal and Madras presidencies and under Central province as well. Its objective as envisaged in the constitution of the Utkal Union Conference as 'For all oriya speaking areas the resolutions are to be made for their development and translated into action... The Utkal Sammilani has also been established for the development of the people of UtKal'.[21] For the time being a provisional working committee was constituted. In its session held on the 25th October 1903 at Cuttack a permanent standing committee was formed with 62 members. Of them ten were elected as the Secretaries. The full fledged session of the conference was held in Cuttack on the 30th November 1903. There-after its sessions were held regularly in different parts of Orissa. It was for the sincere and hectic efforts of the Utkal Sammilani that a province with the name Bihar-Orissa came into existence on the 8th August 1912 But the creation of such a so-called province did not satisfy the champions of the Utkal Union Conference. The then Viceroy Lord Curzon was not even happy with the creation of such an undesirable province. After his return to England, he expressed his view in the House of Lords as 'The creation of Bihar-Orissa province is a colossal mistake of the British Government and such a province will not live long' Naturally in Orissa a protest against this step was voiced and Cuttack city took its lead. The continued efforts of the Utkal Union conference ultimately led the British Government to create a separate province for Orissa. It was on the 1st April 1936 that the separate province of Orissa came into existence. Thus the contribution of the city of Cuttack to the creation of the separate province was invaluable. Cuttack city was also made the capital of this separate province.

Role in the Second Phase of the Freedom Movement (1907-1919)

It was in the second phase of the Freedom Movement commencing from 1907 that Cuttack played its momentous role. During this phase Cuttack city was fortunate enough to see the establishment of two permanent structures, one for holding meeting and another for lodging. Those were the Town Hall of Cuttack and the Kayastha Boarding of which Gouri Shankar Roy was the founder. Realising the necessity of a meeting place he established in 1909 the Cuttack Town Hall which stands even today as a monument of his far-sighted leadership. Similarly for housing the delegates coming to Cuttack from outside, he established in Kathagadasahi a lodging house with the name, 'Kayastha Boarding'.[22]

Freedom Movement marched apace with the launching of the Swaraj Movement. But its impact was not that perceptible in Orissa. That was probably because the leaders of Orissa kept themselves engaged in the creation of a separate province for Orissa. Even then the delegates from Orissa used to attend different sessions of the Indian National Congress regularly. Most of them were nominated from Cuttack by the Utkal Sabha. To the Calcutta session of 1911, nine delegates from Cuttack were sent by the Utkal Sabha. They were Sk. Muhammad Bux, Ananta Kumar Das Gupta, Ban Behari Palit, Biswanath Kar, Gouri Shankar Roy, Mihirlal Jachak, Priyanath Banerjee, Durga Prasad Das Gupta and Radha Prasad Bhagat. Thereafter the Utkal Sabha merged with the Indian National Congress.[23]

It was after 1907 that the militants dominated the Freedom Movement in all India level. Unlike the liberals, they believed in resorting to vio ent means and sacrifice if necessary for the attainment of their goal. Among them, also emerged an Extremist group who believed in striking terror in the hearts of the British officials by making use of the bombs and pistols, so that they would leave the Indian soil. They used to commit political dacoity for the purpose. They were thus known as the Terrorists. Calcutta was the principal centre of their activities. It is really gratifying to note that one inhabitant of Cuttack city was known to have inaugurated Terrorist Movement in Calcutta. He was Hemendra Nath Kanungo.[24]

It was on the 14th September 1914, that an exciting event associated with the Terrorists took place near Jajpur. On that day some Terrorists of Calcutta with the aid of those of a few of Orissa, committed a dacoity in the house of one Sadei Sahu of Chainpur village situated in the vicinity of Jajpur town. They took away gold and silver of worth six thousand rupees From among the Terrorists who helped them, two belonged to Cuttack city. They were Dr. Atal Behari Acharya and Shasanka Shekhar Banerjee.[25]

It was during the Swadeshi Movement that Cuttack city did not remain behind. Being influenced by this Movement and with a view to promoting the economic condition of the Oriyas, Madhusudan Das founded the famous Filgree work in the city of Cuttack. He also established a Tannery at Cuttack which of course was to be closed after some years for the loss it sustained. Madhusudan Das also created among the inhabitants of Orissa including Cuttack a great love for the home-made clothes. He made it so popular that people used to call any handloom cloth as' Madhu Baboo Luga' (Cloth).

In 1919, one event of the Cuttack city helped in fostering the Freedom Movement in Orissa. That was the establishment of an institution called 'Bharati Mandira at Bakharabad. Behind it, lay the encouragement of Gopabandhu Choudhury and the assistance of some students namely Harekrushna Mahatab, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Nityananda Kanungo and young advocate Bhagirathi Mohapatra. Quite a sizeable number of books and journals pertaining to the political affairs were treasured there. The students, advocates and intellectuals of Cuttack city used to meet there every evening and discuss on the events taking place in the political scenrrio of India.[20]

Role In the Non-co-operation Movement (1920-1929)

Meanwhile in Nagpur session of Indian National Congress held in December 1920, the momentous resolution to launch the Non Co-operation movement was adopted. A decision was also taken there to constitute a separate Congress Committee for Orissa. This historic session was attended by Gopabandhu Das, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Jadumani Mangaraj, Niranjan Patnaik, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Mukunda Prasad Das and all of them started from the city of Cuttack.[27] After their return, in a meeting held on the 24th January 1921 in the bank of the river Kathajodi, Gopabandhu Das highlighted on different decisions taken regarding the Non-Co-operation movement and appealed to the people to make this movement a tremendous success. His inspiring speech exercised a hypnotic influence on all those who attended the meeting.

In 1920, Orissa was lashed by a dreadful famine and Cuttack did not escape from its clutches. This famine attracted the attention of Gandhiji towards Orissa.[28] Coming by Puri Express he reached Cuttack on the 23rd March 1921. Ten thousand people were present in Cuttack Railway station to receive him. He was brought in a decorated motor car. While shouting the full throated slogan "Mahatma Gandhi ki joy", the people were playing kirtan throughout the route.[29] He was first brought to Swaraj Ashram. Originally it was the residence of Prof. Raibahadur Jogesh Chandra Roy of Ravenshaw College taken on hire to house a mess. Subsequently Gopabandhu Das converted it to an Ashram for the Congress workers by naming it as Swaraj Ashram.[30] Meanwhile on the 23rd evening Gandhiji addressed a largely attended meeting arranged in the bank of the river Kathajodi. Nearly 50,000 people were known to have attended. He also attended a series of meetings arranged by different forums in Cuttack. One such meeting was held in the Binod Bihari temple complex arranged by

the Marwadi and Gujurati merchants. There he discussed with them on the matters relating to the boycott of foreign clothes. Similarly on the 24th March, Gandhiji attended one meeting with the Muslims at Kadamarasul at 10. A.M., another with the women at 2 P.M. and finally at 5 P.M. with the students and young advocates. In all these meetings he reiterated on making the Non Co-operation Movement a success by boycotting foreign goods, clothes, schools, colleges and government jobs. Being enamoured by his august personality and speeches some students of Ravenshaw College boycotted the class and participated in the Non-Co-operation Movement. Prominent among them were Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Nityananda Kanungo Nabakrushna Choudhuri and Rajkrushna Bose. Similarly Gopabandhu Choudhury and Gopabandhu Das by giving up respectively the posts of Deputy Collector and Legal Practitioner gave a new look to the Movement. It was by this time that the cloth merchants of Cuttack city established an association for finding out the ways and means to make the boycott programme foreign goods a success. Deciding to prevent the entry of foreign clothes to the interior areas of the Cuttack city, the members of the association along with some volunteers used to go to Railway Station every day for the purpose.[31] In March 1921 a separate Congress committee was founded in the name 'Utkal Pradesh Congress, with Cuttack city as its Head Quarters. Gopabandhu Das elected as its President, Dr. Ekram Ali, the Vice president, Bhagirathi Mohapatra the secretary and Braja Bandhu Das as the Joint Secretary. Twelve members from this Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee were also elected to represent Orissa in the All India Congress Committee. Of them, mention may be made of Gopabandhu Das, Jagabandhu Singh, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Harekrushna Mahatab, Nilakantha Das, Bhagirathi Mahapatra, Jagabandhu Panda and Atal Bihari Acharya.[32] The Non-Co-operation movement in Cuttack city did not end there.

Even after the departure of Gandhiji from Cuttack the movement continued to flow unabated. Meetings were held almost daily at different places in Cuttack city and speeches were delivered on the establishment of national school, handspinning, boycott of schools and colleges, courts and formation of Panchayat courts. Simultaneously the people were appealed to refrain themselves from drinking wine. In all such meetings the leaders like Upendra Prasad Das, Niranjan Patnaik and Braja Sundar Das took active part.[33]

It was by this time the Khilafat Movement was afoot in all India level. And Cuttack responded to it in right earnest. The Muslims of Cuttack constituted a Khilafat Committee with Dr. Ekram Ali as its President. Its Principal office was housed at Kadamrasul.

Furthermore, during the Non Co-operation Movement Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab along with some volunteers of Cuttack city staged Satyagraha infront of the train carrying foreign clothes. They succeeded in obstructing the movement of the train for some time. Of course for this step Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab and five of his associates were sentenced each to 15 days imprisonment. Furthermore, the students of Medical college of Cuttack also participated in the Non-Co-operation movement Some of them along with a few other students founded an Association called 'Swaraj Sebaka Sangha' Brajabandhu Das became its President. Naba Krushna Choudhury, Ram Prasad Singh, Raghu Rout and Raj Krishna Bose remained its members. It was during this Non Co-operation movement that Rajkrishna Bose, Dr Atal Behari Acharya, Dr Ekram Ali and a few others were arrested from Cuttack and sent to Hazaribag jail. While taken to the jail custody of Cuttack the Police tied ropes around their waist and took round the streets of Cuttack under the hot sun. And that was not all.[34]

A National school was established in Nua Bazar area of Cuttack city Behind it, lay the effort of Madhusudan Biswal, Damodar Mohanty and Dr. Atal Behari Acharya. It was during the Non Co-operation movement that Rajgopal Chari, Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and V. J. Patel came to Cuttack on the 3rd August 1922 and discussed with the leaders on the feasibility of a Civil Disobedience movement in future. The prominent among the leaders with whom they discussed were Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nilakantha Das and Godabarish Mishra. Furthermore Subash Chandra Bose paid a visit to Cuttack in the 3rd week of August 1922. His visit added momentum to the Freedom Movement in Orissa. In 1923, the conference of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was held at Cuttack with Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy in the Presidential chair. In Cuttack too the various programmes of the Swaraj Party established by Chittaranjan Das were implemented.

Mahatma Gandhi came to Cuttack for the second time in 1925. This time he was invited by Madhusudan Das to visit his Utkal Tannery. He reached Cuttack on the 19th August and paid a visit to his farm. On that day he also addressed a large gathering in the Municipality compound. He also visited the leprosy colony situated in the outskirt of the Cuttack city.[35]

The year 1927 was significant in the Orissan history. That year Gandhiji came to Orissa for the third time. He arrived at Cuttack on the 20th December and became the guest of Gopal Chandra Praharaj. On the occasion of his visit a meeting was arranged at Cuttack in the evening of

that day. That was the day when Gandhiji observed silence for which he did not open his mouth. So his speech was read out in the meeting. Next day he attended a meeting of the Congress Workers and discussed with them on various matters with regard to the Freedom Movement. During the discussion one Congress leader asked him a question, "Why do you advise us not to take any revenge even if we are beaten ? "In reply he said "The Non violent agitation is more effective. Follow it to the letter and proceed ahead" Furthermore, Gandhiji also instructed the workers thus, "Those who want to serve for Orissa, let them spin in Charakha and make Orissa the store house of Khadi in India" He also told them "The humanity has submerged around the sea on all sides. You give" greater attention to human values." In this Congress-workers conference he entrusted the responsibility of the sale of Khadi to the workers present there. Then from Cuttack he proceeded to Madras.[36]

In 1928,Cuttack had the privilege of becoming the base of a mysterious event. It was for introducing democratic set up in India, that the British government appointed a commission of seven members in 1927 with John Simon as its Chairman. Unfortunately all those seven members were British people. So the Indian National Congress, Muslim League and all other political parties were opposed to the formation of this commission. Gopabandhu Das criticised it as 'Simon Sata Bhaya' (seven simon brothers), However, despite the opposition the Simon Commission arrived in India in 1928. So it was greeted every where with black flag and slogan, "Go back Simon" In this boycott agitation Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Pandit Gobinda Ballav Pant were injured in police lathicharge. Similarly at Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai was beaten by the police. Finally he breathed his last in the injury he sustained and became a martyr. But while the atmosphere in India was surcharged with cry of hostility it is a wonder of wonders that a few leaders of Orissa decided to welcome Simon Commission and present their demand to make Orissa a separate province.

This decision was taken in Cuttack and accordingly a delegation was sent to Patna and did all that was decided. From among the members of the delegation, justice Harihar Mahapatra was one. He is still with us.[37] However, Simon Commission made a note of their demand and recommended in its report to create the separate province of Orissa. This recommendation paved the way for the creation of the separate province of Orissa. Of course, this action of the leaders of Orissa caused great annoyance to the top-ranking leaders of Indian National Congress. Specially Motilal Nehru in the Calcutta Session of the Congress condemned this action vehemently as

it was against the interest of Indian National Congress. But the leaders did it in the interest of their motherland and had they not adopted such a method, who knows the creation of the separate province of Orissa might have been delayed for some years more ?

After 1928, the event moved fast in Freedom Movement and along with it Cuttack marched apace. Mean-while the chief Director of the Freedom Movement in Orissa Gopabandhu Das passeo away on the 27th June 1928. That was the day of the Netroshtaba. The news of his sad demise shocked the people of Cuttack most because Cuttack had been the pivotal centre of his activities. All political institutions of Cuttack observed mourning. Then a meeting of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was convened at Cuttack in December 1922 to elect office bearers for the year 1930. There Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab was elected as the President, Gopabandhu Choudhury the Secretary, Raj Krushna Bose the Joint Secretary. Ten members were also elected to represent Orissa in All Indian National Congress. Of them mention may be made of Godabarish Mishra, Harekrushna Mahatab, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nanda Kishore Das, Gobinda Chandra Mishra, Bhagirathi Mohapatra.[38]

In 1929 December, the annual session of Indian National Congress was held at Lahore with Jawaharlal Nehru in the chair. In this session, on the 31st December 1929 a historic resolution for complete Independence of India was adopted by the sincere effort of Jawaharlal Nehru. It was also resolved to observe the 26th January 1930 as Independence day. Accordingly on that day the Independence day was observed in Cuttack city in great solemnity. The National Flag was hoisted in Swaraj Ashram and Lokaseba Ashram. In the evening a great meeting was held in the city. Furthermore on the 3rd March 1930 a Public meeting was arranged in the bank of the river Kathjodi. Speeches were delivered on the policies and programmes of Mahatma Gandhi, in the evening and speakers were Gopabandhu Choudhury, Jadumani Mangaraj, Nilakantha Das, Dr. Atal Behari Acharya, Pranakrushna Padhihari, Purna Chandra Bose and a few others.[39]

Thus it is to be seen that Cuttack city played no less eventful a role in the Non-Co-operation Movement and in the events following it. Their of course the curtain was not rung down on the role of Cuttack city in the Freedom Movement.

The roll of Cuttack city in the Civil Dis-obedience Movement (1930-41)

In 1929, in the same historic Lahore session of the Indian National Congress, it was decided to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji accordingly appealed to the people to make it a success. The first step in this direction was to break the salt law. The working committee of the Indian National Congress instructed all provincial congress committees to follow it in right earnest. So the Utkal provincial Congress Committee did not remain behind. In the residence of Gopabandhu Choudhury, a meeting of the members of Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was held with Dr. Mahatab in the chair. Some members expressed their opinions to join with Mahatma Gandhi in his Dandi March and not to do anything separately in Orissa. But Dr Mahatab was known to have influenced the members to break the salt law at Inchudi in the District of Balasore with Gopabandhu Choudhury taking the lead. It was agreed upon. Accordingly two days after the Dandi March, on the 6th April 1930, twenty one volunteers started from Cuttack. While Gopabandhu Choudhury took the leadership, Acharya Harihar Dash, Gopabandhu Mishra, Dr. Mahatab, Laxmi Narayan Mishra, Gouranga Charan Das, Jadumani Mangaraj, Krupasindhu Hota, Pranakrushna Padhihari, Rajkrushna Bose, Binod Kanungo and a few others volunteered themselves to join the party. The march was formally opened by Rama Devi and Malati Devi by garlanding each one of the volunteers. On the way Gopabandhu Choudhury and Atal Behari Acharya were arrested on the 8th April. There after Acharya Harihar Dash took the lead.[40] In this way as many as four batches of volunteers started from Cuttack and proceeded to Inchudi. While the second batch started on the 9th April, the third batch started on the 13th April. Besides them some volunteers of other political institutions proceeded from Cuttack to Inchudi. Of those, mention may be made of Louha Stambha Bahini of Cuttack Patita Paban Bahini of Puri, Swechha Sebi Bahinis from Sambalpur and Ganjam. Carrying salt from Inchudi they sold it in Cuttack city on 18th April in a public meeting presided over by Jatiya Kabi Bira Kishore Das. There he opened the meeting with a patriotic song of which he himself was the author. One stanza may be quoted here "The enemy has not gone back, our struggle has not yet been over. Oh ! My brothers come more and more to our camp. (Ari pheri naihin, Yudhaya sari nahin, Asha he sibire Asha mora Bhai".[41] In this meeting an eye witness Krushna Chandra Padhi gave a short account of all that happened at Inchudi. On the 26th April some leaders namely Jadumani Mangaraj, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab were arrested. Later on Pranakrushna Padihari,

Krupasindhu Hota, Chintamani Mishra and few others were arrested from Cuttack. There of course the Civil Disobedience Movement did not end in Cuttack city. It was on the 3rd May 1930 in a general meeting at Cuttack, that Malati Choudhury burnt bales of foreign clothes. Similarly on the 7th May 1930 at Cuttack a protest meeting was arranged for the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. The same illustrious lady Malati Choudhuri led a public procession which passed through different streets of Cuttack city, under the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose. Some advocates of Cuttack city also promised to wear country-made uniforms.[42]

Having seen unprecedented success of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Cuttack city the British authorities resorted to some suppressive measures. To start with, the activities of the Congress Party were declared unlawful. Apropos this declaration, the Congress office established in Cuttack city was locked by the police on the 13th December 1930. So next day a complete Haratal was observed in the city The front-ranking leaders like Malati Choudhury and Lingaraj Mishra were arrested. But all these measures affected least the flow of the Freedom Movement in Cuttack city. Cuttack city participated in the social programmes heralded by Mahatma Gandhi.[43]

Gandhiji started the Harijan Movement in all India level. Its programme was published in the Magazine 'the Harijana' of which the publication was started in 1933. However, this Harijan Movement under the leadership of Rama Devi was found to have achieved extraordinary success in Cuttack city. Gandhiji was so much pleased with her work that he got her report published in the 'Harijana' in the issue of the 25th March 1931. An extract of her report is as follows. "From last October I have been working with the Harijans along with seven other sisters. Our work is confined to Cuttack city. We have been working as volunteers with unflinching devotion by the direction of the untouchability Committee".[44]

It was in 1934, that Gandhiji came to Orissa for the fourth time. This time he came through Jharsuguda and reached Cuttack on the 16th May 1934. On the occasion of his visit in the evening, a meeting was arranged in the bank of the river Kathajodi. A sensational event was known to have taken place before the commencement of the meeting. Some sanatani Pandits with some of their followers showed Black flags to Mahatma Gandhi because he was championing the Harijan Movement. But a man with Himalayan patience as he was, Gandhiji stood least worried for the same. Rather he told them to speak out first in the meeting

all that they had to say. So they were taken to the Pandal. After their speeches Gandhiji explained the importance of the Harijan Movement with such convincing argument that the attitude of the Pandits was completely changed.[45] This time the women of Cuttack donated rupees seventy eight and eight annas in a meeting held on the occasion of his visit. Some others also collected money from the people and donated an amount to the tune of 822 rupees eight annas. During Gandhiji's visit to Cuttack Rama Devi was running an Ashram for the volunteers. On her request, he visited the Ashram. He was so much pleased with the working of the Ashram that he complimented her thus "Rama Devi and her small group are working nicely. I have not seen it anywhere else. For their own self they have not demanded any special privilege".[46]

Meanwhile the Freedom Movement made rapid strides and with it, the Kaleidoscopic changes took place in the political scenario of India. In the Indian National Congress, were formed two groups known as Prochangers and nochangers. The no-changers pledged firm faith on the policy of Gandhiji. They also formed an association called 'Gandhi Seba Sangha' Acharya Harihar Das and Gopabandhu Choudhury remained in charge of the Orissa branch of the Singha. As such they remained away from the policies in connection with the election to be held in 1937 and devoted their whole hearted attention to the organisation of this association. Its Headquarters was located at Cuttack. Meanwhile in 1937 election the congress party contested and bagged majority of votes in most of the provinces including Orissa. So the Congress ministry was formed in Orissa with Biswanath Das as the Chief Minister. His office was established in Cuttack city.

The year 1938 was a land-mark in the Freedom movement in Orissa. That year the fourth session of the Gandhi Seba Sangha was convened at Delanga in Puri district from 25 th March to the 31st March. Although the city of Cuttack did not directly participate in this session still then many leaders from this city remained in charge of its management. Gopabandhu Choudhury was the chairman of the Reception committee for this session. Furthermore, the chairman of Cuttack municipality Satyanarayan Sengupta discussed in this session on 27th March about the drainage system of Cuttack city.[48]

Then the year 1939 approached. It was a fateful year indeed in the history of mankind. That year the dreadful and devastating Second World War broke out. The then Viceroy Lord Linlith Gow without consulting the Indian leaders made India one of the allies of England. This action stirred

India from end to end and caused indignation among the Indians. On the 14th September 1939, the Indian National Congress took a decision not to extend any help to England and her Allies unless she announces to give complete Independence to India after the World War. Thus an anti-war agitation was afoot in India and Orissa as before took active part in this agitation. Both the Congress and socialist party workers took the leadership and Cuttack became their principal centre of action.

To start with, the Congress ministry resigned in Orissa on the 4th November 1939. Side by side the students and volunteers were encouraged to strengthen the anti-war agitation. But the Muslim League being influenced by the British authorities did not accept the anti-war move of the Congress. Consequently the anti Muslim League agitation was launched. Cuttack city too became the theatre of the operation of this agitation. From the 7th January to 13th January 1940 they had some meetings in Cuttack city under the auspices of the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee. On the other hand some muslims of Orissa took the decision to support the demand of the Muslim League. Accordingly the Pakistan day was observed in Cuttack as elsewhere on the 19th April 1940.[47]

Meanwhile the condition of the Allied power in the Second World war became miserable. In 1940, the fall of England became imminent. In this critical situation, Gandhi was moved to sympathise the British. On the 1st June 1940, he expressed thus "We do not want independence in lieu of the disaster of England". So he introduced the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement in place of the Mass Civil Disobedience Movement launched till then. He inaugurated it in November 1940.

This Individual Civil Disobedience Movement opened in Orissa on the 1st December 1940. Pranakrushna Padhiary was appointed the Provincial Director to conduct this Movement. In the first phase, ten Satyagrahies were known to have participated in this movement. They all were arrested. Of them Biswanath Das was arrested at Cuttack. A few days before the commencement of the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement a conference of All Indian Bharat Sebak Samaj was held at Cuttack from 24th November to 28th November 1940. It was attended by the prominent leaders of all India stature like Purusottam Das Tondon, Haranath Shastri, and Balabanta Rao Mehta. This conference exercised a good deal of influence on the people of Orissa in general and those of Cuttack in particular. Similarly on the 27th January 1941, M. N. Roy came to Cuttack. In his honour a meeting was arranged with Pandit Nilakantha Das as the President. It was a largely

attended meeting. His visit to Cuttack helped in accelerating the progress of the National Movement.[45]

In December 1941, the Individual Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended. So Cuttack city remained quiet in the political field, for sometime. Yet that year from Cuttack Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab edited a journal 'Rachana'. In it, figured the important matters published in Harijan Magazine. This was of course done with explicit understanding between the editor of the Harijan and that of Rachana. Besides these writings some significant news and views were published in Rachana to make the people patient and courageous during the Second world war.

In 1942 the city of Cuttack was fortunate enough to have the presence of an outstanding woman leader. She was Mira Ben. English by birth she was the daughter of a Naval Commander. Her early name was Miss Slade. The political philosophy and constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi influenced her so much so that she decided to stay in India and dedicate her life to the cause of the Indians. On Mira Ben's request Mahatma Gandhi sent her to Cuttack. In the wake of her visit to Cuttack in May 1942 Mahatma Gandhi wrote a letter to Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab in-forming him of the programme of Mira Ben. So Mahatab received her at the Cuttack Railway Station and took to a meeting arranged on the occasion of her visit. There she threw light on different programmes of Mahatma Gandhi and appealed to the people to prepare themselves for giving a stubborn fight to the Japanese in event of their attack on India. After the meeting Mira Ben proceeded to Bhadrak. Meanwhile the Utkal Congress Socialist Party was established with Surendra Nath Diwedi as its President, The working Secretary of All India Congress Socialist Party Ramananda Mishra came to Cuttack in July 1942. His main purpose of the visit was to collect facts on the political condition of Orissa. However, a meeting was arranged in Cuttack on the occasion of his visit. There he highlighted on the objectives of his newly formed party. The protection of Indians from the tyranny of the British officers, capitalists and zamindars were certain objectives that he placed in the meeting. His speech was found to have greatly influenced all who were present. It was during this time that the Utkal Provincial Kishan Sabha was also constituted.[46]

The role in Quit India Movement and After (1942-1947)

The year 1942 proved to be most momentous in the history of Freedom Movement in India. That year Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi took a decisive step and that was the

adoption of the Quit India Resolution and following it the movement. This resolution was prepared by the working committee of the Indian National Congress which met on the 14th April 1942 at Wardha. It was finally adopted in a general session of the Indian National Congress. On the 8th April in Golia Tank field at Bombay four delegates from Cuttack city attended the session. They were Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Malati Choudhury, Surendra Nath Diwedi and Prahlad Roy Lath. Prior to it, an interesting event was known to have taken place in Cuttack in April 1942. That was about a top secret letter of the British government on mobilising public opinion against the Quit India Movement. One advocate named Bhupen Bose skilfully managed to steal a secret instruction of the British government and handed it over to Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab. This was written by the Secretary to the government of India Frederick Pulk to all Provincial governments. The copy of this letter was circulated by the then Deputy Secretary Durga Charan Das to all District Magistrates and S. D. Os of Orissa. In this letter the Provincial governments were directed to create public opinion against the proposed Quit India Movement. The copy of this secret instruction was handed over by Dr. Mahatab to Gandhiji at Wardha with understanding that he would not disclose his name because in future the source of getting further secret instructions might be jeopardised. Gandhiji also promised to publish it under his responsibility.[50]

However, it was after the adoption of the Quit India resolution that the British government arrested on the 9th August 1942 early morning all the top ranking members of Indian National Congress including Gandhiji. Dr. Mahatab was also arrested and taken to Ahmad Nagar Fort. On the very day at 12 Noon some potential leaders of Orissa were also arrested in Cuttack. They were Gopabandhu Choudhury, Rama Devi, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Biswanath Das, Nityananda Kanungo, Raj Krushna Bose, Surendra Nath Patnaik, Prana Krushna Padhiary, Manmohan Choudhury, Radhanath Rath and Acharya Harihar Das. Meanwhile on the 11th August 1942, Surendra Nath Diwedi coming from Bombay arrived at Cuttack and next day Malati Choudhury arrived. Their arrival surcharged the political atmosphere of Cuttack with rebeliuos spirit. Surendranath Diwedy remaining underground, conducted the movement. As all the Congress offices were closed by the government then, he opened his office in the house of Nandi Sahu of Alisabazar. Since all the prominent leaders of Orissa were in Jail, Surendra Nath Diwedy shouldered the responsibility of directing the movement at that critical juncture. In fact, he became the hero of the hour. In official work he was helped by Mathuru Nanda Sahu, the son of Nandi Sahu. In order to make known to the people about the progress, Diwedy secretly published

two journals namely 'Congress Barta' and 'Satya Sambad' While writing letters to different branches he was giving the pen name C. O[51]...

In the sense, the Quit India Movement in Orissa started from Cuttack city. It was on the 15th August 1942 that about 200 students of Ravenshaw College burnt the College office and destroyed some important documents and materials. Banamali Patnaik, Ashok Das, Biren Mitra, Suraj Malla Shah and Bibhudendu Mishra were in the fore front. After inquiry Suraj Malla Shah and Bibhudendu Mishra were found to have taken active part and hence were arrested and sent to Berhampur jail. The remaining students with the help of Congress leaders moved from place to place in Cuttack city and appealed to government servants to boycott their jobs and to the people to refrain from paying taxes to the government and destroy the Railway and Telegraph lines. Hartal was also observed in Ravenshaw College and it had its chronic effects. There after almost all of the educational institutions of Cuttack city observed Haratal.[52]

During 1942 Movement, the editors of two newspapers published from Cuttack namely 'Samaj' and 'New Orissa' appealed to the then Viceroy for releasing Mahatma Gandhi. They got this news published in their respective papers. After the release of Mahatma Gandhi in 1944 a large meeting was held in Cuttack city to express their overwhelming joy over the release of Gandhiji. In 1945, Gandhiji, during his journey from Calcutta to Madras was to get down at Cuttack. The train reached Cuttack Railway Station at Mid-night. Mahatma Gandhi was bewildered to see such a huge congregation in the station in such an unearthly hour. But the people being exalted with joy shouted and indiscipline was thus caused. Having seen it Gandhiji immediately came out and expressed his annoyance saying, "I greatly love Orissa. But what are you exhibiting ? Is it non-violence ? Is this the discipline by which we shall face the atomic bomb. I do not want your loud cheer nor need your money. I want your soul to be pure and that is my joy" So Gandhi did not get down at Cuttack. He went to Madras. The role of Cuttack city in Freedom Movement did not end there. In 1946, the proposal for the partition of India was condemned at Cuttack in a public meeting. Of the leaders who took prominent part in the meeting were Nilakantha Das, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, Laxmi Narayan Sahu of Bharat Kishan Samaj and Maharaja of Paralakhemundi. They also delivered speeches against the proposal.

In 1946, the Congress ministry was formed in Orissa with Harekrushna Mahatab as the Prime Minister. Cuttack city remained as the capital. From here Dr. Mahatab issued an order to release all the Prisoners.

When India achieved Independence on the 15th August the occasion was celebrated in Cuttack city with pomp and splendour and with maddening joy. The city of Cuttack also played a role in the amalgamation of Gadajat States with Orissa. For this purpose, Mahatma Gandhi sent information to Mahatab saying "If you can give the consent of atleast two Rajas of Orissa I will tell Patel to proceed in this matter". So Dr. Mahatab tried and succeeded in getting the consent from the Raja of Hindol and Rajmata of Ranapur. Such letters were handed over to Mahatma Gandhi. Consequently towards the last part of 1948, Rajas signed in Cuttack Raj Bhawan the Instrument of Accession. Raja of Patna, Rajendra Narayan Singh Deo was the first to sign.

In this way Cuttack city playing a prominent role from 1857 to 1947 has glorified the history of Orissa and conved out a permanent niche in the historic edifice of the Freedom Movement. It has added a glorious cap to the feather of the Movement.

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Mahatma Gandhi and Cuttack

Sri Gopal Krishna Das

Mahatma Gandhi doubtless belongs to the whole country, indeed to all mankind. He spent every moment of his life to serve the poor in India and through them, all human throughout the world. Gandhiji was a dynamic leadership in many ways. His mobility and contact with every corner of India made it possible for him to convey his inspiring message almost personally and the masses and elite as well. So every nook and corner of India and every sector of the population could therefore claim him as its own.

Wherever Gandhiji went and whomsoever he met, he conquered the hearts of men; he awakened the conscience of humanity; he made the people aware of what he called soul-force or satyagraha, which enables own to fight evil and injustice even single-handedly.

It could be unwise and dereliction of duty if we do not acquaint the younger generation with how Gandhi went round each state or city and delivered his universal message of truth and non-violence of freedom and dignity of man. So we should remember of what Gandhi said and did in Cuttack and treasure the memory of those days which brought newlife and strength to our people.

To bigin with, Gandhi emerged on the political scence of India only in 1915. He established his political contacts through the existing congress Organisation. When Utkalmani Gopabandhu invited Gandhi in Nagpur Congress to pay a visit to Orissa he gave his promise. Earlier, in 1916, Gandhi had deputed Amritlal Thakker to work on the flood and famine affected parts of the state. He had a very soft corner in his heart for the people of Orissa who were mostly poverty stricken. Once Gandhi said, "Orissa haunts me like a nightmare. Such a splendid country and yet poverty-stricken ? The workers good and so helpless."

However, Gandhiji was anxious to visit Orissa to see for himself the conditions of the people. His political activities kept him so busy that he found no time to visit Orissa. Despite his heavy preoccupation in various

matters of freedom struggle he managed to make time to visit Orissa, when non Co-operation movement was in full swing in Cuttack.

At the end of an all India whirlwind tour, Gandhi visited for the first time in 23rd March 1921. When Gandhi arrived at Cuttack station by Puri Express, ten thousands men and women came there to have a glimpse of the Mahatma. The people of Cuttack had great veneration for the Mahatma and received him as an incarnation of God and a 'worker of Miracles'[1] Gandhiji, Kasturaba and the 'youngest son Devdas were taken to the swaraj Ashram in a procession of thousands of people. Seventy-two kirtan parties were singing devotional songs. His car was decorated with flowers. People have made many gates and placed purnakumbha or sacred pots throughout the city to welcome Gandhiji heartily. Many girls and women also showered flower petals on Mahatma from the top of buildings. We can get full details, how the depressed and mumed people of Cuttack greeted Gandhiji whole heartedly from the Amrit Bazar Patrika[2] and the Samaj.[3]

The same day in the afternoon Gandhiji addressed a large gathering of women in Binod Bihari. Gandhiji while addressing the meeting appealed to the women folk of Orissa to work for their country's independence for the cause of the country. Rama Devi acted on the advice of Gandhiji and donated around 100 tolas of her personal gold for Satyagraha. On the very day she bagan to wear khadi and lead a simple life.[4]

In the evening Gandhi addressed a large gathering on the sands of Kathajodi river near Hatigadaghat, which was named as Gandhighat in memory of the first public meeting of Mahatma held there. The place so to say, was sanctified and all subsequent meetings organised by the Utkal Congress in Cuttack were held on that memorable spot. By way of introducing Gandhi to the citizen of Cuttack Utkalmani Gapabandhu told the audience

"All the great religious preachers of India have set foot on the sacred soil of Orissa. Greatmen from Buddha upto Kabir, Ramanuj, Shankar, Nanak, Chaitanya and others who have lived in India have their symbols in Orissa. About three hundred years ago on this very day of Holy, Chaitanya Dev had preached the doctrine of love on these sands. Today three hundred years after on that very day another greatman is here to preach the doctrine of political love."[5]

Nearly Fifty thousand people were present in the Kathjori river bed. Gandhiji sat on a chair, which was placed on a long table. At that time

Gandhi put on dhoti, Paijama and a khadada topi. Kasturaba and Gopabandhu sitted on that stage. In his long speech Gandhi explained about non-violence, non-cooperation, self-reliance,untouchability and communal harmony. One gentleman asked the future of English language in India. Gandhi firmly said to avoid English language. Many educated persons, members of Bramha Samaj and newspapers of India have criticised the remark of Gandhi. Gandhi also published an article about his Cuttack speech in Young India magazine.[6] The editor of the Utkal Dipika also published full speech of Gandihji on 24 Sept-1921 paper. Gandhiji set the following target for the people of Orissa-enrollment of three lakhs of Congress remembers distribution of one lakhs charakhas or spinning wheels and collections of three lakhs of rupees for Tilak Swaraj Fund. Around forty women leaders including Rama Devi, Sarojini Choudhury, Hiranmayi Devi, Haimavati Devi, Sarala Devi attended this meeting held on the river bank of Kathajori.

Gandhiji stayed in Swaraj Ashram. Pandit Gopabandhu looked after the arrangements for his stay and other programmes. Gandhi wanted to meet the cross-sections of the society. On 24th morning, he attained a Private meeting, arranged by the Muslim Community, which was an instant success. He explained about Khilafat Movement and appealed them to make their Contribution to the attainment of Swaraj and for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. He also requested to give money to Tilak Fund in a separate meeting held on the same day night, organised by business community of Marwadi and Gujarati.[8] Gandhi also addressed the meeting of students and lawyers. Then he went to Bhadrak and then to Puri to have the first-hand experience of the famine-stricken villagers. On 31st March he left for Kokanada (Andhra) to attend the All-India Congress session.[9] Orissa remained in his heart as the epitome of India's Poverty. It is said that as a mark of permanent sympathy for the Poverty stricken people of Orissa he decided never to wear full dhoti hereafter.

Gandhiji's second visit to Cuttack was at the invitation of Utkalgaurava Madhusudan Das. He arrived at Cuttack Railway Station on the 19th August 1925. He was taken to the residence of Madhusudan in a big Procession. He was received by large enthusiastic Crowds with blowing of louch shell and shouts of slogan Mohatma Gandhi-ki-Jay (Victory to Mahatma Gandhi), Gandhi went to Utkal Tannery, situated with a vast land near Chauliaganj. He was received by the directors and labourers. They gave garlands to Mahatmaji. Gandhi visited tannery with Satis Chandra Dasgupta Mahajan Rangalal and Mahadev Desai. Utkal Gourav Madhusudan and

Utkalmani Gopabandhu showed them the factory and discussed various problems of tannery. Gandhi spent one hour there. The lobourers of Utkal tannery gave a memorandum to Gandhi. He blessed and promised to help them. He appreciated the project of tannery as a big venture in the field of Cottage industry in Orissa. On the 20th morning, Gandhi addressed a meeting held in the Church premises of Cuttack. Madhusudan translated his speech to Oriya Language. He also addressed a mass meeting in the Municipality compound and visited Cuttack 'Kustashram' and spinning Centres in Swaraj Ashram. In his staying at Cuttack some people requested to solve the problem of Universal script. Gandhi also wrote about this issue in the 'Young India' of 27th Aug. 1925. Gandhi also being influenced by Madhusudan established a tannery at his Sabaramati Ashram. Gandhi wrote on 16th March 1928 to Madhusudan thus " You have opened my eyes in the field of Cottage industry." We come to know how Gandhi deeply thought of every problems of Cuttack and how far he as himself involved with day to day affairs of Cuttack from his letters of 10th May 1928 and 3rd Nov., 3rd Dec. 1927 published in Young India.

The third visit of Mahatma Gandhi was in Connection with Propagation of Khadi. This time he stayed 17 days in Orissa. Mahadev Desai, Kaka Kalekar and Miraben accompanied him. Gandhi reached Cuttack on 18th Dec. He had developed high blood pressure due to extreme exertion. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray, C.F. Andrews and many others came on receipt of the news of Gandhiji's illness. Gandhi also broke silence to meet Madhusudan on 19th. His programme to visit Alaka Ashram of Gopabandhu Choudhury and Champapur Ashram of Gobinda Mishra was cancelled due to illness. So Miraben laid foundation of Champapur Ashram and read the message of Mahatma Gandhi. Though Gandhi attended a meeting at Cuttack on the 20th December evening, he could not be able to speak. So his written message was read out before the audience. Two citations were presented to Mahatmaji by Cuttack Municipality and Local Board in this meeting. This time Gandhi was the guest of Gopal Chandra Praharaj. He visited his Bhasakosh foundation. He again visited Cuttack Kustashram on 21st and same night he started for Madras by Madras mail.

Gandhiji's fourth visit is a memorable incident for the whole Country. He wanted to have the first-hand knowledge about the condition of the people in the Villages. So he started Harijan movement this time. He arrived on 5th May 1934 at Sambalpur and attended some meetings there. He appealed to the people to join Non-cooperation movement On his way to Puri he collected funds at Cuttack Railway Station. He started "Harijan

Padajatra from Puri and reached the border of Cuttack district on 15th May. Meeraben, Uma Bajaj, A. V. Thakker, K. Bhuto, Mangla Sengupta, Acharya Harihar, Nilakanta Das, Harekrushna Mahatab, Gapabandhu Choudhury, Raj Krishna Bose, Pravabati Devi, Rama Devi, Arnapurna Maharana were taking leading part in this historic Harijan Padajatra.

Many people spent night at Balianta to participate in the protection. Representatives of Samaj came there to send detailed news to Gopabandhu Bhaban for publication. Baidyanath Balunkeswar Acharya, Lingaraj babu and Satyanarayan babu halted there to welcome and receive Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of Cuttack Citizens. There was so heavy rush to see Gandhi and to touch the feet that red dust of road covered the whole atmosphere. Though he laboured hard and walked 10 miles daily during the padajatra in hot summer and gave up to drink orange juice, still then his weight increased of 5 pounds. Then his weight was 110 pounds. Gandhiji reached telenga pentha in the evening and attended the meeting. Thousands of people listened his speech silently.

Next day he reached Kazipatna. A citation was presented to Bapuji on behalf of four villages near Kathjodi river bank. Many people from Cuttack came to Kazipatna by cycle and cart. They brought tiffin with them. On the way from telengapentha to Kazipatna People song devotional songs i.e. Bhajans, Sankirtan, Ramdhun in the procession. Some people showered flowers on Bapuji. Many ladies of Cuttack gave valuable gold ornaments to him. An old woman of 80, presented a cloth to Mahatma. He auctioned all ornaments and the cloth at the spot.

Wherever Gandhi rested, he addressed meetings there. Everyday many Congress leaders and volunteers of different areas came and discussed with Gandhiji about the future programme of the struggle. Gandhiji was very much pleased to see world famous filgree works of Cuttack. After ending the meeting Harihar Mahapatra requested Gandhi to visit cottage industry of Bhikari Pattanaik and Mr. Mahapatra also presented an Indian map, an unbreakable toy and some Aendi cotton to Mahatmaji.

Gandhiji attended a vast meeting in the evening. There were also some black flag demonstrators, arranged by the followers of Swami Lalnath. The demonstration however made no impression on the people who were anxious for a darshan of Bapuji. He also allowed Pandit Lalnath to give his view on stage on the entrance to the temple. Sameday he attended the meeting at Sri Ram Chandra Bhaban, arranged by Women. Gandhiji

delivered his speech after the welcome address of Sarala Devi. Then he visited all sections of unbreakable toy factory of Bhikari Pattnaik. Gandhi left Cuttack on 16th May to attend A.I.C.C. meeting held at Patna.

After returning from Patna, he again started his second Phase foot march from May 21st to 8th June. This time there was a German Nazi named Kurt Butto in Gandhiji's camp. Besides this many famous people like Minu Masani, Lala Achinta Ramji, Miss Agatha Harisan of Britain and Swiss engineer Mr. Piar Sirisola industrialist G. D. Birala also participated in historic foot-march. Gandhi moved to many villages and discussed all social, economic and political problems. He moved like Buddha, Nanak, Chaitanya and other religious reformers who moved on foot for propagation of their mission. Gandhi said, "memory of this Padajatra is very sweet. I will again start this type of Padajatra, if chance comes". When Lingaraj Babu requested him to give a message for Samaj, Gandhiji wrote—"It is my hope and prayer that as a result of the pilgrimage Orissa will produce single minded workers of spotless character, who will devote themselves wholeheartedly to the work for the removal of untouchability which is the greatest blot on Hinduism"

Gandhiji stayed at village Berboi, near Delang from March 25th to 31st. Sri Satya Narayan Sengupta, President of Cuttack Municipality discussed with Gandhi about the drainage system and water supply problem of the city. About the work undertaken by women workers for the upliftment of Harijans Gandhiji remarked—"I hope, therefore, that the example of the women of Cuttack will prove infectious and that the work begun by Smt. Rama Devi and her companions will be continued in spite of the difficulties and disappointments that they might have to face". (Harijan of 25th March, 1933) Gandhi also again remarked, "I have had the privilege of mixing with tens of thousands of India's women, I have seen them at work. But now here have I seen anything quite like what Rama Devi and her little band are found to have worked so gracefully and so naturally".

Gandhiji came to Cuttack for last time on 20th Jan. 1946. He stayed for few minutes at the Railway station. Thousands of people came to see their beloved leader. He said, "I neither want to listen to your joyous slogan, for your money. I will be happy if you become Pure hearted men" Next morning he attended a vast mass meeting at Berhampur.

Gandhiji's depth of feeling for the people of Orissa is evident from the aforesaid facts. His historic foot-march in Cuttack for the cause of the

Harijans is as much significant as his march in Noakhali. Full history of this historic event together with details of other visits of Gandhiji ought to be compiled in form of a book with facts collected from all sources.

Thus Cuttack had a special place in Gandhiji's heart and the city responded to him in ample measure. His visit to Cuttack and his inspiring speech created an atmosphere of dynamism. Congress workers, and many people came forword to join the movement. For him Cuttack became a Centre of Renaissance. He was at home everywhere, but Cuttack was really his home. We came to know how deep he loved Cuttack from his letter to Braja Sundar, Madhusudan, Rama Devi, Mahatab etc. Though he is a national leader, he liked each state, each city as his own. So he thought of all problems of Cuttack. We deeply thought of drainage systems of Cuttack as well as Poor, depressed labourer of Utkal tannery. He confessed Madhusudan as his master in the field of Cottege industry. Utkal tannery inspired him to establish a tannery at his Sabarmati Ashram. For him, lives of many people have changed in Cuttack. For his persistent and successful effort the people of Cuttack rose to the occasion"

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Gopabandhu and Cuttack

Sri Dharanidhar Panda
Sri Sauryaranjan Mishra

Pandit Gopabandhu was born in the 9th October, 1877 in the Village-Suando in the District of Puri, on the bank of Bhargavi river, five-miles east of Sakhigopal. His father Daitari Das was a Muktear of those days. His mother, Swarnamayee Devi died only a few days after the birth of Punyatma Gopabandhu.

Gopabandhu's father got him married to a young girl named Apti, later on known as Moti Devi of the near by village.Bangurba (Gadadharpur), at the age of twelve, as per the social custom prevailing in the Brahmin families of those days. After passing the Upper Primary School, Gopabandhu joined the Vernacular School at Rupdeipur situated at a distance of about 5 miles from his village. Having passed the Middle Vernacular Examination he went to study at Puri Zilla School. In 1899 he passed the Entrance Examination and joined the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack. His father had passed away just before he joined the College. His elder brother Narayan Das took the entire responsibility of Gopabandhu's studies and inspired in him a deep love for social service activities.

In the College Gopabandhu developed a great interest for social service. He, along with his intimate friends Braja Sundar Das, Acharya Harihar Das and others, went to help and nurse the sick and the poor in Cuttack Town, collect funds for the poor students in the College and render services to the needy. While in the High School Gopabandhu had taken the lead in organising a volunteer corps named Puri Seva Samiti to render assistance to the people on the occasion of the Car Festival and other festivals. In Cuttack Gopabandhu also formed a voluntary organization, that worked for rendering services to flood-stricken people. He was the chief founder and organizer of the Kartavya Vodhini Samiti (Duty-Inspiring Society) which celebrated its first anniversary in 1899. During his College years Gopabandhu came in close contact with Madhusudan Das, who was a constant source of inspiration and encouragement to the students of that time.

From this time the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas lying scattered in different provinces became one of the dearest causes of his life. With great enthusiasom he attended the first session of the Utkal Sammilani held at Paralakhemundi in Ganjam in 1903 as a student leader. While Madhusudan and Gopabandhu both wanted the unification of Oriya-speaking tracts, Madhusudan felt the Orissa should continue to form a part of the province of Bengal, when Gopabandhu was of the opinion that it would be better for Orissa to form a part of the less developed Madhya Pradesh then known as Central Provinces and Berar. He boldly published his views in speeches and writings. From this time began his long association with the Utkal Sammilani.

Gopabandhu went to Calcutta to complete the B. L. course and take the examination there. After the Law Examination in 1906, Gopabandhu and his patriotic friends, Acharya Harihar Das, Nilakantha Das, Jagannath Mohapatra and Ananta Mishra etc. moved about in the country side of Orissa organising educational activities and filling the mind of men with a great zeal for political freedom, resurgent nationalistic spirit, very closely connected with an ideal of cultural and moral regeneration of the country.

At Cuttack Gopabandhu joined the court as a junior lawyer to eminent lawyers like Madhusudan Das and Gokulananda Choudhury. Although he joined as a lawyer, he was not satisfied with the profession of law; he was ever eager to fight for freedom and serve the distressed. An opportunity for rendering services to the people came at this time in the form of a very severe flood in the Brahmani, the Vaitarani and the Kharsuan rivers.

Gopabandhu had organised the Central Young Utkal Association with Mr. R. Shaw, the then Principal of the Ravenshaw College, as the President and himself as the General Secretary. Its aim was to encourage literary activities as well as activities which would lead to physical, moral and economic development of the youth. The members of the Association unhesitatingly accepted the difficult job of service to the people of the flood-stricken areas. At Cuttack Meetings of the Association were held on Sundays in which learned and instructive speeches were delivered by eminent persons.

Gopabandhu was a true votary of nationalism. His life-long association with the Utkal Sammilani was marked by his constant effort to integrate regional loyalty with nationalism He participated in the Utkal Sammilani Conference at Cuttack in 1918 along with Acharya Harihar

Gopabandhu strongly criticized the Government in his speech and asserted, " Many in India wait for the proposed reforms. Let us see if Government reforms or deforms. If there is no amalgamation of Oriya-speaking areas, whateverelse mày happen, I say, on my behalf, I shall have no more contact with the Govt. for the rest of my life."

Gopabandhu was elected President of the next session of the Utkal Union Conference, held at Cuttack in April, 1919. His Presidential speech revealed his greater loyalty to the Oriya cause. But it also revealed his greater loyalty to the cause of the nations as a whole, his desire that the Oriya movement should be a part of the national-Movement, that Orissa should march with the rest to India in the struggle for Freedom. In course of his Presidential address he said, "This is the Conference of only those who are present or these who have sent message for not being able to attend or of the present living generation of Orissa. The Conference is also of those who are yet to be born as our posterity... No parochialism but humanism was the goal of Oriya nationalism......".

Gopabandhu wanted the foundations of nationalism to be truly laid through development of agriculture, industry, commerce, literature and education. The Bhagabat Tungis should be revived. He valued the education of women. He tried to create a climate in favour of integration of Utkal Sammilani with the Congress by taking up the demand for a separate province of the Oriya-Speaking region with the national leaders and persuading Mahatma Gandhi to accept the idea of formation of provinces on the linguistic basis.

Utkal Union Conference (Chakradharpur) under his guidance endorsed the programme of non-co-operation of the Congress. Ashramas were established at Puri, Cuttack, Balesore, Sambalpur and Ganjam. National school were started at Sambalpur, Satyabadi, Banapur, Chakradharpur and Cuttack and were placed under the Utkal Swaraj Siksha Parisad. Gopabandhu formed the provincial Congress Committee with himself as President and entrusted Sri Bhagirathi Mohapatra with the charge of supervising the Congress work in Cuttack Sub-Division with headquarters at Alanashrama at Jagatsinghpur.

With the siren call of Gopabandhu thousand of students left Schools and Colleges and joined the national School and Colleges. Gandhiji reached Cuttack on the 21st March-1921 and toured Cuttack, Puri and Berhampur in the Company of Gopabandhu. This visit intensified the freedom movement n Orissa which created an unprecedented enthusiasm among the masses.

Number of 'Ashrams' and National Schools were founded in different places at the instruction of Gopabandhu, because these National Schools and 'Ashrams' were the base for the spread of ideas, Patriotic love among students and the people. These ideas diffused to the major portion of Cuttack, Puri, Baleswar and Sambalpur and contributed a lot of the spread of non-co-operation movement in Orissa.

Cuttack was the chief cultural and political centre of Orissa. It was the headquarters of Utkal Provincial Congress Committee throughout the freedom Struggle in Orissa. The activities of Cuttack District Committee in the organisation and preaching of non-cooperation movement were praiseworthy.

On his return from Ahmedabad, he was to address a meeting on the sands of the Kathajori river on the 11th January, 1922. But Sec-144 was clamped on him directing him not to address the meeting. Gopabandhu sent a written address which was read out at the meeting. On the 13th again an order under Sec.144 was served on him directing him not to send any written address to any meeting. For violation of Sec.144 Gopabandhu was sentenced imprisonment. He was kept in Cuttack Jail till 23rd January 1923, as he came out of the Cuttack Jail to be taken to Hazaribag Jail in Bihar, tears rolled down from his eyes, he said unhappily, "Now I go from Orissa".

Immediately after his release, Gopabandhu proceeded to attend the Utkal Provincial Conference, then being held at Cuttack under the Presidentship of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. It was on this occasion that the President of the session referred to Gopabandhu as the "Jewel of Utkal" or "Utkalmani".

He took a house on rent at Cuttack and started a branch of the servants of the people society. The Orissa Relief Fund was started under the auspices of the society. In the beginning of the month of July, 1927 Gopabandhu sifted Satyabadi Press from Puri to Cuttack, which he viewed as the Capital of Orissa and the nerve centre of all Political activities.

A disaster in 1927 in the form of a severe flood visited the district of Cuttack. On 12· August, 1927, the Orissa Flood Relief Committee was formed in a public meeting held in Cuttack Town Hall. Gopabandhu was appointed as the General Secretary of the Committee. He himself moved from village to village rendering services to the distressed and flood-stricken people, supervising relief work and rehabilitation programme.

He co-ordinated the activities of other voluntary organizations such as Bharat Seva Sangha, Gujurati and Marawari Relief Societies etc. An All Orissa Flood Conference was held at Cuttack. Besides, District and Thana-wise Flood Conferences were held to discuss the Flood problem. An Orissa Flood Committee was formed.

A Committee was formed with Gopabandhu as Chairman to present the evidence before the Flood Expert Committee appointed by the Govt, Mahatma Gandhi, Rev. C. F. Andrews and other eminent leaders visited Orissa to observe the distressed condition of the people at the invitation of Gopabandhu.

He made Cuttack the centre of all his activities. The "Samaj" was coming out from Cuttack. The office of the Orissa Flood Relief Committee was located at Cuttack. The Provincial Congress Committee had its Head-quarters at Cuttack. It was at this time his beloved elder brother Narayan Das, passed away. He decided to move to his dear Bakul groves of Satyabadi to inculcate moral discipline among the young and impart spiritual training to them.

His political activities had forced him to shift to Puri and later to Cuttack but now the return to the lap of the countryside soothed him and filled his life-long desire to line in peace in the Bakul and Chhuriana groves of Sakhigopal.

In the morning of the 16th June, Gopabandhu's illness took a bad turn. The doctors suspected that the typhoid had relapsed. It was on 17th June 1928, the day before the Car Festival at Puri, known as Netrotsava Day, Gopabandhu, literally a Prince among men, a noble soul, the supreme leader of Orissa, the father of the National Movement in Orissa, and above all a humanist passed away from the mortal world.

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Market Facilities at Cuttack in early 19th Century

Sri Nandalal Chatterji

Cuttack, it is well-known; was annexed by Lord Wellesley after the second Anglo-Maratha War for the purpose of completing the Company's command of the eastern sea-coast of India. The Bhonsla ruler of Nagpur, who was the previous owner of Cuttack, was made to cede it to the British as a result of the peace of Deogaon concluded after the defeat of his armies at the battles of Assaye and Argaon. As Cuttack was finally occupied by the British, it was found, curiously enough, that the town had no public market of its own. This naturally caused great inconvenience as well as embarrassment to the Company's civil and military personnel. It was to obviate this difficulty that Mr. R. Ker, the first Collector and Magistrate of the district, decided to erect a market on a convenient site of the city.

From contemporary records, it appears that a public market could not be built up by the Maratha Government on account of a number of reasons. Firstly as the original city was much too congested and was also surrounded by a stone wall, there was no sufficient space for a big market. Secondly, as public peace was frequently disturbed in and around the town owing to the depredations of lawless dacoits and burglars, merchants were not inclined to come and settle there, and establish shops and godowns. Thirdly, neighbouring landlords also scared away trade from the town by their frequent acts of violence. Among them, the Raja of Khurda was one of the most prominent, and he was placed under confinement for some time by the British authorities as a warning to the others. Fourthly, the Maratha authorities had never thought of granting leases of lands to merchants or of giving them any other facilities in this direction, and, in fact, on the contrary, the prevalent high rates of rent and taxation discouraged the traders from coming to and settling in the city. Lastly, there seems to have been no real demand for a market place so far as the townsmen were concerned. As a matter of fact, the British officials formed

a most uncharitable view of the character and outlook of the local inhabitants. In one of his letters, the Magistrate of Cuttack wrote (on 12th of February, 1807) as follows:—"...the inhabitants are in a most abject state of human degradation and of intellectual and corporeal imbecility" A sweeping generalisation like this is obviously inaccurate and misleading. But, it is not unlikely that the poverty of the common people was responsible for the backward state of the town and district of Cuttack when it passed under British rule.

A rapid improvement of the town of Cuttack was doubtless the first achievement of the British authorities. When peace, law and order were restored after the annexation, Mr. R. Ker formulated a comprehensive and ambitious scheme of a public market in the city. The total expenditure on the erection of the market was not excessive, for it amounted to the sum of Rs. 2, 175-12 as. The old stone walls of the town were dismantled and removed, and sufficient space was secured for the accommodation of shops and stores. Many old wells had to be filled up, and new drains had to be constructed for the proper sanitation of the town. It is on record that about fifty poor individuals were induced to relinquish their habitations in return of monetary compensation. Besides, as a concession to merchants, favourable leases of land were granted to them and to others in perpetuity. The leases in fact confirmed to them the permanent proprietary right in the land, and even exempted the land and houses from rents and taxes.

How these concessions proved to be helpful will be clear from the following report of Mr. Ker (dated 19th September, 1806)—"...the adoption of this measure would confirm and reward the confidence the inhabitants possess in the justice of the British Government which has been wonderfully manifested, many of the merchant having sunk a considerable capital in building house of stone and mortar, without entertaining the most distant hope of their property being secured by a special Act of Government". The fact that the ground on which shops and houses were to be erected was granted to the owners and to their heirs and successors in perpetuity proved to be a great encouragement to the mercantile class. These land grants were issued by the Collector and Magistrate in accordance with the special instructions furnished for the purpose by the Board of Revenue.

For the adequate protection of the market, a special police outpost was established. It appears from the official papers that the cost of erecting this police station amounted to Rs. 500 only. The salaries of the police establishment are on record, and it is interesting to note that the salaries

were kept as low as possible. The rates of pay were as follows—Thanadar. Rs. 25, Mohurrir. Rs. 10, Jamadar Rs. 8, and Barqandaz. Rs. 4. The contemporary papers show that the whole town was divided into five wards, each ward under the charge of a Jamadar with an establishment of eight constables. The sole object of the increase of police protection was to stop the recurrence of lawlessness and burglary which were common under the Maratha regime. The five wards were—Husnabad, Khatboni, Kadam Rasul, Bakhshi Bazar and Telinga Bazar.

The establishment of the new market at Cuttack was attended with immediate success, and it proved to be of the greatest advantage to the people. The official records show that prices fell as a result of this, and things and commodities became much cheaper than before. The Collector and Magistrate reported to Calcutta in a letter dated the 19th September, 1806, that the necessaries of life were now no less than 30 per cent cheaper. For instance, rice was fairly expensive before, but now it was selling in the market half a maund per rupee. He also reported a marked increase of population in the town within six months of the establishment of the market. As more and more pilgrims to and from Puri passed through Cuttack, the importance of the town was enhanced and its trade and traffic augmented. Establishment of law and order also contributed greatly to the success of the new market. With the introduction of British rule, the town began to prosper soon and many new houses were constructed even though, according to local reports, the price of labour was fairly high.

It will thus be a news to many in Cuttack that prior to British occupation, Cuttack was a township without a regular market. The citizens of Cuttack today may not be very familiar with the name of Mr. R. Ker, Collector and Magistrate, but the official papers leave no doubt about the fact that he is the original founder of the city's commercial career in modern times.

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Slums of Cuttack City

Dr. R. N. Dash

A slum is generally understood by deplorable conditions of living in a restricted area by a large number of people. In such slums houses or living rooms are improperly made and very small to provide hygenic conditions. The inmates are poorly healthy and earnings uncertain to support them. Mostly their residences are made on unauthorised occupation of Municipality or Government lands close to the centres of situation or employment. These centres are close to malgodowns, railway tracts near the station, industrial estates, different Government offices, market places, refugee centres, etc. On this background the slums of Cuttack can be studied. Before an approach to the subject, a short history of Cuttack can be traced which eventually contributed to the growth of slums in the present city.

In the history of Cuttack the dwellings of a number of people have been attested conclusively by the building of stone embankment on the vertex of the triangle where the Mahanadi throws off the Kathajodi. In order to protect the people in the area this has been made which further justifies the probability that earthen embankments were raised earlier for this purpose but gave in during several occasions on the face of heavy floods. But why people had chosen to live in such an area unprotected by nature is not known. This again makes us to speculate that a fort area protected by big rivers on both the sides was the cause of this selection. In subsequent phases of history we get reference to Cuttack in the form of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, Barabati Kataka etc. during the native rule. So from the setting up of the stone embankment during the Bhauma rule (756-786 A.D.), as speculated by the historians, Cuttack probably continued to be a fort. Subsequently during the Somavamsi rule, most probably, Janmejaya I (882-922 A.D.) built Abhinava Varanasi Kataka (present Bidanasi area). The Barabati Durga or Kataka was built by Anangabhimadeva III. (1211-1238 A.D.). But Kataka as the capital city was first made by Chodaganga during the year 1135 A.D. Since then it continued to be the capital of Orissa till 1948 the year next after the exit of the English rule. As such, this city emerged as a business centre probably during the Ganga rule.

Thus, the emergence of slums probably occured since the Gangas made it their capital and established centres of trade and business. It continued to flourish as such in the subsequent Suryavamsi rule and after till the fall of Mukundadeva The Moughals and the Marahattas ruled from Cuttack though the venue of their administrative appex as well as business activities shifted from area to area in the city. The position of Cuttack as a full fledged capital and business centre of Orissa emerged during the British rule when slum appearance and growth was conspicuous in spite of their best efforts to diffuse over-population in specified areas.

The population of Cuttack town prior to the British rule was not conclusively known. But according to T. Motte the town area of Cuttack (in 1766) was extending two miles on each side of the triangle from the vertex of the city where the Mahanadi throws off the Kathajodi. A comparative statistics of Cuttack can be shown, as available from the English sources.

Year	Population	Area	No. of houses	Source
1766	—	Two miles extending along the Kathajodi & Mahanadi	—	Motte's account
1825	About 40,000	—	6512	Stirling's account
1865-66	50,878	—	—	C.F. Magrath's Dist. Census compilation for Cuttack
1869	37,280	1298 Ac.	9018	Stirling's account.
1872	42,667	—	—	Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. XI, 1908.
1881	42,656	—	—	-do-
1891	47,186	—	—	-do-
1901	51,364	—	—	Census of India, 1911 Vol. I.
1911	52,528	—	—	-do-
1921	51,007	—	—	Census of India, 1971 Series 16.
1931	65,263	—	—	-do-
1941	74,291	—	—	-do-

The above statement indicates a sharp fall in the population of Cuttack during the year 1869 as against 1865-66. This is due to the famine and the excessive deaths occured in Orissa and particularly in Cuttack town. In spite of this the population of Cuttack was almost doubled in 144 years of the British rule. Though no figure of the area and the number of houses are clearly available from the accounts yet the excessive rise in population might have caused expansion of the town area and the number of houses in Cuttack to facilitate twice the population from the earlier period. It is definitely a greater area that has been reported by Motte in 1766 and enumerated in the census during the year 1869. However, it extended towards the present railway tract and the O.M.P. square during the English rule.

The statistical accounts of Hunter on the sentiment of Oriya people in his book narrates, "The town population is stationary and the people of Cuttack district and indeed all of Orissa, evince no tendency towards city life. Nothing except sheer necessity can induce them to quit their hereditary homesteads; and if so compelled, they prefer the humblest hovel in the country to living in a city. They look down on the towns people, and seldom inter-marry with them, in part owing to belief that the practices and habits of city life are not so strictly in accordance with caste rules". In spite of this there was an emigrant population in Cuttack about 1872A.D. They are Christian converts including a number of children rescued from the famine of 1865-66. Thus movement of people from rural areas to Cuttack was not favoured at that time. Hunter has also noted that "the native christians are despised by the Hindus and Musalmans". These people might have contributed to the first slum growth of Cuttack during the English rule. Because, Hunter has stated that, "The town christians find employment as Govt. servants, or in connection with the Mission (Cuttack Bapist Mission), or as menial servants or day-labourers, and some who have to be assisted out of the mission funds" Their dwelling area by then would be on the Mission Road or in its periphery.

The climatic condition has also played its part in the emigration of rural population to Cuttack during 1901 to 1911. The famine conditions in 1901, and 1907 to 1908 brought in a number of people to Cuttack. To ward off the huge loss of human lives the Government had failed. Among other measures to prevent famine deaths it started laying of Railway lines and running of trains. This had encouraged emigration with the hope of getting jobs as well as in the perfecting of embankments of the Mahanadi and the Kathajodi rivers at Cuttack. Hunter writes, "In 1904 about 480 miles

of embankments were maintained by Govt., 265 miles in connection with the canals, and 215 miles along the banks of the large rivers". Besides, the Mahanadi railway bridge and anicut were also built the during the period. The workers for these construction would be living in temporary sheds which could have been slums for sometime and some of them might be continuing to live there even after the completion of these works to work for the buildings of Superintending and Executive Engineers, offices and other Government offices, Schools, etc.

After independence clearer pictures of population, area and the number of houses are known from the census reports of different periods.

Year	Population	Area	No.of houses	Source of Information
1951	1,02,505	59.57sq.Kms. or 23 sq. miles	—	Census of India 1961
1961	1,46,308	-do-	23,623	-do-
1971	(A)1,94,068	-do-	-do-	Census of India 1971
	(B) 2,05,759	73.32 sq. Kms.	29,722	-do-

N. B.—(A) Stands for population in the area shown in 1961 Census with 26 wards.

(B) Stands for population in four additional wards (or 30 wards) along with the increase in houses and expansion in area.

The population of Cuttack had gone up, taking 1951 Census as the base line, by about 44,000 in 1961 census and about 92,000 in 1971 (1981 figures not available) as shown in (A). But, there is no change in the area and houses recorded in 1961 Census. In the 1971 Census two figures are available i.e., the population in the area and number of houses of the wards existing in 1961, or (A) and the population in the extended area and additional number of houses, or (B). In case of (B) the additional wards include the Industrial Estates and the C. R. R. I. unit and other Government offices, etc., the excess in area about 14 sq. kms, and the increase in population of more than 6,000. This is comparatively a less congested area compared with that of (A). So the slums are more to be found in the area specified under (A) than under (B).

The Socio-economic Survey conducted in the year 1986 by the Urban Community development Department, Orissa in their report noted 35 slum areas at 99 different localities in Cuttack. But this has not taken into

consideration slum dwellings existing sporadically at other areas in non-slum localities. Moreever, 14 new slum areas have been identified at 26 different localities. Thus altogether 49 slum pockets in 125 bastis have been identified in Cuttack. The population figure of the 35 pockets distributed in 99 bastis are 93, 856 but for the 14 pockets distributed in 26 bastis are not available. The 35 slum pockets noted are Bidanasi (A) and (B), Tulasipur, Mansinghpatna (A&B), Oriya Bazar (A&B), Mehindipur, Mehindipur Refugee colony, Ganeshghat, Pattapole, Gopaljee Mathasahi (A&B), Makaraba Sahi, Thoria Sahi, Tinikonia Bagicha, Dargha bazar, Nimasahi, Dolamundei, Bisinabar, Pithapur, Ranihat, Professor Pada, Jhanjir Mangala, Raja Bagicha, Khan Nagar, Rausapatna (A&B), Sankarpur, Pilgrim Road, Muradkhan Patna, Jobra, Sikharpur, Gandhi Palli and Nehru Palli, and Patta Pokhari. Besides, the new slum pockets are Nua Gauda-Sahi, Kajidiha, Dargha Patna, Nua Pada, Sartol, Paporada, Beleswar, Tinigharia, Andarpur, Chauliaganj, Vidyadharpur, Kanheipur and Kesarpur. If we look to the bastis of these slums then we will find that more of these bastis are found concentrated in Bidanasi, Mansinghpatna, Oriya bazar, Ganeshghat, Pattapole, Thoria Sahi and Jobra area whereas less concentration is found in other areas. When considered from the point of population as per wards only three such wards are to be seen containing higher concentration of slum people. The same can be noted as follows :—

Slum Area	Ward No.	Population	Harijan	Adivasi
Mansinghpatna (A&B)	II	11,896	4,983	—
Sankarpur	XXIII	10,419	187	—
Bidanasi (A&B) and Tulsipur	I	9,003	3,727	146

But if the number of Harijans are taken into account in the slum areas then Pattapole area shows the highest concentration with 5611 people residing in that locality. As per their community groups Pana, Bauri and Hadis are numerous compared to other Harijan communities such as Dhobi Mochi, Chamar, Candara etc. The highest number of 266 tribals are living in Makarba Sahi alone. But the Harijans and Adivasis do not constitute the majority in the slums. The other people dominate in slum areas. This might be due to the measures taken to settle the Harijans in permanent colonies. The Muhammedans dwelling in slums have covered about 10 localities. The other people who have inhabited the slums, as per their communities, are

barbers, weavers, fishermen, etc. The fefugee colonies inhabited by Bengali refugees are near Suraj Talkies area of Mehindipur and Idga area of Mansinghpatna. But the most famous slums are to be seen near Malgodown, Pilgrim road near Taladanda canal and Bisinabar areas.

If population factor is considered for the congestion of houses and the areas and a comparative study of the datas between 1961 and 1971 census taken, then we will see how the number of houses has gone up along with the population in specified wards.

Ward	Area	No.of Houses		No.of People		No.of employed		No.of Non-employed	
No.		1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
I	15.59 Sq.kms.	1095	1977	7766	12164	2712	3271	5060	8993
II	0.91 ,,	811	803	4977	6910	1520	1765	3445	4145
XXIII	3.47	1131	1006	6445	6617	1104	1813	4354	4804
VII	6.89 ,,	953	1573	8195	10593	2982	3465	5213	7128
VIII	0.60 ,,	879	1400	5313	7317	1975	2283	3338	5034
XIX	2.28 ,,	802	1293	4849	7669	1781	2318	3068	5351
XXVI	1.11 ,,	1117	2455	8339	12113	3196	3517	5143	8596

The above table indicate concentration of houses per sq.kms. in the Ward No.8 & 26 more than any other locality during the decade(1961-1971). So also the increase in population and non-workers (male and female inclusive) in these two wards are marked than most of the other wards. The excess of non-working people in these wards created problem as well as contributed to the growth of slums. The rise in non-working population in ward No.19 during 1961-1971 has probably gone up in 1986. The survey conducted by the Urban Development Department in 1986 has returned a total slum population of 7,122 in this ward where-as 1971 Census returned the total ward population as 7,669. It is quite unlikely that 7,122 out of 7,669 or probably an additional number, as per 1981 census (not available at present), in this ward dwell in slum. The increase in the number of households, as enumerated in the two censuses (1961-1971) per the following wards are as follows—W.I./1036, W.II/244, W.VI/346, W.VIII/559, W.XIX 506, W.XX/469, W.XXIV/641 and W.XXVI/1524. This indicates the maximum number of households in ward Nos.I and XXVI which have gone up considerably making congestions in those areas and particularly in ward No.XXV when taking the area of the ward into consideration. This has contributed to

the development of slums in recent years in that area besides Mansinghpatna (W.II) Pattapole area (W.VIII), and Rousapatna(W.XIX) which includes Makaraba Sahi area.

The slum areas of Cuttack when studied reveal various factors relating to dwelling conditions, health, engagements and earnings. The slum dwellers do not continue to live in the area permanently they settle in. They change places for various reasons such as eviction, nearness to their employment or work site, calamities befelling the locality, availability of other suitable dwellings, etc. It is because, most of the Cuttack slums are situated on unauthorized construction over Government and Municipality lands and near the railway tracks. Very few houses are easily available near the sites of work or employment and in permissible margins of rent. So the temperament of the slum dwellers develop to avail houses or land in nominal or no rent basis which could be utilised to reside or to construct dwellings on them with the least expenses possible. This prompts them to occupy Municipality and Government lands near the road, canal, railway track, public buildings, etc. The financial condition of emigrant labourers and job seekers do not permit them to rent houses or to invest money for the same when the scope for employment is doubtfully hanging. As such, in Cuttack, slum dwellers are to be seen residing by the side of public buildings parks, garden walls of private persons, etc. Even some of them are seen to be residing inside the hume pipes piled for construction of drains or small bridges in the roads, inside the cow-sheds, under the cabins placed by the side of the road and raising temporary partitions around the trees standing by the road side or squares. Even some dwellers sleep on the footpaths. The materials used to cover the roofs are palm leaf, split bamboo mat, straw, tin-drum plates, polythene papers, etc. Some land owners also rent portions from their garden plots on which the dwellers raise temporary sheds. Since rent was the aim of the owners a number of families are rented small plots to live which become crowded and un-hygenic. In many places building of houses on empty spaces lying between the roads and the houses by slum dwellers have encroached the streets and examples can be sited from Malgodown, Mansinghpatna and Chhatra bazar area regarding this. Even areas near Kathagada Sahi, Pattapole area and some corners near Buxibazar, Tala Telenga bazar and station roads could be shown as examples. In recent years some evictions have widened the roads and squalid heaps in these areas.

The families living in slums are of different sizes. Begining from a single dweller five or more occupants are seen in these hamlets which varies

from 50 to 150 sq. ft. in area. Even it is seen that the slum areas lying near business and market places are rapidly being congested and over populated due to the growth of houses and the numer of,people in hamlets. In the pattapole area rows of houses with a single approach road lying between them are to be seen. In some other areas single rooms inhabited by families of more than two persons from various age groups have ben witnessed.

The light and water are problems for these slums. In the slums of Cuttack the Municipal water taps are used in most of the cases. But in private compounds well and small pools provide water to the"dwellers. Rows of water jars, buckets and earthen pots are placed near these taps and street quarrels are a very common site in these spots. Since water from the taps are not available all through the day there is keen competition to get full guota as soon as possible. These dwellers meet their light problem from the street lights, lantern, lamps, candle, etc. As such, outbreak of fire occurs occasionally causing damages to the dwellings and property of many dwellers.

The roof tops of houses are utilised by the slum dwellers to dry cowdung cakes, pile up fire-wood and fodder for the domestic animals etc. Even the walls of houses, public buildings are used to dry cow-dung cakes for fuel. On the Varandahs hearths are placed in single room dwellings co-existence with cow, dog. hen, cat, ducks is seen in very many'slums and parrot as well as myna in cages are seen hanging on the door steps. These animals make the environment spoiled along with the rubbish dumps thrown by the inmates of these slums. Drains are used as public latrines and dumping of discards cause inconvenience to the flow of drain water so that it over flows at various places. During the rainy season it is a common sight near the 'basti' areas. In Cuttack the slum dwellers are usually of three kinds, i. e emigrants, born and employed. The emigrants have come to work and settle in the city but the employed dwellers have come to stay till they retire or go away elsewhere on transfer. The other category have taken birth in the slum and continue to live in that environment though their parents are emigrants.

The economic conditions of the Cuttack slum dwellers are differently oriented as per their age, sex, nature of employment, dependance, etc. The children within the age group of eight are dependent on their parents. Very small assignments like looking after younger brothers or sisters, chicken, helping parents in light domestic works are to be seen with the advance aged eight year group. The age group between 9 to 16 years

gradually pick up different professions. Usually their work varry from community to community. For instance, cowhard boys, the shoemaker children and such other adolescents of other communities pick up professions of their parents The girls of this group collect cowdung, lay dung cakes, work in the houses of landowners and rich people on temporary basis as attendants to kids, etc. Even regular employment of this group in their advanced age between 12 to 16 years are witnessed. They work as packet makers, bidi workers, tobaco-workers and many other lighter jobs to that of attendants in the Halloi shops, etc They also function as supporting earners for the family Even from this tender age a few work as pick-pockets, lifters of smaller items, work as hawkers, etc. Adults work in various concerns in different categories for their livelihood The women in most cases suppliment the family economy The adult males are usually seen to be working as unskilled labourers such as stone breakers, construction workers pottery, carpentry and moulding workers, mochi, sweepers, malis, peons, fitters, textile workers, dhobis, household servants, tailors, foot-path food caterers, thela, cart and rickshaw pullers, saloon and bettle shop owners, etc. They also have subsidiary occupations. As such, they work as milk-men, mat-and basket makers, repairers, vegetable sellers, tea-shop keeper, toy makers, cobblers, dalals etc. Generally they belong to three categories. The first is the independent or self-employed persons. The second imployees are working for different time span such as monthly, fortnightly, weekly and daily wage earners. The third categories belong to casual workers and in many cases retired persons or old people previously working in different concerns. The most profitable business adopted by these persons are preparation of country made liquors and its illegal sale at different pockets. The women of many families are engaged in obnoxions trade, painters of toys, and such other types. Besides, they work as maid servants, ayas, etc. to supplement their family income.

The educational status of the basti dwellers are varied· It is seen that there are more primary educated dwellers than Higher Secondary, plus two and plus three levels The last category is fewer than the earlier ones. But the uneducated dominate the rest in larger numbers When the uneducated persons interviewed the reasons given by them were economic inability, supporting the family income, no liking for school or study etc. Adult education programme have not reached to many slum dwellers in Cuttack.

The health conditions in the slum areas of Cuttack are different. It varies from good to sickly and the cause is mostly economic. Financial

stability and instability account for the same. Since most of them live in unhygenic conditions diseases befall on them. The nature of illness are fever (of various types), asthama, bronchitis, T. B., typhoid, gastritis, diarrehea, dysentery, Cholera, small pox, skin diseases, rheumatism, heart dieseas, syphilis, etc. Particular diseases are found to be existing among them and one or the other is more to be seen in particular basis than in general. Another factor, either a corolary of the diseases or the outcome of accidents, is the disability of the slum dwellers. There are blind, one eyed persons, lame, crippled, hard of hearing, deaf and dumb and mentally disable, lunatic, paralysed etc. in the slums. The treatment available to them is Allopathy, Ayurvedic, Homoeopathy and Nature cure. The Cuttack slum dwellers depend more on Government dispensaries for free medicine and in many cases prefer Homoeopathic treatment The agencies providing treatment, besides the Government clinics of Allopathic, Ayurvedic and Homoeopathic, are charitable clinics run by different institutions and individuals for treatment. Though there are private hospitals and clinics the slum dwellers visit less unless compelled by seen necessity and urgency. Another difficulty in the slum areas is the alcoholism which is more found among the labourers and rickshaw pullers or trolly drivers. Even alcoholism have crept into women in some areas. Instances may be found to exist in the pilgrim road area of Cuttack and agencies have tried in vain to uproot the same.

The slum area is not free from factional rivalries. The factions are grouped according to the communities and their leadership commands his power and position by the numerical strength of the dwellers of that community. The inter communal rivalries have cropped up since the introduction of election in India and in recent years it has assumed different directions as the electioneering has explored various means of wooing the voters. Various youth, women and workers associations have come forth for this purpose only. The caste and religious also counts in the selected pocket of slums. The factional rivalry is more prominent in organizing associations, general festivities, community centres and such other public bodies intended for them. Usually the leaders of these slums are proven muscle powers of the group or community and they seldom get employed or labour for their livelihood. On the otherhand they work as liasioners in difficulties of their community members and support them through their payments. During elections or intra-area rivalries they are sumptuously paid by their hirers to campaign in their favour or to gather muscle strength. The leadership also work in his capacity to settle quarrels and unbecoming

happenings in the group and give protection to it from outside threats. Though case studies have been conducted yet avoided here to be dealt with in separate papers. Elaborate informations on the factional rivalry in women organisation in Bisinabar has come to notice and it is aggravated by political influences rather that opinions in the organisation. The curious development of basti leadership is that gradully it is oriented in communal basis and extending to other basti areas. As such there is the emergence of a leader group in Cuttack bastis belonging to a single community. On the other hand the party politics have help develop factions in one community reorienting them into party ideals.

There are measures adopted by the Government and other institutions to eradicate slum dwellings and the improvement in the condition of the people residing there. The demolition of slums from the Baxibazar square and college squre areas may be taken as examples. These inhabitants in many cases have been settled at other localities, particularly in Bidanasi area. But most of them have preferred to stay in other slum areas near the centre of activities. Though the environment of these demolished slum areas have improved in gaiety yet the fate of the displaced dwellers have not been assessed. Besides, the Cuttack Improvement Trust, Municipality Urban Development agencies have taken drives to bring about a change in the slum condition. Several schemes have been floited in recent years, much later than their introduction in other urban areas of India, to improve the condition of slum dwellers. The Environment Improvement of Urban Schemes-1974 is being implemented to provide infrastructure to the slums in the form of laying of roads, constructing drainages and community latrines, prove better street lighting, water supply and making sewrage systems. The Urban Community Development scheme 1958 is introduced in 1982-1983 in Cuttack and is looking forward to eradicate illiteracy, alcoholism, establishing leprosy colonies and to meet out treatment to them, provide vocational facilities to women and disabled. Some UNICEF assisted projects are also being carried out in the slum areas which aims at the reduction of infant mortality, association of women development projects, empower peoples capacity etc. Besides, the institutions like Lokasevaka Mandala, Hind Sevak Samaja, servants of India society, the Universe and some other youth organisations and citizens forums are also trying in this direction to make Cuttack achieve a beautiful look and environment. The millennium celebration is a rightful step in that direction.

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Salt Trade in Cuttack

Dr. Sadananda Choudhury

The coastal district of Cuttack had a prosperous salt trade in the past. This was on account of the following advantages, such as (1) Nature's bounty in respect of the sea as the inexhaustible source for brine, (2) Abundant supply of firewood to boil the brine for salt and (3) The traditional skill of its people to make 'the finest variety of salt of all India' on this coast.[1] Trade in this article of general consumption, i. e., salt, has been described under two broad heads. They are : (1) Inland trade and (2) Sea borne trade.

Inland Salt Trade

During Maratha rule in Orissa, Cuttack salt had immense commercial importance on account of its reputation for quality, cheapness and plentiful supply. It had a ready market in the neighbouring regions to the westward of the province of Orissa. A considerable trade in salt was carried on the river Mahanadi and its branches with the then Central provinces, Berar and a host of other countries in that direction.[2] Besides, merchants from the northern regions namely, Keonjhar, Palamau, Singbhoom, Ramagarh and Chattisgarh countries came to different marts of this district for procuring salt. By means of a barter trade this salt was exchanged for the products of Central India.[3] Cotton formed the most important part of the merchandise along with opium, ganja and grains of different kinds.[4] A small portion of the value either on account of the imports or exports was paid for in species or bills of exchange. But, the principal mode of transaction was by means of the barter system for which rates were previously settled. The important trade centers were Kantilo, Balanasy and Barkul coming under the neighbouring district of Puri. Kantilo was the principal mart and rendezvous of traders. Being situated on the river Mahanadi and about ninety miles to the west of Cuttack, it had a favourable location to be a commercial center for this barter trade. During the months from January to April, Orissa traders exchanged their salt at this place for the cotton goods and other merchandise coming from the neighbouring regions in Central India.[5]

This flourishing salt trade brought to the Maratha government of Orissa an annual revenue which exceeded the amount or land revenue derived by them in this province.[6] The salt trade was so extensive that one Sambhu Bharati, a rich merchant of Cuttack who had 'Kothis' in different parts of the Khurda region found it worthwhile to pay for the Khurda Raja his annual 'Pescush' of ten thousand rupees to the Maratha government on condition of being allowed to conduct his commercial transactions in salt free of all duties and restrictions.[7] Besides, salt of this district along with those from the neighbouring Balasore district was exported to the Bihar districts through the Bamanghati pass in the Mayurbhanj district and the Hijili district or Bengal under the British government.[8]

In the make of the British conquest of Orissa from the Marathas, the once flourishing salt trade to the north and Westward of the province declined to the lowest ebb. This was in consequence of the introduction of the British Salt monopoly in Orissa in 1804. Under this system the British authorities in Orissa gave emphasis to the sea-borne salt trade for supplying the Bengal market with Orissa salt. As a result, its inland salt trade was neglected and subjected to restrictions in sharp contrast to the emphasis given to the sea-borne salt trade under auspices of the government salt monopoly, Thus, the inland salt trade was shunted to a Secondary position in the British Period. At this stage, the quantity of salt exported from Orissa over land by private individuals in course of a legal and open traffic did not exceed 20,000 mds annually. This trade however, survived along its traditional routes and marts in spite of a hostile attitude of the authorities. Its scope was of course substantially limited compared to its prominence in the pre-British period. The much-restricted inland trade in this direction declined further after the sixties of the century. This was due to a serious challenge it came to face from the intrusion of the cheap Ganjam salt produced in the neighbouring Madras Presidency. Ganjam salt began to replace the Orissa produce from the Gadjat market mostly to the west of the district of Cuttack. A large scale intrusion of the low taxed Ganjam salt in the guise of the Orissa salt into the tributary states of Orissa and thence to the Central Provinces region, created there complex problem for the Orissa salt manufactured in the Cuttack district.[10]

This had come in the shape of a double duty, full Bengal duty and Central Provinces duty, levied on Orissa salt entering the Central Provinces region. The prohibitory duty, unjust and barbarous in character, resulted in much hardship and loss to traders of Orissa salt. This proved destructive of trade and all that confidence that begats trade.[11] Consequently, the trade

between Orissa and Sambalpur with salt as one of the chief articles of merchandise was almost stopped. The cotton-salt traffic leaving its natural and traditional course towards the Cuttack coast was diverted to Ganjam after reaching Sonepur lying under the political jurisdiction of the Orissa Commissioner.[12] An equitable adjustment of this question of great local importance for Central Provinces and Orissa could not be arrived. To the disgrace of the administration, as remarked by T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa, so many authorities and departments were envolved in this matter that it turned to be a hopeless affair to make the claims of Orissa heard. The question of salt duties and salt lines deserved the earliest and fullest attention of the supreme Government. But by the time the salt duties were equalised all over India in 1882, the salt trade of Orissa with the Central Provinces was damaged beyond repair.[14] Thus, the inland salt trade of Cuttack and Orissa in general towards the Bihar districts in the north, the Central Provinces to the west, the Gadjat states adjoining Cuttack and other coastal districts was destroyed by the inroad of the low taxed Ganjam salt.

Sea-borne Salt Trade

Trade in Orissa salt over the sea assumed significance with the commencement of the British rule in Orissa. With the introduction of the salt monopoly in 1804, direction of the salt trade of Cuttack was diverted to the Presidency market in Bengal. Salt from Cuttack was popular in the Bengal market on account of its superior quality in respect of grain, clearness and cheapness over the other varieties in the same market. Hence, it had promising prospects of large profits in the Bengal market. Since the salt monopoly introduced in Orissa aimed at securing to government as much profits from the salt transaction as possible, the salt trade from the Cuttack coast was channelised over the sea for the Bengal market. This trade was carried on account of government under much inducement to exporters and boatmen engaged in the transportation of Cuttack salt for Bengal. In the initial stage of the sea-borne trade, Rassalpur in Bengal was the destination for Cuttack salt.[15] Situated on the bank of the Rassalpur river, this place was ideally suited for the reception of Orissa salt from her different ports. The season for transporting salt from Cuttack to Rassalpur commenced about the middle of October. It the weather was favourable, it began form the first of the month. The season lasted upto the end of the month of March. During this period the rivers were navigable for small boats at the time of the spring tides. A salt vessel leaving one of the Cuttack ports in the beginning of October reached Rassalpur by the middile of November.[16]

As the sea-borne trade in salt with Bengal grew in dimension and importance, Rassalpur was abandoned in favour of a new depot near Calcutta. While Cuttack salt landed at the new depot in Sulkia for eleven annas per maund, those from the 24-Parganas and Tamlook districts nearer to Sulkia could be had for Rs. 1-1-6 and 0-15-9 pies respectively.[17] Thus, Cuttack salt of superior quality in grain and colour enjoyed a decided advantage on the price front too

The sea-borne salt trade between Orissa and Bengal was not a mere one-way traffic. While salt was being exported into Bengal, Orissa received a return cargo-in rice although to a lesser degree. This is cited from one of the accidents on sea when a salt sloop was run down by a vessel laden with grain. Another instance of the salt-rice traffic is furnished by the Orissa commissioner's order to the salt agent of Cuttack for importing 21,000 maunds of course rice from Calcutta for use of the salt manufacturers [18] Rice from Bengal was being annually imported and landed at the Hansua salt 'gola' on the Cuttack coast.

The salt trade with Bengal brought prosperity to the Cuttack coast. This prosperity lasted until foreign salt in keen competition with Orissa salt invaded the Bengal market backed by political influence from Britain and encouragement from the government of India. Under pressure from the British merchantile class, government of India provided more and more facilities to the importers of foreign salt. During the last quarter of the last century, the avalanche of imported salt entirely displaced Cuttack salt from the presidency market in Calcutta. Soon after, Cuttack salt was even displaced from its own market inside the province by the imported foreign salt.

Importation of foreign salt which was in a state of experiment upto 1820, received a sudden filip after a resolution of the Governor General-in-council regularising importation. On the plea of providing cheap salt to consumers in the Bengal presidency and fair competition between the indigenous salt and imported salt, permission was given for the reception of foreign salt in the Bengal market subject to the payment of a customs duty equivalent to the rate of duty on indigenous salt. The so-called fair competition allowed by the government in favour of the imported salt did all the damage to the indigenous salt trade It boosted the importation of foreign salt in Bengal to the prejudice of the Cuttack produce for the same market. The damage done to the Cuttack salt trade emanated from an erroneous interpretation of the cost price of the indigenous salt manufactured under the government monopoly. The term 'cost price' for the

indigenous salt was ambiguous. This was due to the fact that the cost price for the home produce was fixed on the basis of certain other items of expenses like the collection of the salt revenue and prevention of smuggling of salt which had little to do with the manufacture of salt. The cost price of the home produce was thus unduly raised on an account of the unrelated items of expenditure which were included under the head of manufacture.[19]

As a result, the selling price of home salt was unjustifiably inflated to its detriment. Foreign imported salt which suffered from no such disadvantage but enjoyed the same rate of duty as on the indigenous produce could easily undersale the latter in the presidency market

In order to obviate any threat to the prospects of the Liverpool salt in the Bengal presidency, a parity in the prices of the two competing species had to be effected. This could be had either by reducing the price of Liverpool salt to the level of the Cuttack produce or raising the price of Cuttack salt to the level of Liverpool salt in the Bengal market. The former course was not be taken to safeguard the commercial interests connected with Liverpool salt. British merchants with all their advocacy of free trade and cheap salt for the Bengal consumers were not expected to incur loss in their salt trade with India. Hence recourse was taken to the option of raising the price of Orissa salt to the level of the Liverpool variety so that the desired objective could be easily attained. In such a situation, the price of Orissa salt was suddenly raised in 1860-61 to Rs. 62-8-0 per 100 mds. by the government of India.[20]

The enhancement of the prime cost of Orissa salt by 50% was quite unreasonable and motivated. This was done to protect the trade in imported salt and thereby pacify the cavil and clamour among the salt merchants of Britain. But it adversely affected the trade prospects of Orissa salt. As the salt of this province reached the Bengal market saddled with the transport and other incidental charges, its price was considerably increased for the consumer. It became costlier than Liverpool salt. Consequently, it had to yield place to the imported salt from Britain. Orissa's salt trade with Bengal had reached a critical stage by the enhancement of the price as above.

The first consignment of Liverpool salt found its way into Orissa in 1882-83, when 24 mds of this salt reached Balasore from Calcutta.[21] In the succeeding years it flooded the northern Orissa markets rapidly displacing the local produce. By 1886-87, the quantity of Liverpool salt reaching Balasore went upto 1,40, 859 mds.[22] Out of this, over one lakh mds

were sent to Chandabali. It was distributed in the Cuttack and south Balasore districts. Steamers plying between Calcutta and the Orissa ports brought this salt into the markets of this province. As a result of this onrush of foreign salt into Orissa, the district of Cuttack ceased to produce any salt for the local market by 1889-90. Thus the salt trade of Orissa in general and that of the district of Cuttack in particular was squeezed out of existence by the invasion of Liverpool salt from the north and the low taxed Ganjam salt* from the south. The destruction of the salt trade produced ruinous effects on the economy of the district and general welfare of her people, as described below.

In the sphere of inland trade for Cuttack salt, its disappearance from the Central Provinces deprived it a prompt outlet into that region to the westward. This in turn led to the cessation of a natural interchange of commodities between the Cuttack coast and the regions on the upper Mahanadi as far as Sambalpur.[23] As for instance, the traditional and natural cotton-salt traffic from Central India to the Cuttack coast was diverted to Ganjam after passing through the Orissa Gadjats upto Sonepur. In the subsequent phase, the loss of the extensive Gadjat market for the Cuttack salt led to the limitation of the salt industry in that district. It also encouraged clandestine manufacture and smuggling of salt among the people leading to loss of salt revenue to the state. The ultimate extinction of the salt trade in turn killed the indigenous and once flourishing salt industry of the district.

The destruction of the sea-borne trade in salt with Bengal in the north led to the economic ruination of the people in the coastal tract of the district. This had come in the form of :

1. Disappearance of coastal shipping and the ship-building industry.
2. Ruination of all the subsidiary trades that thrived on the salt trade.

During the hey-day of the salt trade, coastal shipping was in a prosperous state for the Cuttack coast and northern Orissa in general. Nearly three hundred ships were engaged in this trade On an average of fifteen persons per ship, more than four thousand persons were engaged as sailors, Khalasis etc. in the coast craft of this province. In addition to this, there were carpenters, smiths, cartmen and a host of others who found employment in the shipbuilding industry. The prosperity of merchants and ship owners dependent on the salt industry and trade disappeared.[24] All kinds of sea-going vessels plying between Orissa ports and Calcutta soon disappeared. Many of them were damaged, when left to rot in the river ports and

other places. They were never rebuilt nor new ones made. The acute dearth of boats, once engaged in transporting salt, was felt during the disastrous famine of 1866 when these were required to transport the much needed rice from the ports into the interior of the province. The sailors as a class, a part of whom were effaced from the face of the earth during the said famine were now thoroughly ruined.[25] Although the coast craft of Orissa was mainly engaged in the salt trade of the province, it had also promoted a few other subsidiary traders at the same time. Its sea-going vessels transacted business in several other merchandise not only with the port of Calcutta but with several other ports in south such as Gopalpur, Vizagpatamand Madras.[26] The subsidiary trades disappeared immediately following the destruction of the salt trade.

To sum up, the disappearance of the salt trade led to a serious economic distress throughout the province specially the coastal tract of the Cuttack district. The poor masses of this flood stricken province on the coastal tract lost their prime source of maintenance. The condition of the middle classes also deteriorated on this score. Even zamindars who had prospered with their share in the salt trade during the hey-day of this business, were now eliminated from the field of commerce.[27] In general decay, despair and misery stalked the land following the destruction of the salt iudustry and trade. Popular demand for a revival of the salt industry and the trade thereof turned out to be a cry in the wilderness. The accumulating discontent over this issue found expression in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 when Paradip on the Cuttack coast had become one of chief centers of the salt agitation of that year.

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Cuttack of My Days

Sri V. E. Davies

My first acquintance with Orissa began in November, 1927, when following the practice of those days, I was posted to the Orissa Settlement to gain first-hand experience of the ways in which the Government land Revenue system worked.

On November 1st, I reported my arrival to Mr. P. T. Masfield, who was in charge of the whole operation, which in that year was restricted to the district of Cuttack. There followed a few days of briefing and of equipping me for the tasks ahead, and I was then sent out to hold charge of Khanapuri Circle-A, which lay on the other side of the Mahanadi River from the old Cantonment area of Cuttack town. It was, I suppose, encouraging not to be sent into isolation (I could see the lights of the town and hear the trains, particularly as they crossed the Mahanadi and Birupa bridges). But Mr. Mansfield had made it quite clear that I was not to leave my Circle, except for a few days break when Christmas came along.

For the next three months or so I lived in tents, moving my camp every week or so to make it possible to carry out frequent inspections of the work of preparing new maps and writing new land records. The Circle comprised about 50 villages, largely in Pargana Daljori and the Amins spent each day correcting the field and other boundaries on the old maps and preparing new khatians listing the individual tenancies, and where it was relevant khewats listing the proprietary interests. Each Amin had his plane table (and the inevitable umbrella to protect him and his work from the scorching sun and the occasional rain). He was assisted by a Peon and a Chainman, who did the physical measurements on the ground.

I did most of my inspection journeys on horseback, though I used my motorcycle if I had to cover longer distances, such as those involved when I had to visit isolated villages to enclaves of the adjoining State of Athgarh. It was for the most part a most beautiful bit of country side, and I counted myself lucky. Along the borders with the Athgarh and Dhenkanal States, and the Darpan Zamindari there were jungle-clad hills and patches of sal

and scrub jungle stretched out into the cultivated lands below. At some camp-sites, I would wake to the calls of jungle fowls, and there was one place which demanded of me special precautions to protect my pony from leopards which sniffing round after night-fall.

After the days work, I would some times go out with my gun to see if I could augment my diet with a jungle cock or a green pigeon. After dark I finished my written work, which was generally not much more than inspection notes on the survey work I had seen earlier, but, I also put in time trying to improve my Oriya vocabulary and practising the Oriya script (I should add that this last was especially important as the Settlement rules required that Officers on training should themselves prepare a certain number of khatians and khewats).

In mid-January I received orders to move to the Survey Circle, which was based on Jagatsinghpur and where the Record of Rights drafted in the previous year was being "Attested" The tenants and the proprieters were given the oppertunity of challenging, if they had reasonable grounds, the accuracy of the maps the khatians and the khewats. There were many mote of the letter than there had been in Circle-A, and it was relevant that the land revenue in this part of Orissa was temporarily settled.

I did not have the same outdoor life, spending most of my time on semi-judicial proceedings. In any case the countryside, which was under canal irrigation was heavily cultivated, and supported a large population, So I was not sorry when, after a few works I received fresh marching orders.

I was asked to proceed without delav to help to complete the Khana-puri in a distance corner of the large and permanently-settled Kujang Estate. I was to locate myself at a small village called Satbhaya which was on the edge of the sea and close to where one of the principal mouths of the Mahanadi River entered the Bay of Bengal. I was told that my rent was being pitched in the compound of the Zamidari Bungalow, there, which would mean that I had access to a good well of sweet water

It was a quite difficult journey. Having sent my pony ahead with its syce, I arranged for my Peon, bearer and cook to travel by bus to the large village of Patamundai, and set off there myself on my moter bi-cycle.

Unfortunately, the bus broke down, and I was forced to spend a most uncomfortable and mosquito ridden night on a chair in the Patamundei Canal Bungalow, without either food or drink to sustain me. When the bus

eventually appeared soon after sunrise. I had a hasty breakfast before setting off on the final stage. I rode my pony and the servants and baggage used a bullock cart. There was some excitement when he crossed a deep river and my horse was frightened enough to kick out then fall overboard, fortunately missing all of us with his failing hooves.

My camp site looked out over the sea and a string of sand banks, one of which had quite recently been dignified into recognition as an island named wheeler after then Governor of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Henry wheeler. Cultivated lands were largely scattered between stretches of mangrove and grass jungle. So the mapping was slow. In those circumstances, I had no heavy burden of work and I had time to explore the sea shore and the adjoining wastes. I can still vividly remember the sight of an enormous multitude of small red crabs, which as I approached them along the shore disappeared into their sandy burrows, giving me the impression of a red carpet being rolled up. I can remember also the tattered remains of turtles, which had been caught and overturned when they came ashore to ley their-eggs, by some of the local leopards.

At the end of March the work was finished, and I hastened back to Cuttack glad to have done with outdoor work which had with rapidly risk temperatures become burden some. A few days later and I was on the Calcutta train on my way back to Patna.

I was not sorry to have finished my training, but I know that I would miss the natural beauties of Orissa and the friendliness of her peoples.

My next experience of Orissa was in 1933. There had been very severe flooding in the Mahanadi basin, the affects of which had been a worssed by high tides in the Bay of Bengal. The Puri district had been badly flooded, particularly the low lying areas around the Chilka lake, and some villages along the eastern boundary which Cuttack Dist. and urgent steps needed to be taken to check the damage and to provide assistance for those who had suffered.

The then Collector of the Puri district was a relatively senior I.C.S. officer, who had failed to respond to the urgency of the situation, and the Commissioner of the Orissa Division had written in very strong terms to Govt. requesting additional help, preferably a replacement for the Collector, who whether for reasons of health, or just from normal inertia, had failed to provide the essential leadership. I was staying at Ranchi for a few days over the Poojah holidays being officially on joining time between my officiating Collectorship at Darbhanga and my return to my

post as Subdivisional Officer at Pettiah in the district of Champaran. One evening, when I was at some entertainment at Govt. house, I was summoned to H. E's study and told that it had been decided to send me immediately to Puri, to take over the relief work, and to succeed quite quickly the twin incumbent as District Officer.

So, a few days later I made a very hurried trip back to North Bihar to arrange for the despatch of my possessions and servants to Orissa and myself set off from there via Calcutta for Cuttack, where I was to report to the Commissioner, Mr. Hoernle. I spent the night with him at his large historic residence, Lalbagh, and he brifeed me on conditions in the flooded areas of the Puri district and told that orders had been issued for me to take over completely all responsibilities for relief. He added that the Collector had been told to put in at once a request for sick leave, after which, I would step into his shoes.

I caught the next train to Puri, and took a room at the B. N. Ry Hotel and then phoned to the Collector. He was most unenthusiastic about me, and initially was inclined to be non-cooperative. Clearly he was very annoyed at the way that things had gone, and his leave application was delayed as long as he dared.

That was just past mid-October, and as soon as I could arrange for tents etc. I set up to begin my inspections. From then until mid-December, I was mostly on tour, though I had returned to headquarters around November 10th to take over charge of the district. I can particularly remember my visits to Krishna Prasad and the Parikud Zamindari area between the Chilika lake and the sea. These gave me my first introduction to an eccentric, but nevertheless leaveable character, the Raja of Parikud, who remained a friend of mine until I left India for good.

The Raja was related by blood and by marriage to many of the Rulers of the Orissa States and he had illusions of grandeur which his modest means could ever sustain. He was, moreover a "tuft-hunter", who seized very possible oppertunity to present himself to such as a Governor, or to the Viceroy and his lady. It was his habit to show his affection by gifts of the best that his Zamindari could produce, and there were occasion when the fine crabs from his parts of the Chilika lake were seen scuttling across expensive carpets as they sought escape from such exposure.

Actually, I met him in very different circumstances, just a few weeks after I had been inspecting his damaged lands, and the plight of his

tenantry. I received information that the Raja of Khalikote, a leading Zamindar in the Ganjam Dist. of what was still the Madras Presidency, had invited H. E. Sir George Stanlev to break his return journey to Madras, after Christmas with the Viceroy at Calcutta, for a shoot on the Chilika lake,the rather small southern portion of which belonged to him. But most of the shooting would be on or around Reed Island, which was in Parikud's estate, and in Orissa.

The Madras party were to detrain in the morning at Balugaon Station when I was required to attend as the local representative of the Bihar and Orissa Government. So, I spent the night at the Inspection Bungalow and was duly on parade when the Special Train drew-in. Sir George was very friendly and gave me the first authentic news of the heavy earthquaks, which had wrought such havoc in Bihar on the previous afternoon.

The shoot was a great success, as usual there were plenty of birds, ducks of many kinds and at least three varieties of geese I carried my gun in the morning, but, after a lavish panic lunch I spent the afternoon idle watching events, and having a most interesting talk with my opposite number, the District Officer of Ganjam.

I had been involved with an even more distinguished visitor shortly before Christmas, when I was requested to arrange lunch for lady Willingdon, the wife of the Viceroy. It appeared that she had become committed to an inescapable engagement in Calcutta a few days before the Viceregal party were due to move from tour in Madras to Belvedere in Calcutta, for the Christmas season. She might, of course, have travelled in her private coach attached to the ordinary mail train, but, adventurous as she always was, she decided to ask the Madras Flying Club to provide the transport.

The Club had light planes only, with a limited range between refuelling, and at the time landing strips were few and far between. However, it was known that an area of alat grassland to the South of Puri town had been occasionally so used and I was asked to cooperate with the plans. In the event, Burma Shell said that they could produce the required petrol, and, through the cooperation of the Manager, Mr. Gowan, of the B. N. Railway Hotel, I was able to have a suitable lunch served in a large tent on the edge of the strip. Retiring rooms were also arranged. The two Moth planes touched down more or less on schedule, and I had the privilage of entertaining Lady Willingdon, together with her A.D.C. and two pilots (members of the Flying Club and one of when was a Tyndale-Biscee).

In due course I received a letter of thanks in Lady Willingdon's own hand, and, as a memento of the occasion a silver cigarete case, with the Countess's coronet.

After Christmas the work on relief projects greatly decreased, and I was able to devote myself to other parts of the district. They had much to offer. In Khurda there were some fine forests and I particularly enjoyed a few days in the Banpur Mals, when I was accompanied by the Forest Officer, one Dodsworth, who, incidentaly, managed to show me the only hamadryad or king Cobra which I saw during my many years in India. Naturally, I visited and photographed the Konark Temple, and several of the fine buildings in the sacred area of Bhubaneswar, but I was particularly attracted by the siting and the history of the remains from the Buddhist period. The Ashoka inscription was the most important, and I was especially interested because, I had known quite well the Asoka pillars, with their inscriptions at Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district and Lauriya in the Champaran districts at North Bihar.

I saw the rock-hewn caves and carvings at Udaygiri and Khandagiri more than once as they gave considerable pleasure to friends of mine who were holidaying at the Puri Hotel.

The burden of having to cope with the devastation caused by the January earth-quake weighed heavily on Govt. and I was informed in February that I must expect orders to post me to help with the heavy tasks in Bihar So, it was no surprise to receive in early March instructions to be ready to move to Bhagalpur in Bihar to take over the district from Mr. Mansfield who was due to go on overseas leave. However, I was advised to corelate carefully with him dates, as there would be no accommodation for me until he had actually left.

I was sad to be leaving Puri at a time when I had the oppertunities to try to build on what reconstruction had so far achieved. Moreover, I had made some good friends locally, and met others when they came on seaside holiday. The Raja of Puri was a frequent visitor to my bungalow, when I much enjoyed his conversation and of course, the news which he brought. Parikud would also call socially. Among local citizens, I had great respect for the Mahanth of Emar Math who was dearold gentleman and a real influence for good in the town. I had also owed thanks to Rai Bahadur Lokanath Mishra, a local lawyer of complete integrity.

My third and final posting to Orissa covered a much longer stay, but also provided me with the oppertunity to see most, if not all of the

Province as enlarged after 1936. From January 1944 to July 1944, I was Secretary to two Governors, Sir John Hubback and Sir Hawthorms Lewis.

It was, of course, war time, and although for the first 12 months or so the impact of the conflict was not really felt, things changed very rapidly after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour, and then fought their victorious way upto the very gates of India.

When Orissa was constituted as a separate Province, the question of a new and permanent capital was left undecided, and that position still held when war broke out. The Governor lived at Puri in the house which had been built for occasional visits by the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, but the Ministers and officers of Government lived and worked at Cuttack, 60 miles or so away. The cessation of Ministerial government, when Congress decided on non-cooperation, made the situation even more anomalous, and from the time when he assumed office on April 1st 1941, Sir Hawthorne Lewis determined that there must be a change.

At first that implied more frequent that longer stays at the Cuttack circuit House, but when the Japanese menace developed, a decision was taken for a permanent move and Lalbagh, until then the residence of the Revenue Commissioner and then of the Governor's Adviser (undr Section 93 term) was taken over. With improvements to the Cook house and the provision of a new block to accommodate a Cabinet Room, and space for the Secretary to the Governor and stenographers it gave His Excellency an adequate and dignified home.

The war brought other changes to Orissa, including the construction of a large operational R. A. F. Station at Charbatia on laterite ground about 5 miles from Cuttack, on the north side of the Mahanadi. This was sited as a base for coastal command types of 'planes' which were to a large long distance reconnaissance over the Bay of Bengal. Another air field, but for fighter air craft to be used in defence of Calcutta and the industrial hinter land, was built at Amarda Road, in the Mayurbhanj State, quite close to Balasore. Later a string of Radar Posts were installed along the coast.

So long as the Japanese momentum lasted there were bound to be anxieties in Orissa. There was indeed serious planning for a possible retreat of the armed forces to a line which would have surrendered all Bengal and most of Bihar and Orissa to the enemy. And there was considerable alarm when a message came through to Government at Cuttack, from an Indian Army motor scout patrol that an invasion fleet had been sighted not far

off-shore from Chandipur, Balasore. The Chief Secretary issued instructions for the drainage of the canals, and the Collector and Police Superintendent at Balasore were instructed to destroy their secret papers. Fortunately it was ignored as a false alarm without much delay. It seems that the postal had been missed by a......

By the end of 1942, however the Japanese was greatly reduced. Their forces were greatly stretched, and the build-up of defence arrangements in India meant that the tide had definitely turned.

Meanwhile there had been unexpected political developments, which had resulted in the restoration of Ministerial Government. The Maharaja of Parlakhemundi a very respected and influential Zamindar in the Berhampur district offered to form a Ministry, with Pandit Godavaris Misra and Maulvi Abdul Khan as his colleagues. Congress members of the Assembly would continue their boycotts and the intiative seemed assured of support from the others.

But 1943 saw also the tragedy of the famine, which spilled over from the much more serious situation in Bengal. Relief centres were opened and supplies of basic food were brought in from other parts of India. These humanitarian efforts were much encouraged by the interest shown by the Viceroy and Lady Wavell, who devoted one whole day of their tour in Orissa in December 1943 to an inspection of relief operations in the Ganjam and Berhampur districts.

In the 3 years of my life with the Governor, I accompanied him all his tours, and thus had a wonderful oppertunity of meeting people in all walks of life and of very different backgrounds. Indeed I considered that it was an important part of my duties that I could establish friendly personal relations with all, from Rajas downwards. I was able also to see and enjoy the natural beauty of the Province as a whole. That meant that when the time came for me to move back to Bihar and other work I had many and real regrets.

I left Cuttack in July 1944.

That is not quite the end of the story, for, in 1971 I was lucky enough to spend a few days in the State of Orissa in the course of tour in my Caravan round parts of northern India.

My wife and I motored from Jamshedpur (where we had been the guests of the Tata Iron and Steel Company) via-Jajpur Road, and were

amazed to see the fine new road which had been constructed and bridged all the way through to Cuttack. By the time we arrived it was dark, and we proceeded to the new Circuit House (in the old days it had been the Collector's House) in the so called Cantonment area. Our contact in Orissa, the Raja of Kanika, with whom I had kept in touch over the intervening years, had made a booking there on our behalf.

Unfortunately there had been some mis-understanding and the rooms were all reserved for various judges, who had come for an official judicial conference.

Fortunately we could contact the Raja by phone and on his instructions we went to the Cuttack Club, still in its old building in the Barabati Fort. There were entertained by some friendly members until the Raja arrived with the news that he had been able to obtain accommodation for us at the Government Rest House at Bhubaneswar. He accompanied us there and took dinner with us before he left to return home, having promised to be in contact again on the morrow.

My wife and I had a comfortable night and the next morning we motored gently round the new capital city, which was a real relevation and created a very good impression. In the afternoon the Raja came with a daughter and took us in his car to spend an hour or so at the Orissa Zoo. I can remember the very excellent tea which was provided (Firpo's Cakes) and the handsome tiger which was said voluntarily to have moved into Zoo, from the wild, for love of a tigress. As it was a holiday for Christmas, there were large number of visiters and very much of a children's day. Our next move was to Puri and I make a call on the Secretary to the Governor at Raj Bhawan to see if he could help with accommodation, may be at his official residence there (in which I had spent some years with my family). That was not possible as the house was at the time unfit for occupation. And, as H. E. was away, there was no one with authority to allow us to use a room in the Governor's own residence.

Some of the Raj Bhawan servants and Chaparassis had worked with Governors before Independence, and several of them identified themselves and also inquired as to the health of Sahibs they had known. It was a quite emotional moment.

In the event we spent our first night at Puri in the Forest Bungalow, which was cramped and also noisy from other occupants. So, we were most happy to receive news that we might occupy accommodation in what had been the A.D.C's wing of Government house. There we spent 4 or 5

contented days, bathing in the sea with Nulia guards, walking along the beach, and visiting the Railway Hotel for some of our meals. Unfortunately most of our friends had passed on but I greatly enjoy to meeting again Rai Bahadur Lokanath Misra, who was by then of a really vulnerable age.

We diverted from our drive back to Bhubaneswar to see again the Konark Temple. After some essential shopping we pushed on to Cuttack where there was assured accommodation at the Circuit House.

We had Just one day there. That afternoon, we went by invitation to Kanika Bati, where we sat in the garden and shared our tea with the Raja and two of his sons with several grand children. We also met separately the daughter-in-law who had joined us for the trip from Bhubaneswar to the Zoo.

The Raja had also asked us for dinner, but first, with his car and guidance we went to call on our old friend Rai Bahadur Samuel Das, and spent a pleasant half hour or so talking about mutual friends and the old times. Finally, we were taken to meet Nilamani Senapati, who had retired from the I.C.S. in his own country, in a pleasant house. His daughter "DEPPY" had died, and he himself suffered increasingly badly with his eyes. But he still continued his interest in the revised editions of the Orissa District Gazetteers, of which he had been Editor-in-Chief.

Back to Kanika Rajabati, where we had a most enjoyable meal with Kanika and his Rani. Afterwards he showed us some of his collection of his own cine-camera films including ones in which I had featured when I was in attendance on the Governor.

With my wife, I left Cuttack early the next day, when he motored via Angul and Sambalpur to Hirakud, where by courtesy of Kanika, we had been allowed to occupy for two night a room in the Government rest house. It was our first night of the great lake, created by a barrage across the Mahanadi river, and we were greatly impressed by the achievement and by the environment thus formed. The rest House was comfortable and well furnished and staffed, and we found pleasant company in fellow guests.

We motored away on the second morning and before long had said good-bye to Orissa, which always had a warm corner in our memories and hearts.

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Cuttack City in the Political Map of Orissa

Pratap Chandra Swain
Surya Narayan Mishra

The year 1989-90 is celebrated as One Thousandth Birth Anniversary of Cuttack, the Premier urban Center of Orissa and the Politico-Cultural Capital of the State. It is interesting to note that the similar Celebrations for the completion of different Birth Anniversary are also organised for the Cities of London, Calcutta, Madras and Hyderabad.

Cuttack is one of the oldest cities of India. It remained as the Capital City of Orissa for almost nine centuries. As per Bihar-Orissa District Gazetteers 1933 (for Cuttack), the City stands nearly at the apex of a triangle, two sides of which are formed by river Mahanadi and its Branch Kathjurhi. This riverine city was a famous trade centre and the Orissa trunk road passes through it. This has made it well communicable.

By early 19th Century, Cuttack had grown as a business center during the Maratha rule. It was a convenient point of contact between the Marathas of Nagpur and the English traders of Bengal. In 1803 Cuttack came under the occupation of the British. Immediately after the occupation the company authorities introduced the Bengal regulations in the district. From 1816 onwards Cuttack remained as the headquarters of the British administration in Orissa. The British administration gave priority to land settlement than development of the region. Thus the initial period of the British rule experienced a phase of under development. The latter part of the 19th Century experienced a number of activities such as opening of a degree College (Ravenshaw College), a first public hospital in 1874, first medical School in 1875 and the Municipal Corporation of Cuttack, 1876. The rail link between Madrass and Calcutta through Cuttack was established in 1871.

It is recorded that Mahanadi and Kathjurhi were the sources of irritation for the English Officials. But whoever came to Cuttack, the hesitation was transformed into love. Today people talk of English Officials like T. E. Ravenshaw and John Beames. Both of them were quite popular among the natives.

The European Missionaries through their interaction with the local population increased the level of awareness of people of Cuttack. It was because of them, that the education and literary activities began in the City. The Missionaries were the pioneers of press in Orissa. Cuttack was Principal Center of the Baptist and Roman Catholic Missionaries in Orissa. The Missionaries opened educational institutions and through the first printing Press they published literary periodicals.

Flood and famine were the dreaded natural calamities in Orissa and it provided a disturbed administrative phase for the English authorities who under the advice of the experts recommended digging of canals to control flood. The Anicut of Jobra and the Taladanda Machhagaon Canal were the results of such research.

Educational institutions, growth of press and journalism and formation of Public associations were experienced in 1870s and the period was responsible for the growth of Socio-political consciousness which created new elites whose center of activity was Cuttack. Utkal Dipika, Utkal putra and Utkal Sahitya were the important journals published from Cuttack. Sri Gouri-Sankar Ray, Pyarimohan Acharya, Jagannath Rao, Chatruvuj Pattnaik, Biswanath Kar, Madhusudan Rao were the leading elites of the Cuttack City then. Some of them were attracted towards Brahmaism and in fact Utkal Brahma Samaj was formed in Cuttack in 1869. The emerging elites of Cuttack attracted the traditional elites like the princes and landed gentries who also started their Political activity at Cuttack. They were the loyal supporters of the British rulers. Their congregation began Darbari Politics at Cuttack. Some of the benevolent rulers also helped in the growth of educational institution and Oriya literature through Printlng Press. In 1877 Utkal Sabha was formed for promoting the development of Oriya Language and culture.

Puplic activities among the Oriya elites received scope when Bengali started a new move to abolish Oriya language from the Schools of Orissa. This move was protested by the new Oriya elite Gouri Sankar Ray and his Utkal Dipika took up the cause. Cuttack was the active center of the Bengali Politics and it became the nerve center of Oriya nationalism.

The establishment of the local Govrnment was a step further. But it was Lord Ripon who was responsible to introduce elected local-self Government. Thus began hectic political activity at Cuttack demanding elected local bodies. Several meetings were held and demands were mede. In one of the large meetings it was decided to form a permanent association Utkal Sabha, which will make efforts in that regard. Utkal Gauraba

Madhusudan was one of the promoters of the group. The first elected Cuttack Municipality came to a reality in December, 1889 amdist Oriya-Bengali conflict.

Utkal Sabha rose to prominence and it was fore-most Socio-cultural organisation during the second part of the 19th Century. It was forerunner of Utkal Union Conference. Besides taking of the local issues with the administration, Utkal Sabha expressed its anxiety to amalgamate Oriya speaking tracts. Madhusudan Das and Gouri Sankar Ray were the regular representatives of the Sabha for annual meeting of the Indian national congress. Since then Cuttack became the prominent center of Political activity. Demands, memorials originated in Cuttack. Protest march and agitations were also held in Cuttack.

Madhusudan's Political activity received the organisational forum after he became the Vice Chairman of the District Board in 1887. In 1896 he was nominated to the Bengal Legislative council and became the most prominent political figure from Orissa. Alongwith Raja of Kanika he organised the first session of Utkal Union Conference at Cuttack in 1903. This was a major attempt for the amalgamation of Oriya Speaking tracts. He also initiated his programme of industrialisation at Cuttack. Madhusudan became one of the Pioneers of Swadeshi movement in Orissa. In the historic Cuttack Municipal Hall on 20th of August, 1905 he gave the call for the boycott of foreign goods. The State of education in Orissa had improved little bit. That had created political consciousness among the literate Oriyas. The Orissa graduates and under graduates associations founded by Madhusudan was a milestone in that regard. Cuttack became the center of Political activity and the training center for the emerging youth. A young Utkal association was formed to take the initiative. Besides Madhusudan Das, Gopabandhu Das, Godabarish Mishra, Braja Sundar Das and Biswanath Kar were the other leading figure of the above associations. The provision of educational facilities of Cuttack made it the place of congregation of literate Oriyas from different parts of Orissa. The Political movement originated at Cuttack had two trends-regionalism and nationalism. The Political movement was intended for merger of Oriya tracts as well as liberation from Colonial domination. Thus Cuttack from the beginning of the 20th century played a dominant role in shaping the political fortune of the Oriyas, ultimately Orissa became the firstever linguistically organised State during British Indian days on 1st April, 1936.

Cuttack was the capital of the new separate State of Orissa having the Orissa Legislature held at Ravenshaw College Hall and the seat of

bureaucracy the Secretariat now called old Secretariat. The election to the Orissa legislative Assembly was held during March, 1937 under Government of India Act. 1935. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of Pandit Nilakantha Das swept the poll. The assembly was peculiarly composed of having the representatives of Cuttack (Bichitrananda Das and Bijayananda Patnaik representing Cuttack central sadar constituency). After a brief spell of coalition under the leadership of Parala Maharaja Sri Biswanath Das became first Prime Minister on 19th July, 1937. The first session of the first legislative assembly was held on 28th July 1937 in the historic Ravenshaw College Hall. The legislature at Cuttack having prominent political figures participating in debates were instrumental in shaping the fortune of Orissa and Cuttack was the nerve center of the above political activity. During the preindependence era spanning from 1937 to 1946 Orissa experienced the Parliamentary leadership of Parala Maharaja, Biswanath Das and Sri Harekrishna Mahtab.

Gopabandhu's Samaj, Nilakanth's Naba Bharat and Mahtab's Prajatantra Co-ordinated the Political activities and shaped the public opinion in the State through extra ordinary journalism and championing the cause of Oriya during the formative years of the State. Cuttack remained as the capital of Orissa till 1948 and Bhubaneswar became the new Capital for the State.

The historic city of Cuttack had produced innumerable number of patriots, politicians, Statesmen, Professionals and Scores of organised Oriyas. The historic Ravenshaw College was the almamater for any body who was an Oriya and crying for Orissa.

Orissa is laboratory of Political experiments. When the entire nation was jubilant with Congress victory in the elections under the new constitution, Orissa Congress with its seat at Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack kept a low profile. The firstever congress Ministry after election had to depend on outside support. Though, Orissa played to the fortune of congress, Cuttack provided ungrudging support to the party. Sri Biren Mitra a mass leader represented Cuttack city in the Orissa Legislative Assembly from 1952 till the dissolution of the assembly in 1970. On 3rd appearance Sri Mitra became the deputy Chief Minister and after two years, he was elevated to the rank of Chief Minister and in fact he was the first Minister from Cuttack Assembly Constituency. Other Political figures who represented Cuttack in the assembly were Sri Bhairaba Ch. Mohanty (better known for Barabati Stadium) Smt. Nandini Satpathy, Sri Srikant Panda, Sri Biswanath Pandit and Sri Mustafij Ahmed. Sri Biren Mitra was elected four times,

Sri Panda and Sri Ahmed twice. The credit of being reelected on successive ocassions goes to Sri Mitra and Sri Ahmed. Both of them had sizable political base among weaker sections, minorities and Basthi Balas of Cuttack. The Cuttack Parliamentary Constituency is a major one of the State. It has been represented by persons like Sri Nityananda Kanungo, Sri Srinibash Mishra, Sri Janaki Ballav Pattanik, Sri Sarat Kar, Smt. Jayanti Pattanaik and Sri Srikanta Jena. Among them the credit of being reelected on successive occassions goes to Sri Kanungo and Smt. Pattanaik. Sri Kanungo, Sri Pattanaik and young Sri Jena brought laurels to Cuttack by becoming members of the Union Council of Ministers.

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Cuttack and Subhas Bose

Sri Subrata Bose

Strange as it may seem, my first visit to Cuttack was only in nineteen sixties, when I, with my wife and daughter, went to Orissa to spend a holiday. I call it strange, because for about forty years from 1885—the year my grandfather, Janaki Nath Bose joined the Cuttack Bar as a Pleader—this city was the seat of our family. His children grew up in Cuttack and all of them became very nostalgic whenever they talked of that city and about their childhood memories of the good time spent there. However, since neither my father, Sarat Chandra Bose nor any of his brothers settled down in Cuttack after completing their education, members of our generation had no special attachment for the city. This is an example of how time and circumstances help in making connections as also severing them.

Although a comparatively small town, Cuttack evidently had an importance of its own owing to a variety of factors. It had an unbroken tradition since the days of the early Hindu Kings of Kalinga. It was de facto capital of Orissa much before it became the official capital of the province after the enactment of Government of India Act, 1935. With the shifting of the capital to Bhubaneswar, perhaps it has now lost some of its importance again. But I shall not comment on this aspect, as I need not, since this article is to reminisce on the past and not to dwell on the present.

From the available records it appears that Janaki Nath went to Cuttack for the first time in 1879. His step-brother, Devendra Nath Bose had joined the educational service of the Government and had to move about from place to place. In an entry in a note book, Janaki Nath writes "Came with my half-brother Babu Devendra Nath Basu to Cuttack and joined the Ravenshaw College in August (?) 1879". He graduated from this College in the early part of 1882 and then returned to Calcutta to take his law degree.

Meanwhile, Janaki Nath married Prabhabati (nee Dutt) in 1880. He was then twenty years old. I have not been able to find out if Prabhabati had come to Cuttack when Janaki Nath was studying in Ravenshaw College. Janaki Nath must have developed a liking for Cuttack during the period he

studied for the graduation. So, when he embarked on his legal career, he chose this city as his place of work.

Janaki Nath has not left behind anything in writing on his life. Of his two most illustrious sons, Sarat Chandra and Netaji Subhas Chandra, the latter has given us a chronicle of events in his early life in his unfinished autobiography "An Indian Pilgrim" He records that his mother used to describe the rolling and pitching and the accompanying discomfort they experienced during the sea voyage from Calcutta to Cuttack. In these days of rapid communication, about an hour's journey by plane from Calcutta to Bhubaneswar and thence a short trip by car to Cuttack or a night's journey by train southwards along the eastern coast takes one comfortably from the capital of West Bengal to the historic town of Orissa. But in the days when the young couple—Janaki Nath and Prabhabati—migrated to Cuttack, it was safer to travel by boat than go by cart and encounter thieves and robbers on the road.

After settling down in Cuttack, Janaki Nath gave his whole-hearted attention to further his professional career and his sincerity, devotion and disciplined work habits brought him rich dividends quite early in his life. He soon attained a senior position in the Bar By 1905 he became Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor. In 1917, following some differences with the District Magistrate, he resigned the post of Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor. Janaki Nath, inspite of being much occupied with his professional work, did not, however, confine his activities in the Court precincts alone. He took a very active part in the social life of Cuttack. The year 1901 saw him as the first non-official elected Chairman of the Cuttack Municipality. In 1912, he became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and received the title of Rai Bahadur, which title he gave up in 1930 as a protest against the repressive policy of the British Government. Besides being connected with public bodies like the Municipality and District Board, Janaki Nath also found time for educational and social institutions like the Victoria School and Cuttack Union Club. He was not merely connected with them, but did a lot for the development of such institutions. He was also the President of the local Theosophical Lodge. As a man, he was a compassionate being. He had extensive charities and poor students came in for a regular share of them In short, he was a very well-known figure in Cuttack in the early part of this century and was widely respected and loved. A heart ailment, unfortunately, brought about his premature retirement from the legal profession. In the meantime, he had built a house in Calcutta on Elgin Road (now renamed Lala Lajpat Rai Sarani) in the

Bhowanipore area—the house which is now called "Netaji Bhawan". After giving up legal practice, Janaki Nath spent more time in Calcutta, although visiting Cuttack, as also Puri and Bhubaneswar where he had built houses, frequently. Contact with Cuttack diminished gradually, as almost all his sons settled in Calcutta. The soft corner in his heart for Orissa and more particularly Cuttack, however, remained till the last, because it is there that he achieved stability, affluence and eminence in his life.

For all his sons, schooling was in Cuttack and mostly in Ravenshaw Collegiate School. When they were ready to go to College, they were sent to Calcutta. The sons were also born in Cuttack. The room in which Janaki Nath and Prabhabati's sixth son and ninth child, Subhas Chandra was born in their house in Oriya Bazar is now visited by thousands of people, particularly on Subhas's birthday. It is, of course, likely that not only Subhas Chandra, but all the children, who were born in Cuttack, were born in this room, as in those days it was not unusual to keep one room in the house of an affluent person exclusively for use only at the time of confinement.

The second son and the fourth child of the family, Sarat Chandra had followed in his father's footsteps, albeit briefly, by starting his legal practice in Cuttack. Sarat Chandra passed the B.L. examination in 1911. Janaki Nath was then having a flourishing practice mainly in Cuttack Court, although appearing in other Courts in Orissa as well whenever on call. It was but natural for Sarat Chandra to go to Cuttack to set up practice. Sarat Chandra had the habit of keeping diaries and from his diary of 1912, we get a few interesting facts about his professional career in Cuttack. He has noted that on January 11 he was engaged for the defence in 'Emperor vs. Purnananda Mahanty' in the Sessions Court and his father was to appear for the Crown. Prosecution witnesses were examined and cross-examined on the same day. The hearing of the case was concluded on the following day with the examination of defence witnesses and arguments. At the end of the hearing, the Assessors gave their opinion "not guilty" and Sarat Chandra eagerly waited for the judgement to see if the Judge concurred with the opinion of the Assessors. He did not have to wait long as the Sessions Judge, in his judgement delivered on January 15, acquitted Purnananda Mahanty. In his diary, Sarat Chandra merely recorded the facts, but surely the young lawyer must have been very elated to win a case in which his father was on the opposite side. I have heard that an English Judge of the Cuttack Court had been so impressed by young Sarat's performance in Court, he had suggested to Janaki Nath that his son should be sent to England to become a barrister, so that he could enlarge his field of

operation. Sarat Chandra did not, however, recorded any such suggestion in his diary. In the entry under February 22 the same year, Sarat wrote that he himself proposed to his mother about going to Edgland to qualify himself for the English Bar and that his mother, as he recorded on the following day, in turn conveyed the proposal to his father and the latter reserved his opinion. Here again, Sarat's waiting was very short as the entry under February 24 in the diary of 1912 noted "Father opened the subject of my going to England during breakfast. He is agreeable. It was settled that I should join the Miehaelmas term" When Sarat Chandra returned to India after becoming a barrister in 1914, he enrolled as an advocate in Calcutta High Court and shifted permanently from Cuttack to Calcutta. There is also another important event in Sarat Chandra's life in Cuttack, which ought to be mentioned. Again from his diary we find that an article written by him "exposing the Bihar leaders" appeared in the 'Star of Utkal' on March 16, 1912. This was most likely his first journalistic venture and the forerunner to his great contribution in the sphere of journalism in later years. His close involvement in the running of "Forward" founded by Deshbandhu C.R. Das, which was subsequently renamed first "New Forward" and then "Liberty" and the daily newspaper Sarat Chandra himself founded—"The Nation"—is quite well-known.

From Subhas Chandra's incomplete autobiography "An Indian Pilgrim" we learn that all his brothers and sisters had initially studied in the Protestant Europeon School run by the Baptist Mission and Subhas also joined this school. The reason for sending the children to this school possibly was that in such a school they would master the English language better and sooner than elsewhere. The Headmaster and the Headmistress of the school were Mr. and Mrs. Young, who had come out from England. The majority of the teachers and pupils were Anglo-Indians. The important things he remembered about the school were, firstly, there was not that unhealthy emphasis on studies and a lot of attention was given to deportment, neatness and punctuality and secondly, the students received more individual attention at the hands of the teachers, the daily work was done regularly and systematically and as a result of which practically no special or extra preparation was required when an examination had to be faced.

After studying in the P.E. School for six years, Subhas was transferred to Raveshaw Collegiate School, where he joined the fourth class (in those days numbering of classes was different from what obtains now). The Headmaster of the school was Shri Beni Madhav Das. As he writes in his autobiography, "The very first day I saw him taking his rounds—I was then

just over twelve—I felt what I should now call an irresistible moral appeal in his personality.... And I secretly said to myself that if I wanted an ideal for my life, if should be to emulate him." Unfortunately, two years later, Shri Beni Madhav Das was transferred. But Subhas started a correspondence with him. He learnt from him how to love nature and be inspired by her, not merely aesthetically, but ethically as well. "Surrender yourself completely to nature", Das would write, "and let nature speak to you through her Protean mask." This sort of contemplation had given him peace of mind, joy and strength of will.

Shri Beni Madhav Das was also responsible for influencing Subhas Chandra in another aspect, which left a lasting impression. In 1912, Beni Madhav introduced another student, Hemanta Kumar Sarkar to Subhas. Hemanta Sarkar came to Cuttack and Puri on a tour. Hemanta was connected with a group in Calcutta which had as its ideal spiritual uplift and national service along constructive lines. Subhas says in his book that he received from Hemanta the first political impetus in his life. It was thanks to Cuttack that Subhas Chandra came in touch with Beni Madhav Das.

It was in Cuttack that Subhas Chandra discovered the ideal to which he could give my whole being. One day by sheer accident, he came across the works of Swami Vivekananda among the collection of books of a relative of his. He had hardly turned over a few pages when he realised that here was something which he had been longing for. He borrowed the books, pored over them. Swami's letters as well as speeches from Colombo to Almorah, replete as they were with practical advice to his countrymen, inspired him most. He emerged with a vivid idea of the essence of Vivekananda's teachings. "Atmano Mokshartham Jagaddhitaya"—for your own salvation and for the service of humanity—that was to be his life's goal. Swami Vivekananda gave him the ideal.

The city of Cuttack also gave Subhas Chandra his first experience of social work. Before he was sixteen, he went to a village in the outskirts of the town with a group of friends with the object of rendering some service. They entered the village primary school and did some teaching there They felt greatly encouraged as, in their outing, they were warmly welcomed by the teachers and the villagers in general. However, they did not have the same experience everywhere. In another village, as they entered, the villagers, who had seen them from a distance collected in a body and as they advanced, the villagers began to retreat. The group of young students were shocked and surprised at first without understanding why they were

ragarded not only as strangers but as suspicious characters or enemies by villagers, whom they wanted to serve. Later they realised that whenever well-dressed men had come into the village they must have done so as tax-collectors or in some similar capacity and had behaved in such a manner as to create a gulf between the villagers and men from the town.

Subhas sat for the Matriculation Examination in March, 1913 from the Ravenshaw Collegiate School and came out second in the whole University. His parents were delighted and he was packed off to Calcutta, where he joined the Presidency College.

During his first year in College, Subhas returned to Cuttack to spend the vacations there. On returning to Cuttack, he got into his old set again. He accepted the invitation to join a party of friends going into the interior on a nursing expedition in a locality which was stricken with cholera, with the leader of the party being a half-doctor, whose belongings consisted of a book on homoeopathy, a box of homoeopathic medicines and plenty of common sense. In those days cholera was regarded as a fatal disease and it was not easy to get people to attend cholera patients. Evidently, this group of youngmen were absolutely fearless.

Subhas Chandra once again came back to Cuttack perforce for a comparatively longer stay in March, 1916. Following the "Oaten incident" in the Presidency College (about which I shall not elaborate as it is well-known), he was rusticated from the Calcutta University. It was felt that to allow him to stay in Calcutta without any ostencible vocation was extremely risky and a quiet corner like Cuttack would be far better for him. He coald not continue his studies. The expulsion was for an indefinite period and there was no certainty as to when the University authorities would relent and give him permission to resume studies. How could he spend his time ? He took to nursing again. Interesting and useful though nursing was, it could not fill all his time. Moreover, he thought, nursing was but an expedient; it was not a permanent remedy for any of our national ills. So, he decided to try his hand at youth organisation. He got together a large number of youths and they started an organisation with different departments for physical, intellectual and moral advancement. Subhas also wrote that at this time he was brought face to face with the problem of untouchability. His forced sojourn in Cuttack during this period gave him experience in social work, insight into social problems and opportunity to develop his organising skills. He returned to Calcutta to continue his studies after about an year when the Calcutta University withdrew the order of expulsion.

The city of Cuttack gave my grandfather Janaki Nath Bose position, stability, affluence and eminence. His son, Sarat Chandra made his first mark in the legal profession in the Courts of this city. It helped immensely his another son, Netaji Subhas Chandra to imbibe the spirit of nationalism, see for himself how his countrymen in the villages lived while rendering social service to them and develop organising abilities, all of which stood him in good stead in his later life when he became one of the greatest leaders India has ever produced and by his exploits won the hearts of millions of his countrymen.

On the occasion of the celebration of the millennium of Cuttack, I offer my humble felicitations and recall with great pleasure and gratitude the part it played in the life of my forefathers.

I passed the matriculation examination held in the latter part (perhaps December) of the year 1877 from the Albert School, Calcutta.

Joined the St Xavier's College and was in that college for about six months. Then joined the General Assembly's Institution.

Came with my half-brother Babu Devendra Nath Basu to Cuttack and joined the Ravenshaw College in August (?) 1879

Passed the F.A. Exn held in the year in the 1st division and got a Government Scholarship of Rs. 20/

Passed the B.A. Exn in the early part of 1882 in the 2nd division from the

Passed the B L Exn in the 2nd division from the Metropolitan Institution in the early part of 1883

served as a lecturer in the Albert College in the year 1883 - Babu Krishna Vihari Sen - my former headmaster - was then the Rector

For about 9 months in the year 1884 served as the Headmaster of the Jaynagore Institution.

Came to Cuttack after the Rajah vacation, was enrolled as a Pleader and joined the Cuttack Bar on the 15th of January 1885.

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Sarat Chandra was born at Cuttack on the 6th of September 1889 at 1.39 a.m.

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Subhas was born at Cuttack on the 23rd of January 1897 at a few minutes after 12 noon (between 12 & 1 p.m.)

Postal History of Cuttack

Sri Sahadeva Sahoo

When some body to whom you want to convey some message and/ or get a reply is at a distance you depend on a courier. Each time you send message you need a courier and that is prohibitively costly and practically impossible, for there may not be a professional courier who makes a living out of carrying mails. At least that was the situation until the Industrial Revolution in Europe and early 19th century elsewhere in the world. If we go back into the past there was simply no conveyance except an adventurous journey once in a blue moon and there was no written communication for want of a proper language. It was by word of mouth that a message could travel. Who needed to give/send a message unless he had something at stake ? Whence came the king's mail and the cost was no consideration as the King depended on his servants, particularly the horse riders in his army or an efficient runner in the employ of army. More often than not, it was a spy mail because the King wanted to watch what was going on his borders or how was his military campaign faring in the frontier. There was no organised post or Postal service as we understand today.

This was the situation when Cuttack was established as the Capital of the kingdom by Nripendra Keshari around 989 A.D. The history of the kingdom was the history of Cuttack. Spies were despatched to the ten corners of the kingdom to send messages of any untoward activity undertaken by the neighbouring kingdoms. In fact on the basis of survey undertaken by the messengers sent by the king to various parts of the kingdom Nripendra Keshari chose Cuttack as the ideal setting for establishment of a Capital, impenetrable by any enemy, by the standards then obtaining. The triangular site of which the two-some Mahanadee and Kathjoree formed two sides while the third side was not approachable unless any one of the said two was crossed by the enemy would obviously have satisfied the most stringent specifications of any fastiduous site-selection committee of the 10th century. Having ensconced in the protected environs of the then two mighty streams Nripendra Keshari became more dependent on his spies to know the state of the kingdom and watch the

neighbouring Kings. But the system was a personalised one. It was not even thrown open to the courtiers who of course had no need of sending nor receiving from any body outside the perimeters of capital.

While there was no public service the mode of transmission of message and the medium of writing the message changed with the techno-logy of the times. The province being full of swollen rivers, high hills and dense jungles it admitted of no smooth journey. The messenger had to be provided escorts, more often in disguised plainclothed traveller's attire and he being shown one of them, so that the people did not have an iota of suspicion that he was on an important mission. Till a written language known both to the sender and the reciver was established the message was in the form of symbols borrowed from the natural world, the code being earlier arranged between the King and his General who could as well be his son on a military campaign. Sanskrit was not widely studied by the royal household though they encouraged its study by Brahmins. A Royal message could not be in Sanskrit without it being known to a third party. Of course there were messages like calling a General back to barracks on apprehension that he was engaged in rebellious activities or likely to prove a rallying point for rebellion.

When Chodagangadeb with capital at Kalinganagar extended his kingdom beyond the Mahanadee he found Cuttack eminently suitable for his capital and he shifted to Cuttack in 1135 A.D. It was more necessary in view of constant attack from the Muslim Rulers of Bengal. While protecting himself from surprise attacks if any, the King found it easier to collect intelligence about the Muslim Rulers from Cuttack which became the nerve centre of communication in the Kalinga empire. In the interest of speed and despatch the King-Emperor used stilt-runners who have been succeeded by what we now know as the 'Ranapa' dancers. Stilt-walkers use a pair of long poles with footrests on which they stand and take long strides. Normal human stride is determined by the angle the two legs make when we walk. This is why a taller person has a longer gait or stride. In the same manner the stride can be increased at will if bamboo poles of suita-ble length are used as stilts. What is more a stilt walker avoids contact with the ground thereby saving his time and energy from unnecessarily scanning at the possible danger of insects or reptiles that might be lurking in the bushes/grass below. There is a lot of allusions in the historical fictions relating to the period how the Orissa and the Vijayanagar kings used stilt runners to procure the news from the war fronts with utmost speed and without any danger attending to the runner due to natural

adversities. Horses replaced the stilt runners when horses became part of the royal army and greater speed was the need of the hour. In any case there was no perceptible need for a regular cummunication system till Kapilendradeb who having expanded his empire in constant warfare over a period of 38 years beginning with his enthronement in 1435 A.D. from the Kaveree to the Ganges, required a heavy network of intelligence-collecting courier system. Cuttack continued as the hub of the empire's communication net in the reigns of his successors Purushottamdeb and Prataprudradeb but the activities had a concentration to the South As a result the Gajapatis could not be uptodate with the happenings in the North and the internecine quarrels within the Gajapati's court paved the way for the Afghan rule in Orissa in 1568 A.D.

Orissa fell to the powers of the Mughals when Akbar defeated Daud Khan of Bengal in 1574. With that began the establishment of 'serais' (travellers' lodge) on the road-sides to facilitate, inter alia, exchange of messages through horse-riders (ghoda sabars). Though it remained a royal business, the foundation was laid of a Dawk chauki system in Orissa, with Cuttack as the nerve-centre.

The backwardness of Orissa, that is Cuttack, in postal administration was a historical legacy. It did not benefit from the earliest 'dawk' system of the Pathan Ruler, Allaudin Khilji, who, history records, had built a horse and foot postal organisation in 1296 A.D. to receive regular news of his army in the field. Mohammad Bin Tughlak streamlined the postal service in his empire on the model of that existing in the Roman empire a system of horse couriers at every 6½ Kilometres and foot-runners in every inhabitated village. Each rider waited to receive and forward to the next and the foot runners supplemented in relays where the horse rider was unable to negotiate. The system was so efficient that while travellers took 50 days to travel the distance between Sind and Delhi, the Royal dawk took a mere 5 days. Between 1541 and 1545 Sher Shah modernised the dawk system by providing 1700 serais along the road from Sind to Bengal and two horses ready at every 3 Kms. to ensure transfer of Royal despatches. He had appointed a Darogah-i-Dawk-Chauki to look after the portfolio. Akbar built up post chaukis at every 16 Kms (10 miles) and employed swift Turkish horses (and camels in desert areas). The 10-mile distance was later kept intact by the Britishers. While so much progress was going on in the heartland of North India, Orissa could not benefit adequately and timely. During Akbar's reign when his Finance Minister Todar Mall conducted land-survey and introduced a duality in administration by putting the coastal

belt under direct charge (hence called Mughal bundi) and leaving the hilly tracts to the Fort-holders (hence called Gurhjats), the need for a full-fledged postal service was felt. Land owners supplied foot-runners and the fort-holders the horse riders to carry Royal dawk. Let it be clarified that revenue staff of Akbar had not become Zemindars, an appellation they were cofferred with by the British who wanted an intermediary between them and an alien people speaking a foreign tongue.

The development of postal network depended on the communication facilities and the communication facilities in turn depended on trade activities or on pilgrim flows. The religious purpose which was predominantly a visit to Puri generated a trading activity of different sort, i.e. food and shelter en route. But a Dawk system was not called for except when a royal family was on a visit and in that case the family had its own couriers following them. With the coming of the East India Company the trade became the main concern and a network of communication was imperative. Till 1688 the East India Co. used the runners, called hurkaras, between their trading places. They saw to it that communications reached them safe bothways and they accordingly built up stages and employed all sorts of transport, animal and human. The E. I. Co. decided in 1688 to open a Post Office at Bombay and in Calcutta in 1686 (18 years after its establishment). The Company solved its communications problem by employing its own runners along with the runners already in use by the local rulers. The Company initially bypassed the land-route in Orissa as it was in the hostile hands and the terrain was not suitable for expeditious despatch. In 1712 letters between Bengal and Madras took just above a month, compared to earlier requirement of two to three months. The saving of more than a month could be possible because the Company established a Post Office at Ganjam and made a centre at Balasore mouth. By 1766 Cuttack was added as the third stage for regular service between Calcutta and Madras. Cuttack was then the False Point and a little inside but not the Marhatta seat at Cuttack. When Warren Hastings wanted to introduce regular runners he felt it necessary to take the overland route via Orissa. He had known that to buy peace from each other the Muslim and the Marhatta Rulers in Bengal and Orissa had engaged in a financial deal in which Aliwardhy Khan paid annually 12 lakh sicca rupees as chouth for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The treaty was signed in 1751. By that time Ganjam was an established factory and Balasore was not doing bad. Hastings negotiated with the Bhonsales at Nagpur and got the concession. Cuttack became an intermediate station without any established post office. In 1770 an overland route from Madras to Calcutta was proposed and a weekly service

introduced. In 1774 Hastings put regular runners at the disposal of a Post Master General and the runners operated on the routes (1) Calcutta to Ganjam, (2) Calcutta to Patna, (3) Patna to Varanasi, (4) Calcutta to Dacca and (5) Dinajpur to Rajmahal. For extraordinary conveyance of mails he employed express couriers, called cossids.

Lord Clive made arrangements in 1766 for carriage of private mails of the servants of the Company along with his 'Government mails. Warren Hastings kept the official channel opens for the private persons' mails on payment of fees. It can be safely said that effectively from 1775 a new age dawned with the Government involvement in the carriage of mails inside India wherever the E. I Co. extended their territories and activities. Initially a copper token was issued at General Post Offices valued at two annas each as a medium for payment of postage, the amount was to meet the postage for a single letter of 2½ tolas weight for a distance of 100 miles (160 Kms.). The Bye-laws framed then still hold except that we pay in shape of postage stamps and not in copper tokens.

As a part of his drive to regularise the postal services Lord Clive in 1766 appointed European Deputy Post Masters for bigger stations, namely, Murshidabad, Patna, Benares, *Ganjam*, Dacca and Dinajpur. On the pattern of Bengal, Madras Presidency also regularised the service, inter alia, northwards to Ganjam, with further interconnections from Ganjam to Aska. In 1785 Madras developed a scheme of postage on basis of weight and distance from Madras to Ganjam with lower rates for local mails. When in 1789 Madras established a weekly service with Bombay through Hyderabad and Poona, the southern route of mails were extended from Cuttack to Masulipatam from where mails were sorted for Bombay. The E. I. Co. obtained permission from the Nizam for the purpose in September 1789. From 1800 May 1, the route via Masulipatam was given up and the dawks from Calcutta via Cuttack did not stop at Guntur, but instead was carried by hurcuras right up to Bezwada to Ellore and then to Bombay as usual.

Too many rivers in the coastal tracts of Orissa and the control over the territories being with the Marhattas did not allow regular service. Sometimes the Company's dak took to the seas from Ganjam to Balasore (both being under the Factories of the Company) and thence to Kedgeree on way to Calcutta. The E. I. Co. therefore felt it necessary to take possession of the coastal tracts while militarily subjugating the Ruling Chiefs in the western tracts of Orissa who were then paying peshkush to the Maratha Raja at Nagpur. The Raja of Nagpur declined the offer of Lord Wellesley,

the Governor General of India to maintain a British subsidiary force (under what is known as "doctrine of subsidiary alliance") and assign the coastal tract for its maintenance charges—a ploy to establish continuity of the British dominion from Bengal to 'Northern Circars' (now Andhra Pradesh). The Court of Directors approved Lord Wellesley's plan under which he declared a war against the Maratha Confederacy. On August 3, 1803 the British forces invaded Orissa from the north and the south. Col. Campbell, later General Harcourt proceeded from Ganjam (Montreddy was then the army headquarters) and reduced Puri and Cuttack, occupying the fort of Barabati at Cuttack the last stronghold of the Marahattas on 14 October. The British forces at Jellesore under Col. Ferguson proceeded towards Balasore while a third detachment had come by 7 vessels in the sea and reached Balasore on 21 September and quickly occupied Balasore, Bhadrak and Jajpur. Thus the British occupied the entire territory between the Suvarna-rekha in the north and the Chilka in the south and made a continuous overland route between Calcutta and Madras Presidencies.

The type of preliminary administrative machinery set up by the East India Company dictated the pattern of Postal Organisation. Lord Wellesley was so sure of his victory over the Marathas that he had appointed John Melville as Commissioner "for settling the affairs of Cuttack" even before the military operations began in 1803. M lville who had accompanied Col. Harcourt took two years to restore confidence of the people and the intriguing feudal chiefs. Military operations dictated that the postal communications be controlled by the military A Post Office was established at Cuttack towards the end of 1803 and Leut. Beckett was the first Post Master of the only Office in "The Province of Cuttack". To make the military free for operations elsewhere the Board of Directors of the East India Company appointed Magistrates and Collectors out of Military Cadres and entrusted them with the task of running revenue administration and maintaining law and order as per Regulation XIV of 1805 The Board of Revenue at the Fort Williams, Calcutta controlled them.

The concept of postal administration then partook of a holistic approach and was instrumental in bolstering the British Empire in India. It not only carried mails, but carried European officers (and even ordinary Europeans and Indian cogs in the European business enterprises) on purwanahs drawn on the Postal Department but issued by the Magistrates of the locality, sometimes overlapping the jurisdiction on the neighbouring Magistracy. The 'bearer service' and 'bahungi service' were dictated by the need of foreigners, travellers traversing in an alien land where they

required services of loyal servants in the employ of the Government. Nothing short of a Magisterial power could do. It was a part of the scheme of things that in the "lower provinces of Bengal" the management of post offices fell on the shoulders of the Collectors and Magistrates of the Districts. Here is a letter of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Acting Post Master, Cuttack to transfer the full charge to the collectors —

To

Lientt. T. Beckett.
Acting Post Master, (Cuttack)

Sir,

His excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council having been pleased to direct that the Dawks, including the Bhanghey and Palankeen Bearer within the Province of Cuttack shall henceforward be managed by the Collectors I am directed by the Board of Commissioners to desire that you will deliver charge of those Dawks to the Collectors of the Northern and Southern Divisions of Cuttack upon application from them to that effect. (2) The Board further direct that you will conform to any Orders or Instruction which you may receive from the Post Master General in respect to the Dawks.

I have the honor to be & c.

Cuttack
the 30th January
1805

G. FORTESCUE
Secretary

Therefore Cuttack started as a field Post Office for the military operations and soon converted itself into a District Post Office,independent, in operations, of the P.M.G. Calcutta. This gave rise to a quality in postal administration the Imperial Post ran from Cuttack to the stations of the E.I.Co.'s Factories or trading centres and connected them to Calcutta, and the District Post served the rural areas connecting the District Headquarters with the interior revenue and police stations. In the Tributary Mahals the Zemindars were asked to maintain a service which carried the official correspondence passing through their lands and in Gurhjats or hilly districts the Ruling Chiefs. In the areas not covered by any of the two, the thanas maintained by the Company's administrators arranged the carriage of mails. The person who was employed to carry the mails by the Thanadar was asked to wait at the dak chouki and was therefore came to be known as Chaukidar. When the postal duties were put on a regular footing these

choukidars who were almost in every inhabited village were given miscellaneous revenue duties. Organisation of dak choukis was dictated by the needs of the Magistrates but the Zemindars and the Ruling Chiefs were independent of the Magistrates as they had their own revenue and police functions. However the principles were clear : post stations or dak choukis were so located that the distance between two stations could be easily covered by a runner hurcara in less than a day's time. It was usually 4 coss or 8 miles or in the present reckoning, 13 Kms. Dak did not run at night. One moharir was in charge of a dak station and he supervised the work of two runners. This informal arrangement was recognised legally by the Regulation 22 (XXII) of 1817 and the 1837 Regulation abolishing all private dak system cast a heavier responsibility on all concerned. There was no indigo planter nor any trader of repute to take advantage of a public dak service. Private individuals who could use the post were the European settlers and Bengali clerks in the employ of the Company. It was thought desirable to levy a fee on the zemindars rather than ask them to render physical service. By Act VIII of 1862 it was obligatory for zemindars to pay in cash i.e. a cess on their land-revenue as decided by the Magistrates, but except in Cuttack district, zemindars not only paid the cess but maintained dak chowkis on the plea that these chowkis served their official dak as well. Zamindari dak cess which was being directly charged to the Imperial Revenues under the head 15-Post Office and provided for in the estimates of the Imperial Postal Department was abolished finally with effect from 1st April, 1906. It is therefore in 1906 that the modern postal system came into being in the lower provinces of the then Bengal Presidency and Orissa was a part of these lower provinces.

Similar processes have been gone through in respect of the Gurhjat Dak Fund to which the Ruling Chiefs of the feudatory states of the Chhatisgarh region and those of the Orissa Tributary Mahals contributed.

Since the Imperial Post did not run beyond the trunk routes, official daks meant for areas not served by either Imperial or District post were undertaken by the Departments concerned or paid for by them to the Collector of the District. Such instances were seen in case of the Salt Department which operated in the scarsely populated sea-coast and by the Customs Department which operated in the outlying ports that had occasional trading activities. The cost of dak from their place to the nearest District Post point was charged to them. Here is a letter from the post master of Balasore Post Office dated 28th Sept., 1829 addressed to Mr. George Stockwell Esqr. "Commissioner of Zillah Cuttack" which throws

a lot of light on the then prevalent system of dak choukis, wages paid to the employees, and the nature of Dhamra port at the mouth of the river Baitarani .—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd ins. and its enclosures. The description rolls of the Moonshee shall be forwarded as directed. In the event of your concurring with the arrangements proposed in the accompanying abstract his pension will be due from the 1st prox. & I beg leave to request that the Collector may be duly authorised to disburse the same.

Finding that the reduction in the number of Chokies would take place from the 1st of October, I have accordingly given notice that from that date one bangee burdar only would be continued at each Chokie and that his pay in future would be drawn at the rate of Sc Rs. 3.12 per mensem, in my division.

Also that twelve annas be in future allowed for petty charges to Uddadar (Adatdar?, a contractor) of chokies instead of Sc. Rs. 3 as formerly that the allowance of 8 annas would be continued to chokies without Uddadars. Should you think it expedient to continue the arrangement of reducing the chokies throughout the line, I have marked in the abstract two chokies that seem to me best adopted for removal and I think the remaining chokies might be left to continue as they now stand until a better season arrives for removing or adjusting them. The charge for which will be triple when it does take place.

By removing the chokies when the weather permits; or when a short cut way be made from Bhhanaga (Bahanaga) to Simleah (Simulia) say the 1st of Jan. as by that time the cultivation will be removed on the north side, one chokie may also be reduced.

I have altered the charge of boat hire at Tisree from 11 Rs. monthly to 7/-, as one man I am of opinion may be dispensed with, and a sum of four rupees monthly off.

Except in the exporting season, the letters towards *Damrah* are *entirely* for the *individuals of the light house establishment at Point Palm,ras-* and these are not more frequent than two in the week; two packets which instead of being forwarded by plain tender last recommended, I am of opinion that by making the letters for the

Island into packet addressed to the Superintendent instead of the Dumrrah Uddadar the business may be performed at a trifling expense of 12 Rupees; being the purpose of maintaining 3 Express runners at the Sudder office one to be dispatched twice a week to deliver the packet at Dumrrah and receive any letters in return, similarly made up in one packet, by the Superintendent, and addressed to the Balasore Post Office; returning the chalan of the packet last received with his receipts, should a deposit at Dumerah be necessary at any time, as may occur. When native letters pass in the season for exporting grain December & January the Custom House Chokee at Dumrrah would answer every purpose and as the *charge* of Post Office is likely to fall eventually *into* the *hands of* the *Assist.* to the *Collr.*, the Custom H. darogah could make no objection as he might do perhaps even be called on by the Deputy Post Master through the Collr. to take charge of the Post Office packet occasionally The trouble I have had in keeping up regularly a communication with Dumrah, and the occasional necessity of sending people expressly, have led me to the conclusion Awaiting your command on the above points.

There is no need to elaborate the nuances of the district post system here except adding a point that in case of private letters delivered through the District Post the delivery peon could justifiably ask for one pice as extra charge to be appropriated by him if the addressee was at a distance from the post station.

A point must be made about the bearer service that the post office in the lower provinces, which included Cuttack, provided for the European travellers. Finding the native men of means transporting themselves and their goods over human shoulders, the Britishers put them into use. The males used 'palaquin' and females 'sabari' and further they noticed that goods were carried by 'bahungi' or bhangy, a bamboo pole balanced on human shoulders by two almost equal weights, suspended from its two extremes by slings. Both the palaquin and bhangy were part of the dak bearer service till the roads were developed to take wheeled traffic and parcel post replaced the bhangy service. The bearer service and palkee service were regulated by Rules framed for the purpose. But the control of the Dak Bearer Service was transferred from the Post Office Department completely to the Magistrates of the Districts with effect from May 1, 1864, whereas the Bhangy Dak continued with the P. O. Department till 1881 when it was replaced by Parcel Post service.

The system of Dak Bungalows came into being with the organisation of Bearer service under the Post Office Department as it was necessary to construct staging bungalows for the overnight halt of the travelling public and exchange of daks for forward and return despatch. The cost of maintenance of the Dak Bungalows was partly met by collections made from the travellers who availed it as a resting place while utilising the palanquin service, and if required, the banghy bearer service. After 1837 both Palanquin and Bhangy services were extended to the private parties, but the rates prescribed for the private persons were based on actual wages paid along with 'bakshis' if any (particularly the invalids and covalscents readily paid bakshishes for extra speed, and sometimes the dak sirdar screwed some dustooree from the private traveller) but whatever may be the payments the system left behind a series of Dak Bungalows for use of travellers, official or private, even after the Post Office Department gave up control over them. Cuttack was the main Post Office for the whole Division, later the whole province of Orissa.

While Cuttack functioned as a post station before the E. I. Co. took over, it was a post office for the field operations of the Military forces in Cuttack and got the status of a full fledged Post Office in 1837. With the introduction of uniform postage rates irrespective of distance the mail travelled, Cuttack became a Head Post Office of the Cuttack Division. It continued to be a Head Office and the most important sorting Station for the whole province till after the Independence. But on par with Cuttack as a Sudder Post Office were Balasore, Jellesore (now Jaleswar), Midnapore (for it was then an Oriya speaking region within Cuttack Division), Pooree, Sumbhulpore and Tumlock in the Postal Circle of Bengal, Lower Provinces and Burma, and Chitterpore (Chhatrapur), and Ganjam in the Madras (Southern) Circle. Since Orissa was not a circle until well after Independence Cuttack was not made a General Post Office.

Following the infamous famine of 1866 the then Commissioner, Orissa Division wrote in his letter no. 60 dated 20 April, 1868 to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal for introduction of a mail cart line superseding the foot line of post runners and utilising to the utmost the facilities afforded by good roads. F. R. Hogg, the Post Master General replied, though there was much in the argument, the proposal would not commend itself to the Finance Department because a mail cart cost Rs. 16-12-2 per mile, whereas a foot line only Rs. 3-6-1. Though the P. M. G. had taken up on a trial basis wheeled conveyance from Calcutta to Midnapore at a monthly subsidy of Rs. 800 he felt convinced that it was

useless to have "any immediate attempt to place horses or carts on the Cuttack line beyond Midnapore" "until the proposed Calcutta and Midnapore postal contract is in good working order." The matter was postponed till the Railway lines along the coast of Orissa became operational and then also the foot runners continued to feed the connecting lines beyond the Railway Stations earmarked for exchange of mails. In fact the runners were given cycles only after the Centenary of the first postage stamp was observed in 1954. That explains the backwardness of the postal service in Orissa right up to the launching of the First Five Year Plan in 1951.

Now Orissa is a full fledged Postal Circle and Cuttack continues to be the G. P. O. along with the Philatelic Bureau activities even though the Circle Office functions at Bhubaneswar. It remains to be seen how long Cuttack would retain its pre-eminence in the Postal History of Orissa, for it will no longer be the Postal History of Cuttack.

From

F. R. HOGG., Post-Master General, Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—(No. 230, dated Calcutta, the 10th May 1869).

Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your reminder, No. 1765, dated 4th instant.

2. The Commissioner of Cuttack in his No. 60, dated 20th April 1868, does not, as I understand him, complain that the present postal communication is, for a foot line, inefficient between Calcutta and Cuttack, but thinks that horses and carts should supersede post runners, on the general ground of Government utilising to the utmost the facilities afforded by good roads There is certainly much in the argument but a mail cart costs Rupees 16-12-2 per mile, a foot line only Rupees 3-6-1* and if the weight of the mails concerned can conveniently be carried by the latter means of

* These figures are taken from the last Annual Report of the Office, and exhibit generally the relative cost of a runner and mail cart line throughout Bengal with no special reference to the line under consideration.

communication, it is not easy to convince the Finance Department why Government should pay for the former

3. For the last two years this Office has contemplated the transmission of mails between Calcutta and Midnapore by wheeled conveyance. Tenders for carrying out the measure by contract have been received and rejected on account of expense, and much correspondence has passed. I have at last succeeded in obtaining a contractor willing to undertake the duty on a monthly subsidy of Rupees 800, making what he can in addition by passenger's fare. The present postal establishment between Calcutta and Midnapore costs Rupees 521, and I am endeavouring to cover the deficiency by reductions on other quarters, and hope to have a scheme ready in the course of this week.

4. I am deeply interested in the improvement of mail communications throughout Bengal, but feel convinced as to the uselessness of any immediate attempt to place horses or carts on the Cuttack line beyond Midnapore. The expense could be objected to by the Government of India, and the safer plan is to postpone the matter until the proposed Calcutta and Midnapore postal contract is in good working order.

No. 1930

COPY forwarded to the Officiating Commissioner, Orissa Division for information, with reference to his Office letter No. 60, dated 20th April 1868 and in continuation of this Office endorsement No. 5888, dated the 16th December 1868, with an intimation that the matter will continue to receive the consideration of Government.

By Order of the Lieutenant-Governor of
Bengal

FORT WILLIAM
The 21st May 1869

Sd. W. H. Byland
Offg. Assistant Secy. to the Govt. of
Bengal

No. 1715A., dated Calcutta, the 23rd March 1906.

From

W. S. MEYER, ESQ., C,I.E., I.C.S., Secy. to the Govt. of India, Finance Dept.,

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Financial Department.

I am directed to invite attention to paragraphs 43, 132 and 227 of the Financial Statement for 1906-07 and to say that the Government of India have decided to abolish the Zamindari Dak Cess levied under Bengal Act VIII of 1862, with effect from 1st April 1906, the cost of the Zamindari Dak being charged directly to Imperial Revenues under the head 15—Post Office, and provided for in the estimates of the Imperial Postal Department. I am accordingly to request that steps may at once be taken to discontinue the levy of the cess from 1st April by executive orders and for the subsequent repeal of the legislation authorising it. The balance of the Zamindari Dak Fund will be credited to Imperial Revenues.

Circular No. 13F.

Copy forwarded to all Commissioners of Divisions, for information and guidance.

By order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,

J. C. K. PETERSON,
Under-Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal

CALCUTTA,
The 26th March 1905.

Cuttack during Muslim, Mughal and Nazim Rule

Dr. Jagannath Patnaik

It was in the saga of Orissan history that one thousand-year-old illustrious city of Cuttack has occupied an important place for numerous events revolving around it through ages. It has witnessed the rise and fall of several emperors and empires, the invasion and occupation by some Indian and external powers. Of those powers, the Muslims, Mughals, the Marathas and finally the British figured prominently. During their rule Cuttack being their capital became the bee-hive of political activities, nerve centre of many sensational episodes and main stage of numerous harrowing scenes. A brief resume of all such events is as follows.

Muslim Invasion of Cuttack during Ganga rule (1211 AD-1435 A.D.)

It was during the Ganga rule that the Afghan Muslims of Bengal for the first time invaded Orissa. Raj Raj III (1198-1211) was then the Ganga King. But Cuttack was not in picture then.[1] It came to figure during the rule of the Sultan Feroz Tughluq of Tughluq dynasty in Delhi. In November 1360 A.D. he invaded Jajnagar* (Orissa) and entered into its capital, Cuttack. It was then under the rule of the Ganga king Bhanu Dev III.[2] At first Feroz arrived at Sarangarh, five miles south west of Cuttack. He occupied the fort, located there. Then, he marched towards Cuttack.[3] Having heard this news, the King Bhanudev III escaped with his family to an island in a river and took shelter there. This island was possibly Dhabaleswar and the river was Mahanadi.[4] Two officers of Bhanudev III stationed at Cuttack were known to have played treachery and helped Feroz's army in its occupation. They were Bali Patra, an Oriya and Khaqar-i-Muazam Ahmed Khan, a Muslim general. This general was expelled from Bengal by its Sultan, Shamsuddin. Coming over to Cuttack he allied with Bhanudev III.[6]

The Muslim historians of 13th and 14th centuries have always described Orissa as Jajnagar.

Having known about their treachery, one hundred thousand men of Bhanudev III in order to escape from seizure and occupation left Cuttack with their women, children, kinsmen and relations and took refuge in the same island. Feroz Shah then destroyed the temple of Jagannath, perforated and disgraced the stone idol installed therein. He was known to have carried off this perforated idol to Delhi.[6] This temple of Jagannath was plausibly the one built by Anangvim Dev III in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack.[7] Of course there are no remains of the said temple or the deity at present. Possibly that was because the temple and the deity had become prey to the iconoclastic act of Feroz Shah Tughluq.

However, it was after the destruction of the temple that Feroz Shah Tughluq made vigorous preparation at Cuttack to pursue the Raja and his men who had taken refuge in the island. Considering the discretion as the better part of valour, the Raja Bhanudev III instead of challenging Feroz, sent 5 patras (Ministers) to meet him and inform him of his willingness to give twenty mighty elephants as an offering besides a heavy amount to be paid yearly as revenue. The Sultan was satisfied with this promise. He sent robes and insignia to the Raja and allowed him to come back to Cuttack to rule over his kingdom and enjoy paramountey as before. Feroz Shah returned to Delhi with a large number of elephants that the Raja had presented. Feroz himself also had captured a few in an elephant-hunt at Padamtola, located some where near Baramba [8] Thus, it is evident that Feroz Shah Tughluq's invasion of Orissa or Cuttack did not aim at its occupation. He was chiefly interested in elephant hunting. So he did not appoint a Governor for Orissa. However, Cuttack did not hear the foot-steps of any other Muslim invader during the remaining period of the Ganga rule.

Muslim Invasion of Cuttack and the Final Conquest during Suryavamsi Gajpati Rule (1436—1568 A.D.)

It was during the Suryavansi rule that the Cuttack City had the misfortune of witnessing the wanton treachery and conspiracy which facilitated the Muslims in their invasion and final conquest of Orissa. This time the Muslims came from Bengal. When the Bahamanis were ruling over Bengal with Husain Shah as the Sultan the Muslims invaded Cuttack. Prataprudra Dev was then the Surya Vamsi King. In this context, Madala Panji makes a mention thus "In the 17th Anka, of this king Prataprudra Dev, the Mughals (Muslims) invaded from Bengal and occupied Cuttack. The protector of Cuttack was Bhoi Vidyadhar He fled away to Sarangarh. The king Prataprudra was not in the capital. He went in southern expedition.

When he heard about the news, in anger he covered one month's path in ten days."[9] On arriving at Cuttack, Prataprudra Dev drove the Muslims out of Cuttack. In the meanwhile, Hussain Shah of Bengal died in 1519 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Qutab Shah He also led an invasion to Cuttack for taking the revenge of his father's defeat. But fortune did not smile on him. Prataprudra Dev inflicted on him a crushing defeat. A treaty of friendship was then signed between the two. It was after this defeat that the Muslims of Bengal did not dare to invade Orissa not only during the reign of Prataprudra but also till the time of Mukunda Dev [10]

The period following the death of Prataprudra Dev in 1540 A.D. was one of court-intrigue and family feud in the history of Cuttack A new dynasty known as the Bhoi dynasty named after one Bhoi Govinda Vidyadhar ushered in with Cuttack as its capital. Ambitious to the core, one Mukunda Dev Harichandan made himself the Governor of Cuttack during the reign of Govinda Vidyadhar. The reign of this Govinda Vidyadhar was not that eventful. He died in 1549 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Chakra Pratap. With Mukunda Dev as his general he ruled for 8 years. He was murdered by one Narasimha Jena. But he was paid back by his own coins. A plot was woven against him after a short time with Mukunda Dev as its author. It culminated in the murder of Narasimha Jena. Mukunda Dev then wore the crown in 1559 A.D.[11]

With the accession of Mukunda Dev, Cuttack entered into a period of disaster and defeat. To him, the throne could not become a bed of roses. Akber was then the Mughal emperor. But Bengal was beyond his sway. With Suleman Karani as its ruler, Bengal grew strong So Akber wished to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Mukunda Dev so that simultaneously the Afghan ruler of Bengal could be attacked from both the sides. For this purpose Akber in 1565 sent two persons from his court as envoys to that of Mukunda Dev to enlist his support in the event of a battle with the Sultan of Bengal. Those envoys were Hasan Khan Khanganchi and Bhatta Mahapatra, a noted Oriya musician in Akber's Court.[12] Both the envoys were given flowery welcome by Mukunda Dev. He housed them in his court at Cuttack for 4 months. Then as a mark of his alliance, he sent them back to Delhi with costly presents and some elephants. He also sent an ambassador namely Paramananda to the Imperial Court of Akber.[13]

However, this alliance did not bring any boon for Mukunda Dev. Rather, it set the stage for his precipitous fall. That was because Suleman

Karani for Mukunda Dev's alliance with the Mughals, boiled in fury against him and he was waiting for an opportunity to take revenge. The opportunity came when Akber was found busy in besieging the fort of Chittor Suleman Karani chose this time as most propitious to invade Orissa. He invaded in 1568 A.D. Before the commencement of the invasion, he divided his army into two groups, one to be led by himself and another by his son Bayazid to be assisted by his general Kalapahad.

At this critical hour, Mukunda Dev received no help from Akbar. Finding himself helpless he sent two of his officers namely Chhotrai and Raghu Bhanj to chastise the invaders.[14] But the master-traitor, Mukunda Dev fell a victim to the treachery of these two officers. They turned to be traitors and fought against Mukunda Dev Thus being left alone, Mukunda Dev failed to withstand the attack of the Afghan army. So he fled away and took shelter in the fort of Kotisimo located in the western bank of Damodar river in the district of Hoogly There remained none in Cuttack except Konhi Samanta Singhar, a general of Mukunda Dev. Taking this advantage, Kalapahad with the Bengal army reached Cuttack and launched an attack on the fort of Barabati. Konhi Samant Singhar after a heroic resistance had to surrender. The fort of Barabati thus came under the occupation of the Afghans of Bengal. To great misfortune of Mukunda Dev, at this critical time the commander of Sarangarh, Ramchandra Bhanj declared himself the king of Orissa. This news upset Mukunda Dev so much so that he had no other alternative than to sign a peace treaty with Suleman Karani. Then he returned to Cuttack.[15]

The misfortune of Mukunda Dev did not end there. The worst was yet to come. In course of time Mukunda Dev was defeated and killed. Regarding his defeat and death there are two views, one furnished in Madalapanji, another in Akbernamah. According to Madalapanji, Mukunda Dev was killed by Ramachandra Bhanj in a battle that took place after the peace treaty was signed with Suleman Karani. On the same day Rama Chandra Bhanj was also killed by the Afghan army. After this pathetic episode Raghu Bhanj declared himself the king of Orissa. He too was killed by Suleman Karani.[16] On the other hand Akbernamah makes a mention that Mukunda Dev was killed in a battle with Durga Bhanj.[17] Possibly this Durga Bhanj was none-else than Raghu Bhanj.[18]

Be that as it may, it is most unfortunate that Mukunda Dev was killed by his own men. Orissa including Cuttack thus passed into the hands of the Afghan Muslims of Bengal in 1568 A.D. One Qutlu Lohani was appointed the Afghan Governor of Orissa. He stayed in Cuttack.

Cuttack during the Mughal-Afghan Contest (1568-1605)

It was after 1568 A.D. that great changes took place in the political scenario of Bengal. In October 1572 Suleman Karani died. His son Bayazid succeeded him. Soon he was murdered by Daud Karani, his own brother and younger son of Suleman Karani. He then ascended the Bengal throne. Taking the advantage of this political instability Akber launched an attack on Bengal. Consequently Daud Karani fled to Orissa.[19]

Akber was not prepared to leave Daud unpunished. So he sent Todarmal with some Amirs to Orissa for chastising him. A fierce battle between Todarmal and Daud took place at Tukoroi, two miles from the left bank of the river Subarnarekha. Daud was defeated. Then he fled from Tukoroi to Cuttack.[20] He was followed by Todarmal and Munim Khan, a general of Akber. They confined Daud and other Afghans, their wives and children inside the fort of Barbati. So Daud had no other alternative than to sue for peace with Munim Khan. From the fort, he intimated his desire to sign a treaty and accept any term to be decided by Munim Khan—himself. For this purpose on 12 April, 1575 Munim Khan arranged a grand Durbar at Cuttack. Many nobles and attendants were present. Then Daud came out of the fort, surrendered to Munim Khan and signed a humiliating treaty.[21] The matter of course did not end there.

Ambitious by nature, Daud planned to overthrow such a humiliating treaty at the earliest opportunity. He rose in rebellion against Akber. To start with, he killed at Bhadrak Akber's Governor, Nazar Bahadur.[22] So a battle was ensued between Daud and Akber at Rajmahal. Daud was lamentably defeated and killed. Orissa was then nominally annexed with Akber's Empire. She became a Mughal province along with Bengal.[23] As such Cuttack came under the administrative orbit of the Mughals.

It was after the death of Daud Karani that Todarmal returned to Delhi with a large number of elephants for the emperor. But no sooner had he left for Delhi than the Afghan became rebelious in Bengal. One Afghan, Masoom Khan was appointed the administrator of Orissa. In this circumstance Raja Todarmal was sent again to suppress the Afghan rebellion. He succeeded in his mission.[24] But Cuttack remained still under the Afghan administrator.

Akber then sent Raja Mansingh to Cuttack in 1592 to root out completely the Afghan rule in Orissa and settle the disturbed situation. He chased the Afghans left and right. Then Cuttack, the capital of the Afghans fell into the hands of the Mughals. Yet the Afghans were not

completely rooted out from Orissa. In the meanwhile Mansingh proceeded from Cuttack to Puri on a pilgrimage, keeping one Yusuf Khan Chau the Kashimir in charge of Cuttack. With him, there was a small army at Cuttack. So the Afghans took the chance to create troubles, with great difficulty he suppressed them.[25]

When all these Kaleidoscopic changes were taking place at Cuttack, one Ramai Routray, the son of Janardan Vidhyadhar, the Prime Minister of Bhoi Govinda Vidyadhar occupied Orissa in 1568. Establishing his capital at Khurda, he ruled independently in the name of Ramchandra Dev. Claiming himself as the successor of the previous Gajapati rulers of Orissa, he garnered himself with the title 'Gajapati' and introduced his own Anka. He also established a fort at the foot of the Barunai hill. He made several attempts to recover the fort of Barbati at Cuttack from the hands of the Afghans. But he did not succeed.[26] Even then Ramchandra Dev remained at large. So Mansing sent his own son Jagatsingh to chastise Raja Ramchandra Dev. Raja could not stand before the Mughal army. Many forts of his fell into the hands of Jagat Singh.[27] Mansingh then left for Delhi. Orissa thus remained as a part of the Bengal Subah. There was not a separate Mughal Subahdar for Orissa.

Cuttack during Jahangir's rule (1605-1628)

Akbar died in 1605 A.D. and he was succeeded by his son Jahangir on 24 October, 1605. During his rule the importance of Cuttack increased enormously. For the first time Orissa became a separate province (Subah) with Cuttack as the capital. The historic fort of Barbati became the residence of the Mughal Subahdar. Hashim Khan was appointed the first Mughal Subahdar of Orissa. He assumed the charge at Cuttack on 26 September 1607.[28] With him, there were other officers and mansabadars. They were Raja Kalyan, son of Todar Mall, Mirza Tahir, Mirza Nur, Mirza Qasim, Mirza Abdullah, Mirza Yusuf and others.[29]

It was by this time that the Gajapati Ramchandra Dev of Khurda was dead. He was succeeded by his son Purushottam Dev in 1600 A.D His reign witnessed some remarkable events somewhat connected with Cuttack. When Hashim Khan was the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa, one Rajput namely Raja Keshodas Maru was a Jagirdar in Cuttack. Being extraordinarily ambitious, this Keshodas Maru decided to undertake an invasion of Khurda. Thus a contest between him and Purushottam Dev became inevitable. In this contest, the defeat and victory were evenly shared by the both. At one stage the position of Keshodas became critical. He was put into a sea

of dangers and difficulties. This news reached Islam Khan, the Governor of Bengal. So he sent immediately orders to Hashim Khan and other Mughal Officers at Cuttack urging them to proceed hurridly for giving aid to Keshodas. Simultaneously, he sent one Khwaja, Tahir Muhammad Bakshi to Cuttack to censure Hashim Khan and other imperial Officers, for their negligence in assisting Keshodas. They were reprimanded as directed. However, with the approach of the Mughal army at Khurda, Purushottam Dev being disheartened sued for peace. This peace treaty being dictated by Keshodas contained humiliating terms such as Raja's daughter to be sent to imperial harem at Delhi, Rajas's sister to be given in marriage to Keshodas Maru, three lakhs of rupees to be paid to Mughal Exchequer as Peshkash. One lakh of rupees to be paid to Keshodas and his men as presents.[30] As regards the compliance of such terms, a controversy has been raised. While Mirza Nathan in his work Baharisthan has made a mention of the compliance of the terms,[31] Madla Panji makes no reference to the compliance of the terms of the treaty with regard to the episode of Keshodas.[32] It seems that Mirza Nathan's description is somewhat exaggerated as he had written from Gauhati depending on the hearsays. More-over had Purushottam Dev sent his own daughter to Jahangir's harem, the emperor would have mentioned it in his memoir. But there is no such mention. If at all the terms of the treaty were complied by Purushottam Dev, he had befooled Keshodas Maru by handing over two other girls and not his own daughter and the sister. Purushottam Dev's own daughter was known to have been given in marriage to Chauhan King of Sambalpur. Maharaja Balbhadra Sai[33] and his sister in marriage to Raja Harihar Singh of Narasinghpur.[34] Yet it is true that Jahangir was very much pleased with Keshodas Maru. So he was promoted to the rank of 1500 as known from his memoir.[35]

It was after hearing everything from Keshodas Maru that the emperor Jahangir transferred Hashim Khan from Cuttack. He was sent to Kashmir as the Governor and in his place, Raja Kalyan Singh, the son of Todar Mal was appointed as the Governor of Orissa in 1611 A.D., with Cuttack as his headquarters. He remained here in this charge till 1617 A.D.[36]

Then Raja Kalyan Singh in order to please his emperor followed the foot prints of Keshodas Maru in raiding and devastating the kingdom of Khurda. With a large army he proceeded from Cuttack in 1611 A.D. and launched several attacks on the territory of the Gajapati Raja, Purushottam Dev. This time Purushottam Dev without any fight offered his submission. He also promised to give his daughter as a present for the service of the Emperor, three thousand rupees as Peshkash to the Imperial Exchequer and

the best of his elephant named Sisnag for the use of the emperor. So Raja Kalyan Singh as described by Mirza Nathan in Baharisthan returned to Cuttack with the bride along with elephant Sisnag and all the Peshkash in cash and kind to be handed over to Jahangir at Delhi[37]. But Madla Panji gives a different picture. Referring to Raja Kalyan Singh's raid on Khurda, it is mentioned therein that he rather established friendship with the astute commander of Purushottam Dev, Das Bidyadhar Subsequently Kalyan Singh killed the said commander by treachery along with sixteen Oriya generals. Therefore, the Oriya soldiers of Purushottam Dev became furious, attacked the Mughal army and chased them till they reached Cuttack. Kalyan Singh fled away to save his life. He was killed in Baghsarpur near Pipli in the district of Puri.[38]

Thus the statements given in Baharisthan and Madla Panji on the raid of Kalyan Singh are somewhat different. True, Kalyan Singh launched an attack on Khurda. But the fact as mentioned in Madla Panji that Kalyan Singh was killed does not appear to be true as opined by Dr. M.A. Haque.[39] Advancing his argument he writes that Raja Kalyan Singh returned to the Mughal Court in 1617 as mentioned by Jahangir in his memoir [40] Similarly the fact as mentioned by Mirza Nathan that Raja Purushottam Dev sent his daughter to the emperor is not to be believed as according to the traditional custom, the Gajapati Kings were not keeping their daughters in their home after the birth. They used to send them either to the home of any one of the close relatives or maternal uncle. In this connection, Dr. M.A. Haque writes "Even now this tradition is maintained in Gajapati family. Therefore the Raja Kalyan Singh might have sent some other girl to the emperor in order to please him".[41] Jahangir in his memoir has also not made a mention of receiving any such girl from Kalyan Singh although he has mentioned about the receipt of the elephant Sisnag and the peshkash [42] It appears that Mirza Nathan has made a mention of the gift of the Raja's daughters to the emperor deliberately to demoralise the Rajas and heighten the status and prestige of the Mughals.

Be that as it may, Raja Kalyan Singh remained as the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa till 1617 A.D. He was succeeded by Mukarram Khan. Like two of his predecessors, he also invaded Khurda when Purushottam Dev was still the Raja. About his conquest of Khurda there is a mention in Tuzk-i-Jahangir.[43] Remaining as such till 1620 A.D. Mukrram Khan was off from the political scene of Cuttack. In his place came Mirza Ahmed Beg Khan as the Governor. He too invaded Knurda.[44] It also finds mention in Madla Panji.[45]

In the mean time Gajapati Raja Purushottam Dev died in 1621 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Narasingha Dev who remained in power till 1647 A.D. A young man of 22 springs as he was, Narasingh Dev was in need of an efficient Prime Minister. And he was fortunate to find one in Dharmadeva Rajguru Mohapatra. Energetic and courageous, he incited the people to invade Cuttack so as to drive out the Mughals from their capital in Orissa. Having heard of this preparation, the mughal Governor, Mirza Ahmed Beg Khan wrote threatening letter to Raja Narasingha Dev stating that he should send his families to Cuttack as hostages as a mark of allegiance and good behaviour.[46] But the Raja paid no heed to such a letter Consequently Mirza Ahmed Beg invaded Khurda in 1623 A.D. It also finds mention in Madla Panji.[47]

When Mirza Ahmed Beg was busy in his invasion of Khurda, Khurram, the rebellious prince of Jahangir and future Shahjahan proceeded to Orissa and arrived at the Mughal capital Cuttack in October 1623 for taking its possession. Hearing the news of Khurram's arrival at Cuttack, Mirza Ahmed Beg out of fear hastily withdrew himself to Pipli. From there he moved to Cuttack. Although Ahmed Beg had with him nearly five to six thousand cavalry, he did not venture to face prince Khurram, Rather he fled away from Cuttack. Thus Cuttack came under possession of Khurram without any resistance whatsoever. From Cuttack, Khurram proceeded to Khurda where the Raja Narasingha Dev tendered his submission.[48] Thus adding a feather to his glorious cap, Khurram made a victorious march to Cuttack in early part of December, 1623. He decided to stay here for some time to make administrative arrangement of the area which had come under his possession.[49] He appointed Muhammad Taqi Khan, one of his devoted servants as the Governor of Orissa with Cuttack as his headquarters. He was also promoted to the rank of Panjhazari (5000) and honoured with the title Shah Quli Khan.[50] After three-days stay in Cuttack, Prince Khurram left for Bengal. Raja Narasingha Dev of Khurda was known to have escorted him upto Jajpur.[51] Meanwhile Shah Quli Khan died. Once more Mirza Ahmed Beg Khan became the Mughal Governor and worked as such till 1627 After him, came Baqir Khan Nazim Sani as the Governor and he happened to be the last Mughal Subahdar during the reign of Jahangir.[52]

Cuttack during the rule of Sahajahan (1628-1658)

It was in 1628 that Jahangir died and prince Khurram ascended the Mughal throne in the name of Shahjahan. Baquir Khan continued as the Mughal Governor. Cruel and oppressive to the tips of his finger as Baquir Khan was, several complaints against him reached Shahjahan. So he was

removed and in his place Mutaqad Khan alias Mirza Maki was appointed the Governor in 1632 A D.[53] The tenure of Mutaqad Khan (1632-41) as the Mughal Subahdar was significant in the history of Cuttack. He granted permission in 1633 A.D. to the English merchants for carrying on their trade in Orissa. This happened to be the first advent of the Englishmen in Orissa. It was in May 1633, that an English merchant of the East India Company William Bruton, along with captain Ralph Cartwright and others arrived at the mouth of the river Mahanadi and from there they proceeded in the river in an Indian ship to Cuttack. They met the Mughal Subahdar inside the fort of Barabati, on 5 May, 1633. He granted them a farman, allowing the British merchants to trade free of duty, establish factories and build or repair ships in Orissa.[54]

During the stay in Cuttack, William Bruton has recorded certain facts about the place in his account One such fact was the location of a stately palace which he has named as Malcandy palace. A controversy has been raised as to the identification of such a palace. Basing on the account of Abul Fazal, C.R. Wilson has equated the word Malcandy with that of Mukunda Deva and Malcandy palace was Mukunda Dev's palace i.e. Barabati fort.[55] Prof G. S Das in an article on history of Lalbag palace has also stated that the word 'Malcandy' stands for Mahanadi and the Mahanadi palace was Barabati palace or the fort. He has arrived at this conclusion on account of its situation in the bank of the river Mahanadi.[56] On the other hand a few other scholars have opined that Malcandy palace of Bruton was the Lalbag palace situated in the bank of Kathajodi. But analysing the account of Bruton himself, Prof Jagannath Patnaik, the author of this article has opined that Bruton's Malcandy can never be Lalbag palace.[57] That was because Bruton visited Cuttack in 1633 A.D. when the construction of Lalbag palace might have been just started. It is known for certain that the construction of the palace was undertaken by the Mughal Governor Mutaqad Khan in 1633.[58] And in one year such an imposing palace with 300 rooms as described by Bruton could not have been built in few months.[59] Further-more T Motte in his book 'A narrative of a journey to the Diamond mines at Sambalpur' has stated, thus, "Lalbag situated in the bank of Kathojori was the residence of the Governors of Orissa. It was an imposing palace with several rooms".[60] Analysing all these facts it can be said that Malcandy was never the Lalbag palace.

The palace built by Mutaqad Khan was called Lalbag palace possibly because it was coloured red and it acquired official status.[61] This is also the view of Abdul Hamid Lahori.[62] However Mirza Maki and subsequent Mughal Governors stayed in Lalbag palace. This palace was used as the

Raj Bhawan by the British. At present it is used as Sisu Bhawan, the Hospital for the children.

Mataqad Khan alias Mirza Maki remained as the Governor from 1632 to 1641. He was succeeded by Shah Nautaz Khan, who remained hardly for one year as the Governor. He was succeeded by Muhammad Zaman Tehrani as the Governor. He stayed in this post from 1642 to 1645. After him Mutaqad Khan was appointed Subahdar for the second time. He was recalled in July, 1648 and succeeded by one Jan Beng Haru as the Mughal Governor Then one Muhammad Hayat was appointed in his place. But he was unfortunate to have reached Cuttack. He died on the way at Jajpur in 1655. Rasid Khan was appointed in his place as the Governor.[63]

Meanwhile Shahjahan fell ill in 1657 and breathed his last. Aurangzeb ascended the Mughal throne on 31 July, 1658.

Cuttack during the rule of Aurangzeb (1658-1707)

Itishan Khan was the first Mughal Governor during the rule of Aurangzeb. But he could stay at Cuttack for little less than a year. Khan-i-Duran succeeded him. It was by this time that Mukunda Dev was the Gajapati Raja of Khurda (1655-1692). Khan-i-Duran invaded his kingdom in February 1661 With all humility, Mukundadev submitted to Khan-i-Duran and presented 5 elephants. In 1662 Khan-i-Duran was known to have sent those elephants as presents to the emperor of Delhi on the occasion of the marriage of two of his sons.[64]

Khan-i-Duran, the Mughal Governor died at Cuttack in September 1667 Then Alivardi was appointed in his place as the Subahdar. Remaining for a short time he was off from the scene. In his place came Tarbiyat Khan who continued till 1669 A.D. He was succeeded by Safi Khan. Then came Rashid Khan as the Governor for the second time. He remained in power till the March of 1676. After him Aurangzeb's maternal Uncle Sahayisthan Khan-I adorned the post of Mughal Governor till 1678.[65] He was succeeded by Abu Nasar Khan and Akram Khan successively as Governors. They remained in power from 1678 till 1699.

An event during the tenure of Abu Nasar Khan was known to have taken place. It finds mention in Madla Panji. This Nasar Khan in order to destroy Jagannath temple of Puri proceeded from Cuttack in 1687 A.D. Having known it, Mukunda Dev, the Gajapati Raja of Khurda with his family met him at Danda Mukundpur with a request not to do so. Nasar Khan was housed with all cordiality in one palace of Mukunda Dev at Pipli. Next day

at Pipli there was a terrible thunder struck for which the Mughal Subahdar had to return to Cuttack after making friendship with Mukunda Dev.[66]

Abu Nashar Khan was succeeded by Akram Khan some time in 1688 A.D. During his tenure Divyasingh Dev was the Gajapati Raja who ruled over his Khurda Kingdom from 1692 to 1715. Juma Masjid, at Balubazar in Cuttack was built during the tenure of this Akram Khan. According to a Persian inscription engraved in this mosque it was built in 1690-91 by Zaibun Nisa Khanum the Shahjada Begum, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb.[67] Akram Khan's tenure was marked by another event connected with Jagannath temple of Puri. It finds a mention in Madala Panji. From Cuttack, Akram Khan with his two brothers namely Marmast Khan Jamla and Jaman Koli and 50 cavalry men went to Puri. Raja Divyasingh Dev was present there. At his instance the images of the temple were concealed at a place behind the temple Bimla. Then Raja broke the Gumuta (The small closed room with a small door) of the Lion Gate. Jamla, the brother of Ekram went upto Simhasana of the deity and took away the wooden image of Jagannath.[68] This event also finds mention in Chakda Pothi, slightly in different form. It mentions that Akram's brothers Jamal and Abdulla Khan entered Puri along with the Raja Divyasingh Dev. The Raja broke the main gate of the temple and closed the lion gate. The Raja in the meanwhile had already constructed three other images like the ones worshipped in the temple. Those images were handed over to Jamal, who carried away to Cuttack and from there he sent them to Aurangzeb who was at Bijapur then.[69]

Ekram Khan relinquished his post as Governor in June 1698. Then Ghaznafar Khan became the Subahdar of Orissa. He died at Cuttack in August 1700 A.D. He was succeeded by Askar Khan who remained till his death in 1702 A.D.[70] Then Murshid Quli Khan, one of the trusted court nobles of Aurangzeb was appointed the Subahdar of Orissa in 1703.

It was in 1707 A.D. that Aurangzeb died. His death sounded the death-knell of the Mughal empire. His successor was far from being efficient. Hence the Subahdar Murshid Quli Khan declared independence and proclaimed himself the Nawab or the Nazim of Bengal.[71] Thus he enjoyed simultaneously two posts namely the Nazim of Bengal and Subahdar of Orissa Cuttack came under his rule.

Cuttack under the Nazims of Bengal (1707-1751)

Murshid Quli Khan, the Nazim of Bengal remained in Cuttack in the capacity of Subahdar from 1703 to 1710. He was succeeded by Khan-i-Alam.

His tenure of office was for 4 years (1711-1714). He was succeeded again by Murshid Quli Khan But being the Nazim of Bengal, it was not possible for him to remain in Cuttack for a longer period. So he appointed his son-in-law Shuja-Uddin Muhammad Khan as his Deputy or Naib-Nazim. He held this post of Naib-Nazim right from 1706 A.D. He was virtually ruling over Orissa. He was known to have constructed the octagonal building of Qadam-i-Rasul at Cuttack in 1715, for the purpose of preserving the sacred relics of the prophet Muhammad In this complex he had also constructed a Sarai, a mosque and a reservoir [72]

Meanwhile Sujauddin heard about the serious illness of Murshid Quli Khan, the Nazim of Bengal So he hurridly proceeded from Cuttack to Bengal with Alivardi Khan and a few other nobles. After the death of Murshid Quli Khan ambitious Shujauddin became Nawab or Nazim of Bengal. He left another son to act for him as the Deputy (Naib Nazim) of Orissa. He was Muhammad Taqui Khan, the son of his second wife. Although he was to remain in the capital, Cuttack, he was found to have stayed for most of the time at Jajpur.[73] Extremely greedy and cruel as he was, he repeatedly attacked Khurda when Ramchandra Dev II (1727-1736) was its Raja. Of all those attacks, one in 1733 A.D. was more significant as the Raja Ramchandra Dev II fled from Khurda and took shelter first in Nayagarh, then in Khandpara and finally in Bolagarh. So Taqi Khan called his son Bhagirathi Kunar from Daspalla and made him the Raja of Khurda. Leaving a part of his army, Taqi Khan returned to Cuttack.[74]

In the meantime, Taqi Khan proceeded to Bengal. During his absence Ramchandra Dev II captured his throne at Khurda on 29 June, 1733. Consequently his son Bhagirathi Kunar fled away to Cuttack along with the Mughal army.[75] In the meantime Paramlakshmi, the Prime Minister of Ramchandra Dev II went to Cuttack and hatched a political intrigue against Taqi Khan. He managed to get the support of the people who were not pleased with Taqi Khan for his cruel nature. He was known to have got the active support of one Kurup Jena, a Khandait Sardar of village Panikoili near Jajpur. His support helped the Prime Minister, Paramlakshmi in the execution of his plot of putting an end to Taqi Khan's life. In this regard he selected two youngmen, gave them training in Persian language and Muslim way of living. Then they were sent to Taqi Khan who was then at Barabati fort. They were instructed to seek employment and they were favoured with the same. They were appointed as Taqi Khan's personal attendants. After a few days Taqi Khan was found dead at night. He was believed to have been killed by those two youngmen.[77] But the rumour was spread that

he had been killed by witchcraft according to Muhammadan superstition.[78] However Taqi Khan was buried in Qadam-Rasul court yard at Cuttack as evidenced by an inscription. This inscription reveals that he died in 1734 A.D. This is also corroborated by Madla Panji.[79] Of course the tomb stone does not exist now. Only the stone slab containing inscription is found at present.[80]

It was after the death of Taqi Khan, that the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Shamsuddin appointed Murshed Quli Khan-II as the Naib-Nazim of Orissa. He ruled with the help of his Diwan, Mir Habib, an efficient officer who happened to be a native of Arabia.[81] Soon he became popular.

Meanwhile Raja Ramchandra Dev-II of Khurda died in 1736 A.D. He was succeeded by Birakishore Dev-II. In August 1740 he sent one of his officers, Brundaban Kumar Guru Mohapatra to Naib Nazim Murusid Quli-II with money collected towards traveller's tax and a friendly letter. He met the Naib Nazim inside the Lalbag palace. This fine gesture of the Raja pleased the Naib Nazim.[82]

It was in seventeenfifties that one Aliverdi Khan played a prominent role in the political scenerio of Cuttack. Before giving an account of his role, his early life needs to be focussed. His original name was Mirza Muhammad Ali. He was leading a retiring life in Delhi. His father Mirza Muhammad had come to Cuttack with his wife when Sujauddin was the Naib Nazim of Orissa. He came with a high hope to get some prize-post. After his settlement at Cuttack, he called his son Mirza Ahmed Ali in 1720 A.D. In response to this call, he came forthwith with his wife and daughters to Cuttack so that he would try his luck here. But he was then in a state of abject poverty. So he had to sell his wife's ornaments for rupees 900. Out of this amount he purchased a house at Cuttack for Rupees 300.00 and the remaining amount had already been spent during his journey. But to his great good fortune, Shujauddin gave hime a post at Cuttack carrying a monthly Salary of Rupees one hundred.[83] In this post he worked so marvellously well that Shujauddin being pleased gave him the title Muhammad Aliverdi Khan. Gradually his popularity began to increase and his star was in ascendancy. So he called his brother Mirza Ahmad to Cuttack. He was then residing at Delhi. He came to Orissa with his mother, daughters and three sons. They all arrived at the court of Shujauddin at Cuttack in 1721 A.D.[84]

Meanwhile Shujauddin who was the Nazim of Bengal died in 1739AD. He was succeeded by Sharfaraz. But a weak ruller as he was, Aliverdi Khan

took the opportunity of fighting with him. In the battle of Geria, he defeated and killed Sharfaraz on 10 April, 1740. Then Aliverdi became the undisputed Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Yet Orissa was beyond his complete grip. Murshid Quli-II, his former master and Naib Nazim was still all powerful in the matters of Orissa. So Aliverdi Khan with 120 elephants, 4000 cavalry and one lakh infantry set out from Mursidabad in an expedition against Orissa.[85] This news of his march caused panic in the court of Cuttack. So immediately Murshid Quli-II summoned a Darbar of his generals and soldiers to consult for taking steps against Aliverdi Khan. But no general came out to help him. So in utter despair, leaving his wife Dardanah Begum and his son Yahya Khan with all treasures in the fort of Barabati, he marched from Cuttack in December 1740, with his two sons-in-law namely Mirza Baqir and Allauddin Mahammad Khan and a strong army.[86] A fierce battle took place. Murshid Quli Khan and his officer Mir Habib were defeated. Then Aliverdi reached Cuttack and seized two lakhs of rupees in cash besides precious articles of the same value treasured in Barabati fort. All those were the properties of Murshid Quli Khan-II. Then he stayed in Cuttack for about a month in order to establish his sway.[87] He appointed one Saulat Jang as the Naib Nazim of Cuttack. It is known that one Shah Yahya, a close friend of the Naib Nazim became the main adviser of Saulat Jang. Thoroughly a bad man, he posed himself as a saint and instituted a sort of reign of terror in Cuttack. Thus his action bred discontent. So one day people of Cuttack along with Murad Khan, the general of Raja Bira Kishore Dev rose against Saulat Jang.[88] Shah Yahya was killed in broad day light. Then Saulat Jang was captured along with the members of his family. His treasures were also plundered. Meanwhile Mirza Baqar, the son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan entered Cuttack victoriously. Then he put Saulat Jang under strict confinement in Lalbag palace. His wife, children and other relatives were kept as prisoners in the fort of Barabati. Mirza Baqir wanted to put an end to the life of Saulat Jang. But his wife refrained him from doing this unholy act.[89]

One finds a small grave in the eastern gate of Jama Mosque located in Balubazar Cuttack. The Muslims of this locality believe it to be that of a saint Ayya Shah. Most probably this Ayya Shah is the perversion of Shah Yahha, the pseudo-saint, noted for his notoriety.[90]

In the mean time the distress of Saulat Jang hunted Aliverdi Khan day and night. He became worried. Specially the imprisonment of his nephew with his entire family pained him most. Over and above, the return of Mirza Baqir into Cuttack and his seizure of the post of Naib-Nazim

amounted to a great blow to the prestige and authority of Aliverdi Khan.[91] So he decided to launch another expedition to Orissa so as to restore his prestige and authority. This time with 20,000 cavalry and strong artillery he marched to Cuttack and encamped at the northern bank of the river Mahanadi opposite to the Cuttack City. On the other side, Mirza Baquir had encamped at Jobra Ghat. It was a wintry dawn. Aliverdi Launched a formidable attack on the camp of Mirza Baqir. Unable to withstand the attack, Mirza Baqir fled from Cuttack to Deccan in December 1741.[92] Then the rescue of Saulat Jang kept Aliverdi Khan engaged. However with the help of Mir Jafar Khan, his general, Saulat Jang and the members of his family were rescued. Aliverdi Khan's Joys knew no bounds then. He was found to have prostrated before god to express his gratitude.[93]

After rescuing Saulat Jang's family, Aliverdi Khan took steps to rescue that of his own, confined in the fort of Barabati. He succeeded as Mirza Baqir's soldiers offered feeble resistance. Cuttack was thus recovered. Then Aliverdi sent away Saulat Jang to Mursidabad along with a part of his army. He retained in Cuttack only 5000 cavalry and some of his choicest officers. Then the friends of Mirza Baqir were punished. Their properties along with horses were also seized.[94]

It was after re-occupation of Cuttack that Aliverdi Khan stayed for about 3 months in order to restore order and make necessary changes in the administration of Orissa. Appointing one Mukhis Ali Khan as Naib Nazim of Orissa, Aliverdi set out for Bengal. But at Bhadrak on the advice of Mustafa Khan he changed his mind and appointed Shaikh Mausam Panipati, one of his trusted generals as Naib Nazim in place of Mukhis Ali Khan. One Durlabharam was appointed Peshkar to assist the Naib Nazim.[95]

Meanwhile Raghoji Bhonsle, the Maratha ruler of Nagpur evinced the desire to occupy Orissa. Mir Habib, the deposed Diwan was believed to have instigated the Maratha Raja for the invasion of Orissa. So he sent his Prime Minister Bhaskar Pandit for the purpose.[96] Proceeding through Barmul pass on the ill-defended western frontier, he reached Cuttack and captured the fort of Barabati on April 19, 1742.[97] The Naib-Nazim Mausam fled away. Having heard of this news, Aliverdi marched towards Orissa. Bhaskar Pandit in fear marched to Balasore. He was treacherously massacred with 23 of his captains.[98] Aliverdi reoccupied Cuttack and stayed for about two months. Yet the Maratha danger did not end there. The struggle between the Marathas and Aliverdi Khan over the possession of Orissa continued for ten years. And in this struggle, Mir Habib, the deposed Diwan of Murshic

Quli II helped the Marathas as he had promised earlier. Finally in 1751 Aliverdi concluded peace with Raghoji Bhonsle ceding him the Soubah of Orissa.[29] Cuttack thus passed into the hands of the Marathas.

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Cuttack under the Dynastic Rule

Dr. H. C. Das

Establishment of a city or a fort or a religious sanctuary on the banks, confluence, month or bifurcation of rivers in the past ages, was mainly based on ancient Indian traditions. This is substantiated by the discovery of a number of archaeological sites in different parts of the country. The discoveries through excavations have brought to light epigraphical and numismatic treasures, secular and religious monuments thus providing source materials for religious and political history of the past in a chronological sequence. These achievements of the past monarchs, elites and common men still stand in different stages of preservation to tell the posterity the glorious history of hoary antiquity.

It is significant to note that a planned lay-out, regular roads, streets and lanes, drains, fortifications, markets, religious sanctuaries, kiln-burnt or sun-baked brick residences of the royalty, nobility and commoners are the marked phenomena of an ancient city. Excavation of some of the fortified cities of ancient and medieval India reveal that these developed mostly on the river valleys, sacred places hill sites and at the places of strategic importance. Of the many excavated ancient cities of India mention may be made of Rupar on the bank of Sutlej exposing township of the Sungas, Kushanas and Guptas, Ahichchhatra (the capital of the north Panchala according to the Mahabharata) in Ramnagar, Uttar Pradesh, Hastinapura, the legendary capital of the heroes of the Mahabharata (in Meerut district) situated on the deserted bank of the Ganga bringing to light brick buildings of a township with numerous antiquities, Kausambi one of the earliest cities in north India on the bank of Yamuna (52 Km. south-west of Allahabad) revealing a city of more than 20 Sq. Kms. enclosed within a rectangular massive fortification wall consisted in the earlier stage of a mud rampart-wall with a burnt-brick revetment on the exterior and in the later phase a raised rampart and a secondary rampart outside the first one with guard-rooms, bastions and a stone-paved corbelled drain and an extensive stone palace covering an area of 315 x 150m, Rajghat (the ancient town of Varanasi known as one of the 16 maha-janapadas) bringing to light several

ancient structures and many relics such as a long mud-wall spreading to the natural soil, an excavated channel connecting the Varuna with Ganga, Rajgir or Rajagriha (100 Km. south-east of Patna in Bihar), the ancient capital of Magadha situated on a long valley with natural defences provided by the engirdled hills and high rampart of rubble running over the hills (about 40 Kms. in circuit) exposing within the area several massive structures of a fortified town consisting of a stone-paved path-way, ascending the Gridhrakuta, a monastery believed to have been erected for Buddha, Brahmanical images of the Gupta period etc., Patna or Pataliputra, one of the ancient cities of the central Ganga basin, capital of Magadha from the time of Ajatasatru, according to Megasthenes a flourishing city on a confluence of the Ganga and Son, 14.5 Km. in length and 2 Kms. in width enclosed by a wooden palisade bringing to light the structural remains and antiquities from the Maurya to Gupta periods, the K. P. Jayaswal Institute strikingly revealing through excavation a hall of 84 pillars and a monastic establishment at Kumrahar and several structures made of bricks and wood, Vaisali, the birth-place of Mahavira and the capital of oligarchical Lichchavis from early times exposing three city-walls, remains of several stupas outside the fortifications, Ujjain, one of the sixteen maha-janapadas, the capital of Avanti ruled by a king Pradyota (contemporary of Buddha) situated on the bank of river Sipra revealing a massive rampart with an extant basal width of 75 m. and height of 13 m. in the shape of a parallelogram with a moat 24 m. wide around and structural remains consisting of mud-brick and kiln-burnt brick, a large tank (10m by 8m) and a canal exposed to the extent of 56m (both brick-built) a tile roofed mud-built work-shop for manufacture of beads of stone, arrow-heads, knitting-needles of bone, Maheswar and Navdatoli on the southern and northern banks of Narmada respectively (Maheswar identified with Mahismati), once the capital of Avanti indicating habitation from the early stone age to the historic period with structures made of kiln-burnt bricks, Nasik on the southern bank of Godavari, Nevasa on the Pravara, a tributary of the Godavari Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar exposing, a fortified town with gateways, watch towers etc. and Kataka (Cuttack) on the bifurcation of Mahanadi and Kathjodi which bespeak clearly the history of fortified cities, the dynasties and religious efflorescence of ancient India. Most of the forts of the past are located on the river valleys.[1]

Cuttack is one such ancient city of India situated in a commanding geographical position on the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi which along with its tributary Kathjodi provided natural protection and water-ways to many parts of the country. Cuttack as a town at the bifurcation of a big

river is unique in India. The geographical situation of the city is such that it served as the only narrow strip of the land route of the country and as such people coming from the north to south or from south to north had no other alternative but to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack. The hill range to the west and wide rivers to the east of Cuttack exclude all possibility of the alignment of the high-way from north to south and it seems that the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha had to cross the Mahanadi at or near Cuttack and the same route was traversed by Kharavela at the time of his Magadha campaign. Neither the Dhauli rock edict of Asoka nor the rock inscription of Kharavela mentions any high way from Kalinga or Orissa to Magadha. The route of communication from the Central India lay through by the valley of the Mahanadi and terminated at Cuttack.[2]

In the analogy of the ancient fortified cities and towns of India, Cuttack, due to its strategic location, must have flourished as a fortified town from the ancient times (in fact, before the recorded history in 989AD.). Its military significance can be well understood from the connotation of the word 'Kataka' which means military camp and the fort or capital or the seat of the Government protected by the army.[3] One important thing in this connection is that a town or a fort or a religious edifice is generally installed in a place which had already earned name and fame from the past period. As for example, the present temples of Lingaraj (at Bhubaneswar) and Jagannath (at Puri) evidently were erected on the earlier ruins in fact, taking into account, the sanctity of the places. As such Cuttack is not an exception to this proposition.

Such an ancient city is certainly connected with the history of the State right from the time of invasion of Asoka (in the 3rd century B.C.) till the present day. Though it does not have recorded history before 989 A.D. the place on account of its sacredness and strategic situation must have flourished under Asoka, Mahameghavahana Kharvela, the Manas, the Sailodbhavas and the Bhaumakaras. The Buddhistic remains of Cuttack and Choudvara (on the other side of the river Mahanadi) give a definite clue of its emergence under the Buddhist Bhaumakara dynasty (C. 736-940 A.D.), which was not only responsible for extension of the vast kingdom but also caused construction of several forts and strongholds, temples and monasteries.

Somavamsis

The rule of the Soma or Keshari dynasty for about 200 years (from the first part of 10th century till the beginning of 12th century A.D.) ushered

in a new era of development in Orissa, politically, socially and culturally. The Somavamsis originally established at Sirpur (M P) shifted in course of time to Sambalpur-Sonepur region and finally to coastal Orissa. The present districts of Puri, Cuttack, Keonjhar, Balasore, Dhenkanal, Midnapore and Baud-Phulbani which formed the Utkal kingdom of the Bhaumakaras came under the possession of the Somas, who through conquests added Kalinga region and their earlier kingdom comprising Sambalpur-Sonepur and Raipur (now in M.P.) thus unifying a vast kingdom It was Mahasivagupta Yayati-I (936-991 A.D.) who extended his power to the coastal region at the cost of the Bhaumakaras, who were fast declining. His Nivina C. P. grant[4] records the grant of a village in the Gandhatapati mandala and the Patna Museum plate[5] indicates his victory over Ajapala.

"Yayati-I was a great warrior and had many successful encounters with the Kalachuris and many other rulers. He was responsible for the extension of the Somavamsi power in Orissa. He stands as the head of the dynastic list of the Somavamsi Rajas of Orissa in the Madalapanji, because the peaceful administration of the country began with Yayati-I and not with Janmejaya, the first ruler. In the Patna Museum plates he is praised as one, whose glory was sung in all the three worlds, who defeated his enemies with contempt as it were and whose sword had its sharp edge made rugged with the pearls coming out of the foreheads of the elephants rent as sunder by it."[6]

Chandihara Yayati-II (1023-1060 A D.) was nominated as the king of Utkal by the ministers and warriors at a time when anarchy and political trouble prevailed in the country. His Jatesinga and Dungri C. P. grants[7] reveal that he effectively defeated his enemies and consolidated the paternal empire in a systematic way. His achievements have been nicely described in his charters—"who has conquered Karnata, Lata, Gujrat, who is the conqueror of the Dravida country, who is the paramount of the world, who had denuded the Kanchi country of its glory, who has raised victorious assaults against the noted Countries of Gauda and Radha, who is the full moon in the sky of Vanga and who has become the lord of Trikalinga by having conquered it with his own arms and that he is the Maharajadhiraja and overlord at whose feet rajanyas worship by bowing themselves down."[8]

Paramamahesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Paramesvara Sri Mahasivagupta Jajati has one charter[9] to indicate his glorious achivements. He resided at Pattna Suvarnapura (Sonpur) were the goddess Bhagavati Bhadrambika (may be identified with Suresvari in the form of eight-armed Chamunda at Sonpur) was the tutelary goddess. He conquered many countries. No stone or copper

plate inscription has yet been discovered to tell the love of this monarch for art and architecture, although traditions connect his name with same of the greatest monuments of Orissan architecture. In the beginning of the East India Company's rule, many Englishmen made it their habit to take away the stone inscriptions and other valuable historical materials to preserve them in their museums simply as articles of curiosity. In this process countless materials have been lost to us and today they may be lying in some neglected corners of London Museums. Who knows that the inscriptions taken away from Bhubanesvara did not contain many things relating to the great achievements of Yajati Kesari in the field of art and architecture? Some might have been lost for ever and some might be lying unknown and neglected Thus we are forced to credit Yajati with the glorious deeds and great monuments that have been ascribed to him by traditions handed down from generation to generation and we persist in believing these traditions as historically true until and unless they are discredited and rejected by the discovery of concrete historical documents and materials.

Yajati Kesari performed an *Asvamedha Yajna* on the bank of the river Vaitarani. The name of the place where the *Yajna* was performed became Yajnapura which later corrupted into Jajpur. The remains of the altar or the sacrificial pit that was erected for the purpose of the *Yajna* are still to be found at Jajpur. The huge and broad stone steps on the bank of the Vaitarani, known as the Dasasvamedha Ghata are said to have been built under the patronage of Yajati Kesari. "It is interesting to note that just as Buddha Gaya, once a citadel of the Buddhists, became a centre of ancestor-worship, so also Jajpur, once a famous Buddhist centre became a sacred place for the Hindus for ancestor-worship, and began to be known as Nabhi Gaya in imitation of Buddha Gaya. During the rule of the Kesaris Jajpur became a very prominent centre of Saivism and many Siva temples were built there. But in course of time most of these temples have gone into ruins and Jajpur today has lost much of its former glory".[10]

Revival of Brahmanism at the cost of Buddhism became a trend of the time It was during this time the Mahommedans raised their heads in the northern and eastern India resulting in downfall of some kingdoms. Being a shrewed statesman Yayati not only conquered and consolidated the kingdoms he vigorously attempted to reinstall the religious efflorescence by causing construction of temples particularly for Siva and Sakti. Jajpur and Bhubaneswar rose to eminence as great centres. Credit goes to him for construction of the stupendous temple of Lingaraj at Bhubaneswar. The Maranja Mura charter[11] relates that "who caused many men to build

many temples for various gods and the Mandapas (royal pavilion) in the *Arama* or park for *Vihara* (pleasurable recreation) together with Udyana or garden". His successors built many temples at Bhubaneswar and Jajpur further enhancing the importance of the places. Construction of Brahmesvar temple at Siddhatirtha of Ekamra by his queen Kolavati and the Rajarani temple by the king Indraratha and Dakra Bhimesvara are some of the significant achievements of the Somavamsis. Situated in the strategic and commanding geographical position Cuttack must not have escaped the notice of the illustrious monarch Yayati. Being a famous builder he must have reconstructed the new capital here and caused the construction of temples, which to our misfortune did not survive till the present day.

The Madalapanji records that Raja Nrupa Kesari first implanted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack in about 989 A.D. It is pertinent to mention that the Madalapanji though is replete with legends in a historical perspective is definitely a historical treatise of great importance. The *Katakarajavamsavali* a Sanskrit work compiled in the early 19th century from old records in the Jagannath temple and in the private collections of Tadhaukarana and Deulakarana is a part of the Madalapanji and is of great use in reconstructing the history of Orissa. The British Administrators in charge of Orissa apprised the East India Company the history of Jagannath temple alongwith its attendant festivals. Mr. Groem the then Collector of Puri while submitting a report in 1805 on the Jagannath temple consulted the Madalapanji, another Collector, William Trower in a letter written in 1814 to the member Board of Revenue Cuttack referred to the Madala Panji. A. Stirling in his accounts (1822) referred to the Sanskrit work *"Vamsavali"* Mr. B. Bandopadhyaya published the text and translation of a Bengali version of the Panji captioned "Purusottam Candrika which was later on utilised by W. W. Hunter in writing his "History of Orissa" (1872). The Jagannath *sthalavrittantam* a Telgu version of the Madalapanji preserved in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras also records the traditional history of Orissa. Different versions of the Madalapanji available in different places and published by both foreign and Indian scholars highlight the historicity and significance of the texts.[12]

Thus the date of establishment of the city of Kataka noted in all the versions of Madalapanji is a historical fact accepted universally. The reign of Markata Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with the material (probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen) to protect the new capital from inundation in 1006 A. D.[13] Now the question arises in regard to the identifi-

cation of two important personalities Nrupa Kesari and Markata Kesari whose names have not been included in the genealogical table of the Somavamsi kings. At the same time historical truth of the Madalapanji cannot possible be ruled out, as many of the incidents recorded in this text are historically authentic. For identification of these two celebrated monarchs the political condition of Orissa during the period from 989 to 1006 A.D. needs a little elucidation. The rule of two Somavamsi kings Dharmaratha (980-1005 A.D) and Nahusa (1005-1021 A.D.) is synchroneous with the events of establishment of capital city at Cuttack and construction of revetment for protection of the city from natural calamity. During the reign of the former (Dharmaratha), Indraratha (most likely a son) was practically in charge of administration probably to check the inroads of contemporary neighbouring powers Indraratha came in conflict with the Chola army and the Paramara Bhoja of Malwa. Being envious of the prosperity and power of the Somavamsis the Cholas and the Paramaras made sustained effort to attack Utkal.[14] For the purpose of defence he (Indraratha) made an alliance with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Yayatinagar the then seat of administration was not centrally located in the vast kingdom of Utkal. Hence the shrewed statesman of great determination and military genius thought it prudent to establish a capital city at Cuttack which was protected by river in three sides and geographically suitable to check the inroads of enemies from all quarters. He was also a great builder and patron of learning as is gleaned from his C.P. grant of Banapur. He is credited with the construction of Rajrani temple (Original name is Indresvara after the king Indraratha) at Bhubaneswar. In view of the contemporary political and archaeological evidence Indraratha may be identified with Nrupa Keshari of Madalapanji. Nrupa (king) might be another name of the king Indraratha. Thus the establishment of the new capital by Nrupa Keshari in fact, was a political necessity. Prof. M. N. Das is of the view that Nrupa Keshari transferred the capital from Bhubaneswar to Cuttack. "We have already seen the early three Keshari capitals, one at Chauduar, the second one at Jajpur and the next at Bhubaneswar. Nrupa Keshari built yet a fourth capital. A new city and a strong fort were constructed on the plain land between the rivers Mahanadi and Kathjori and the capital was transferred from Bhubaneswar to this new city. It seems as if the Keshari emperors of Kalinga had a peculiar temptation to construct large cities and transfer their capitals very frequently from the old to the new. Nrupa Keshari named his new capital as Baranasi Kataka or Benares Cuttack. The transfer of capital from Bhubaneswar by no means reduced the importance of that place. Because Bhubaneswar by this time had already become the

acknowledged centre of Brahmanism in India and a place of pilgrimage for millions. The future kings of Keshari dynasty or of other dynasties went on adding new temples to the number of existing many. and the fame of Bhubaneswar increased day by day as the time proceeded. The transfer of the secular activities of the state from Bhubaneswar therefore by no means affected its well established religious importance, while on the other hand, a new capital city of an outstanding importance and fame came into existence at the strategic corner of Cuttack. From the time of Nrupa Keshari onward the city of Cuttack remained as an unrivalled political centre of Kalinga and through innumerable political storms, rise and decay, national prosperities and foreign dominations Cuttack has never lost its position as the political stronghold of Orissa. Though the city of Benaras Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari is no more in existence, yet the modern city of Cuttack can boast of its origin from that capital city of Nrupa Keshari."[15]

We are not sure whether Nrupa Keshari transferred the capital from Yayatinagar or Bhubaneswar, but the fact remains that he established the capital at Cuttack in 989 A.D for better administration and offence and defence of the vast empire.

As regards identification of Markata Keshari K C. Panigrahi[16] is of the view that he (Markata) was the abbreviation of Unnata who was progenitor of the Bhaumas (known from their copper plate grants). He ruled in the 8th century A.D. and as such based on the tradition Cuttack city must have been established in the eighth century A.D. He further substantiates his viewpoint by referring to the antiquarian remains of Cuttack and its vicinity. His statement with regard to the establishment of Cuttack city before 8th century A.D. may be tenable.

Markata Keshari, the builder of the stone revetment may safely be identified with Nahusa (1005-1021 A.D) or Mahabhavagupta III (according to some scholars)[17] who issued his copper plate grants from Vijaya Kataka (identified with Cuttack). The Narasimhapur charter[18] refers to Nahusa as the overlord of the country and celebrated ornament of the earth. "His (Nahusa's) rod like hand, being adorned with the tongue of (double edged) sword, resembled the snake when took the air separated from the throat of enemy's soldiers (who are slain)[19] Nahusa was a powerful monarch, had to face three adversaries-the Paramaras, the Cholas and the Kalachuris.

In order to save the political stronghold of Orissa from natural calamities and from the enemies in the south, west and north Markata Keshari

caused construction of the stone -embankment. "The New Capital at Cuttack founded by Nrupa Keshari was soon discovered to be under a grave and constant peril. The capital was exposed to a severe type of high flood both from the river Mahanadi on one side and the river Kathjori on the other Situated on a low land between the two biggest rivers of Kalinga, Cuttack could not guarantee a security of life to her teeming population. But the Keshari king was too great an engineer to save his capital from the threat of flood. Strong and huge stone embankments were raised on either side of Cuttack, facing river Mahanadi on the right and Kathjori on the left. The stone embankments of Cuttack are really a unique feat of the ancient engineering skill of Kalinga. Defying the fury of flood year in and year out for hundred of years, these embankments protect the city of Cuttack from utter demolition up till now Standing from the depth of water the gigantic embankments present a fort like massive appearance to an observer from the opposite side of the river or to one who looks towards Cuttack from the incoming or outgoing trains of the Bengal Nagpur Railway while on the Mahanadi or the Kathjori bridge. The mortar used in keeping the stones together by the master builders of that time is yet a challenge to the modern masonry. The exchequer of Markat Keshari must have spent a huge amount in the construction of that peerless work. In no part of India can there be found such a unique project for the protection of a city Undoubted as it is, if the city of Cuttack has flourished through ages, it is for an undying success in stone achieved by the public works department of Markata Keshari" [20] The stone revetment of Markata Keshari was repaired, renovated and reconstructed from time to time (even changing its course according to requirement), thus blurring the original structure. Early European travellers and the British Engineers have left behind short accounts of the revetment which shed further light on the condition of the structure and the steps taken during the British period for its repair. It is learnt from Leckei's Journal in 1770 that the river Kathjuri was flowing at a place south of the Dhabaleswar temple. "About two miles from Cuttack at the foot of a Hindu temple the Cutijora, separating itself from the Mahanaddy, flows to the southward of the town"[21].

The stone revetment of Cuttack, a unique engineering work second to none in India attracted the attention of the British Government. Lieutenant John C. Harrish, a Bengal Engineer in study of the devastating flood of the Kathjodi and Mahanadi rivers in 1855 submitted a report to the Government indicating its disastrous effect of flood on the Cuttack town and the suggested remedial measures. The report is quoted here for reference.

"The revetment may by described as an irregular line of masonry, partaking of the character of a wall in some portions of a simple casting in others, constructed of large blocks of laterite and sandstone set in mud cement, and painted with lime plaster exteriorily the weight of its crest varying from 17 to 36 feet above the low waterline, and width at top and bottom respectively from 3 to 4 and 5 to 8 feet.

"Upon what foundations this wall rests, is matter of the purest speculation at this day. It is not known in fact to have any foundations whatsoever, other than such as it has formed for itself by settlements, either gradual, owing to the action of gravity upon the loose soil beneath it, reduce as this is, during floods to a semi-fluid state or again bodily in the form of breaches after the subsidence of the waters".

"All evidence that I can obtain from history, traditions, and from nature, is in favour of the supposition that the Katjooree's breadth has increased amazingly in size since the period of the foundation of Cuttack. The measure of the change is indeterminate, as is the period it has occupied nature in effect it; but as the mind can comprehend the lapse of time, so can the change be comprehended to have taken place. The Katjooree has doubtless sprung from nothing, originally risen from insignificance the space of a few centuries. Such is my belief, such, I trust, will be found that of all interested in my theme."[22]

Colonel H. Goodwyn, the Chief Engineer's recommendation for repair of the embankment is very important and hence is attracted here. "The Cuttack revetment has this year (1847) given way in several places and understand that its restoration will cost not less than 3, 90, 995 Rupees. The Mahannaddy river, which is said to rise near Bastar enters the plains at the station of Cuttack, throwing off its tributary, the Katjooree to the south of the town. In the rains the torrents descend with fearful rapidity, and to protect the town from inundation on the southwards this solid embankment was constructed by the Mughal Government in the reign of Jahangir 225 years ago and has been always kept in repair by our Government".[23] "The stone revetment is a horse-shoe pattern. It begins on the left bank of Katjuri from near Purighat and stretches westward as far as the Chahataghat of the Mahanadi and then stretches on the right bank of the Mahanadi upto Jobraghat. This continuity of the revetment indicates that at the time when the revetment was made at the bifurcation of the Katjuri river from the Mahanadi; otherwise there is no reason why so much labour and material were utilised for erecting the revetment from the Chahataghat to Satichaura burial grounds. The Katjuri river has receded from the opposite bank of the

Chahataghat to Naraj since the time of erection of the abatement. From Lt. Harrish's report it is learnt that Kathjuri was widened one-third of a mile within a period of 15 years."[24]

Thus the Somavamsi rule in Orissa for about 200 years (from c. 919 to 1118 A.D.) was quite eventful in various fields. The thirteen rulers of the dynasty were reputed warriors and capable administrators of a vast kingdom covering the present districts of Sambalpur, Balangir, Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, parts of Ganjam, Mayurbhanj and Midnapore. The Somavamsis heralded a new era of development in consolidation of empire, in religion particularly Saivism, in art and architecture and in literature."

In fact, the Somavamsis laid the foundation of Kalinga empire which was further extended in the south and the north under the Gangas and Gajapatis. Saivism reached the pinnacle of glory under the royal patronage. This popular faith was widely reflected in the society through construction of many Saivite temples and installation of deities witn introduction of regular worship pattern and donation of land grants to the Brahmans and saiva ascetics for practice and popularisation of the faith". The period is a great landmark in Orissan as well as in Indian art. A large number of monuments were constructed which represent the finest specimens of Orissan art and architecture. Advanced techniques were employed in the field of architecture, which surpassed all other previous ages. From epigraphic and literary sources is known that the temple of Brahmeswara, Lingaraj, Rajarani and Mukteswara were constructed during this period. It has rightly been remarked that an artistic skill attained after centuries of experiences and liberal incentive given to the artists by the Somavamsis provided necessary foundations for raising such magnificent edifices as Lingaraj, Brahmeswara Mukteswara and the Rajarani. A considerable progress was made in the development of temple architecture of Orissa. The first stage of development being started in the Sailodbhava period reached its culmination in this period which introduced almost all the new architectural features and decorative motifs to the early Orissan art. Truly has it been remarked that the Orissan temple reached its complete form towards the close of the Somavamsi period. The architectural activities in the later period though by no means scarce were more concerned with elaboration than with any introduction of new features or forms indicating new directions of development".[25]

"Thus the Somavamsi period forms an important landmark both in the political and cultural history of Orissa. The rulers were great conquerors who revived the martial traditions of Orissa created by Kharavela. They

gave Orissa a geographical unity and a homogeneous culture for the first time which became a united centralised and a strong empire under one sceptre. They are regarded as the makers of modern Orissa or Utkala. Although their political achievements did not survive their rule, their cultural activity formed a lasting legacy for the people of Orissa, which will ever remain a golden chapter in the history of India."[26]

Under the efficient administration of the illustrious Somavamsis Cuttack, the centrally located capital of Utkal must have been a great metropolis and one of the greatest centres of culture. Due to constant attack by the iconoclast Muslims the city faced the same fate as Jajpur. Over and above, the inundation in the river Mahanadi and Kathjodi carved away a vast chunk of the city into its bed bringing down to oblivion the cultural sequence of the past.

Under the Illustrious Gangas

The Ganga rule in the Kalingan empire for more than three hundred and fifty years is depicted as the Golden Age in the annals of Kalinga. "What the Gupta Age is in the annals of India, the Ganga Age is in the annals of Kalinga. A well-founded empire and a number of powerful rulers, internal peace and security against foreign invasions, benevolent administration and state patronisation of art and literature, contact with the outside world and import of new ideas, all these important factors which make an age great, operated successfully during the three hundred and fifty years of the Ganga rule. From the time of Anantavarma Chodaganga Dev, who built the empire of united Kalinga, till the time of Bhanu Dev IV with whom ended the Ganga dynasty, there ruled not less than fifteen kings of whom at least three-Chodaganga, Anangabhima III and Narasimha I were men of exceptional ability, and all the rest were powerful enough to protect the extensive empire of Chodaganga from grave foreign invasions. After three hundred and fifty years of glorious rule the Ganga dynasty did not throw its empire into dissolution and chaos but bequeathed it peacefully into the hands of another remarkable dynasty, the dynasty of the Suryas, with everything of the empire intact. Chodaganga Dev built his empire and gave it two natural frontiers in the Ganges and the Godavari."[27]

"In the entire Aryavarta the Hindu religious architecture was buried beneath the heaps of ruin and out of those heaps rose the mosques for the Faithful. Soon after these acts had been completed in the north, the energy of Islam moved into the south. In 1294 A.D., Allauddin Khilji entered into the Deccan, plundered the city of Devgiri, and with an immense amount of

gold, silver and pearls, returned back. Once the roads was open towards the south, the process of further invasions began. Malik Kafur ravaged the south and plundered the cities of Warangal, Dwarasamudra and Mudra. Religious shrines in the south were desecrated by that renegade. Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram and destroyed that holiest city of Dakshinatya. The great temple of Rameswaram was razed to the ground and a mosque was built at its site. Repeated invasions were to follow and in course of time almost the whole of the southern India was brought under the Turkish administration. Thus at a period when an alien rule was in process of its establishment on the soil of India both in north and south, and at a time when the Hindu civilisation had fallen into her evil days, the Gangas were ruling in their independent empire of Kalinga. Accidental it was that the Ganga age in Kalinga was coincidental with the first stage of the Muslim rule in India but because of this coincidence, Kalinga was called upon to play an important role in the general history of India. Politically Kalinga maintained her independent existence throughout the Sultanate period and beyond. Culturally she was to harbour the fleeing culture and art from other parts of India. Religiously she was to champion the movement of a liberal Hinduism and to popularise the cult of Vishnu among the Classes and the masses so that a Hindu revival would save India from mass conversion. In a critical hour of India Kalinga had to shoulder a great responsibility Fortunately for India, the Gangas proved themselves to be capable of safeguarding the Hindu culture, art and architecture, religion and literature from the onslaughts of the Muhammedans within the sphere of Kalinga. The first period of the Muslim rule in India was a period of forcible conversion, but the Gangas successfully maintained the independence of their empire during that period and by doing so they saved the masses of Kalinga from conversion into Islam. If the Muslims form only one percent of the population of the modern Orissa, whereas in other provinces of India their percentage is higher and in some parts it is abnormally high, it is due to the independent Ganga rule in Kalinga at a time when the rest of India was under the influence of Islam and while Islam was bent upon converting the infidels. In the long run, long after the Ganga age, when Orissa was partially conquered by the Karranis of Bengal and then by the Hindu generals of Akbar, Raja Todarmal and Mansing, Islam had long given up its zeal to convert, and as a result, though Orissa remained for a period under the Mughal administration, she did not suffer from any forcible attempt on part of Islam to convert her Hindu population. Thus Kalinga was furtunate to have escaped the early rule of Islam which was more or less tasted by almost every other part of India. Such an escape was possible for

the strong protection given by the Ganga emperors to Kalinga. The ancient culture of Kalinga could not be violated by the storm that was blowing outside that empire. It is a remarkable thing even today that of all the provinces in India it is in Orissa that the influence of the Islamic civilisation on that of the Hindu is the least, almost nil "[28]

With the rise of the Gangas the art and architecture, religion and literature reached the highest watermark. The temple of Jagannath at Puri, Sun temple at Konark, Ananta Vasudeva, Meghesvar, Bhaskaresvar temple at Bhubaneswar are some of the best specimens of the Ganga age bespeaking supreme engineering skill of the architects and rich art tradition of the period. With the construction of Jagannath temple Puri became the prime religious metropolis of Kalinga and India.

"The commercial relation of the Ganga empire with the rest of India and also with the oversea lands was in a very thriving and prosperous condition. Though by the time of the Gangas the Kalingans had already lost their political hold over the Malayasian islands, yet the commercial contact with that part of the world was still intact. It was only towards the closing days of the Ganga rule that Kalinga lost her naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. But for the most part of the Ganga age the maritime activity and oversea trade of Kalinga remained prosperous. Kalinga continued to export her iron products, silver, gold and diamond ornaments, fine cloth; stone and wooden engravings, copper and brass articles, various types of cereals, barley, wheat and rice and many other commodities to outside. Foreign travellers to India during this age observed the export of the said products in shiploads from the ports of Kalinga. Inside India the trade of Kalinga was equally successful. A flourishing trade guaranted a sound economy to the people, and this sound economy was one of the main springs of the Ganga prosperity.[29]

Chodaganga Deva (1078-1150 A.D.) the founder-father of imperial dynasty laid the foundation of the Kalinga Empire at a critical juncture of the history of India when the north had fallen piece by piece before the Mahammedan invasion. The dynasty left by the Emperor gave birth to a series of strong emperors like Narsingh Dev, Anangabhima III etc. who successfully maintained and consolidated it and finally leaving the empire peacefully in the hands of another powerful dynasty named as the Surya-vamsi Gajapatis. "The empire of Chodaganga came into existence when the north had proved herself to be utterly incapable of a Hindu empire. The empire that he built and left, was left for the noble purpose of defending the south against the coming invasion of Islam from the north. Within

a short time the entire northern India was bound to come under the Muslim conquest, bit by bit from Hindukush to Ganges but very rapidly and as an inevitable go. In dramatic suddenness was the pressure of Islam bound to seek its way into the south through that gateway between the north and the south-Kalinga But the empire of Chodaganga stood there as an invincible Hindu power to check the progress of Islam into the south on the bank of the Ganges. For centuries together, under the Gangas and the Suryas, the empire of Kalinga, built by Chodaganga, struggled' against Islam and kept the Turkish power at a respectable distance even when the Turks were at the zenith of their power. During two hundred years of the Turkish Sultanate at Delhi, when the civilisation of the north fell a victim to the ravage of Islam, Kalinga became a new home of the flying civilisation from the north. Hindu art and architecture were ruthlessly destroyed by the Turkish rulers. Hindu religious practices were prescribed in the Turkish empire, Hindu universities were burnt and education discouraged, Hindu philosophers and intellectuals were dispersed, and an all-round assault was made against the Hindu civilisation itself. During those evil days of Hinduism in the north, Kalinga gave a fostering shelter to the Hindu art and architecture, philosophy, religion and literature and to all the ornaments of the Indian culture that were dispersed due to the vandalism of the Turks in the north".[30] Kalinga was the last great empire of the Hindu India to give way to the Muslim invaders. When the Hindu religious centres were desecrated, Jagannath Puri became the supreme centre of religion in India under the patronage of the monarchs. In a very critical juncture of Indian history the strong, well-administered and vast empire of Kalinga played a very important role in upkeeping Hindu religion, art and architecture and traditional system of Hindu administration.

"Chodaganga Deva ruled for seventy two years. Such a long reign of almost three quarters of a century is rare in the annals of kings. For an efficient monarch like Chodaganga such a long period of royal authority was destined to cover itself with farreaching conquests and administrative reforms. History records innumerable conquerors who conquered but could not rule, and their conquests melted away with their death as they could not give effective administration during their short span of military career, and when they aimed at giving administration after hectic days of militarism, death dropped its icy curtain over their brilliant careers. Chodaganga was perhaps a favoured child of history who conquered and lived long to see his conquests duly organised and efficiently administered".[31]

His ancestral capital was at Kalinganagara identified with Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, but after occupation of

Orissa in 1112 A.D. he shifted his capital to more centrally located Cuttack. From this new capital the Gangas ruled for long 14 generations with full dignity, valour and glory and in course of time they became Oriyas. It is interesting to note that Chodaganga had occupied Pancha Katakas (five fortified towns)—Jajpur, Amaravati, Chaudwar, Varanasi Kataka and Sarangagarh, which on account of their strategic situations formed virtually a single military system, as one was closely linked with the other. Orissa was a land of forts and particularly these five forts find mention in the Madalapanji.

The copper plate grants of Chodaganga reveal that he made sustained efforts to annex territories after territories in the south, west and north and fortune favoured him to be successful in his missions. Thus his paternal kingdom was expanded up to Ganges in the north to Godavari in the south. According to the Kendupatna[32] and Asankhali copper plate grants Chodaganga fought against the king of Mandara on the bank of the Ganges and distroyed the city of Aramya, the capital of the kingdom. While passing through Utkal he thought of annexing it in Kalinga, but he prudently left the idea waiting for an opportune moment. That moment came when the weak Kesharis came in conflict with Rama Pala of Bengal. It was at this juncture there erupted a revolt in the Pala kingdom. Chodaganga took the opportunity of interval dissension and invaded Bengal. After conquest of Bengal he turned his attention to the southern frontier where the Chola Chalukya kingdom bordered Kalinga. After the death of Kulatunga Chola in 1118 A D. "Without delaying further, and without giving a chance to another rival to come from the Chola or the Chalukya country to sit on the throne of Vengi, Chodaganga immediately rushed towards his southern frontier, and invaded and conquered Vengi. This time the kingdom of Vengi was completely amalgamated with the empire of Kalinga and there was kept no trace of its identity as a separate state. The modern districts of Vizagapattam and Godavari constituted the then kingdom of Vengi. With the incorporation of these areas, the river Godavari became the southern boundary of Kalinga. Thus a well situated natural frontier was secured in the south for the empire of Chodaganga, as the river Ganges had been secured to be the natural frontier of the empire's northern extremity. Like the conquered lands in Bengal, the conquered territory of Vengi, too, was well consolidated so that the flanks of the empire should be strong enough to repel the foreign invasions".[33]

After the extremities of the empire had been decided, fixed and consolidated, Chodaganga turned his attention to consolidate the middle

portion of Kalinga. The Utkal portion of Kalinga, which was like the very heart of his empire, had not yet been taken over by the Ganga administration. On a previous occasion the waning lord of Utkal had been defeated but had been restored to his throne. But now the time was ripe for the final amalgamation of Utkal with Kalinga and the extinction of the Keshari power. Near about 1135 Chodaganga conquered Utkal and extinguished the semi-independent status of that land. In 1135 when everything had been completed, the Ganga conqueror thought it wise to remove his capital from Kalinganagar to Cuttack. Cuttack was more strategical a point than the former Ganga capital, it commanded a central situation between the Ganges and the Godavari. Moreover, there was a deep-rooted imperial tradition associated with the name of Cuttack, were, in the hey-day of the Keshari rule the political power of Kalinga had been centred. It was certainly a statesman-like step that Chodaganga took in transferring his capital to Cuttack. From 1135 Cuttack became the capital of the Gangas and came to be called as Ganga Cuttack. On the northern side of Cuttack, at Chauduar, where one of the early Keshari monarchs had built a city, Chodaganga raised an invincible fortress. Equally, in the southern vicinity of Cuttack, he repaired and enlarged the fortress of Sarangagarh. Thus the capital city of Ganga Cuttack was secured against any future invasion by two of the strong military cantonments which guarded the capital from either side."[34]

From this time Kataka or Ganga Kataka or Bidanasi Kataka became the full-fledged capital of the vast Ganga empire, and continued as such till it was shifted to Bhubaneswar. The Bidanasi Kataka of Chodaganga has been denuded to a great extent. A few remains in the destroyed site still stand to-day to tell us the memory of Chodaganga, the empire builder and exponent of Vaisnavism particularly the cult of Jagannath. "It was about the time of Chodaganga that Jagannath definitely came to be regarded as the veritable incarnation of Vishnu. The Great Temple, erected for Jagannath, came to be regarded as an abode of Vaishnavism. Thus Vaishnavism centred around the cult of Jagannath, and the cult of Jagannath, patronised and championed by Chodaganga Dev, became the mass religion in Kalinga. Most probably sometimes after 1135, Chodaganga began the building of the Puri temple. Though it could not be completed during the remaining twelve years of his reign, yet the work was carried to a considerable proportion under his forceful guidance. The importance of Jagannath began to grow immense y and rapidly from the time of Chodaganga. The temple was left to be completed by his worthy descendant Anangavima Dev, but Chodaganga had the satisfaction to see before his death that his people had been given a great religious vigour, that the

mass had embraced a popular cult, and that Jagannath Puri had become the very core of the nation's religion and culture. The religious movement started by Chodaganga never died out in this land. Vaishnavism manifesting itself through the worship of Jagannath received more and more encouragement from the illustrious Ganga and Surya emperors who succeeded to the throne of Chodaganga. The Cult of Jagannath so successfully championed by Chodaganga is yet the mass religion of Orissa. Jagannath embodies in Himself the religion of this land and His temple stands as the symbol of Kalinga's national unity. Thus, Chodaganga Dev through his religious initiatives bound the people of Kalinga in a bond of cultural and religious sameness. Eventually he was not only an empire builder, but also the maker of a great nation.

From all points of view the reign of Chodaganga marks a very remarkable epoch in the history of Kalinga. At a critical time in the annals of India he built a strong and extensive empire. For the evil days that were to overcome the civilisation of the Hindus he left a strong Hindu power in the south to champion the same. Kalinga was fortunate to have been ruled by Chodaganga for seventy-two years and more so, to have received a long dynasty of successful sovereigns from him. The empire that Chodaganga built lasted for hundreds of years and was the last kingdom in India to have succumbed to an alien power. The cultural role played by the Kalinga of Chodaganga was a revolution by itself. It revolutionised Hinduism for a new strength and vigour. The growing rigidity and seclusion of Brahmanism were challenged and the religion was carried from the monopoly of the classes to the arm of the masses The Hindu liberalism sponsored from Jagannath Puri, first by Chodaganga and then by his successors, was a right movement at a right time when it was so dearly required by India. It was just in the fitness of things that Chodaganga Dev built the empire of Kalinga and re-oriented her religion.''[35]

Kamarnava Deva (1147-1156), Raghava (1156-1170, Raja Raja-II and Anangabhima II (1190-1198) successively utilised the capital Bidanasi Kataka and other katakas acting as the second line of defence. Saint-poet Sri Jayadeva, the author of Gitagovinda flourished during the reign of Raja Raja II. Anangabhima II is credited with the construction of Patalesvara temple, high compound walls, excellent roads, bridges and tanks. Probably he made improvement of his capital city. Anangabhima-III (1211-1238) was one of the greatest warriors and builders of the time. By the time he ascended the throne the political situation in northern India and Bengal was hazy and confusing. The Muslim Sultan of Bengal declared independence of

Delhi, Muhammad Ghori defeated Prithviraj Chauhan and left the Delhi Sultanate in the hands of his general Kutubuddin. He sent Muhammad-bin-Bakhtvar Khilji to invade Bengal, Bihar and Eastern India. He was successful in his mission and administered Bengal and Bihar from Lakhnuti (capital of Gauda). He sacked the university of Nalanda, religious centres and with iconoclastic fanaticism lashed to pieces the temples, stupas, monasteries and raised mosques on the ruins of those structures. "Thus in the beginning of the thirteenth century Hindu India received a great blow from the Muslims, for the main reason that the Hindus lacked unity. The Palas and the Senas of Bengal and the Gangas of Orissa did not unite together to confront the Muslim aggression. The result was that one by one all succumbed to the tempest, though Orissa could raise her head against it for four centuries more."[36]

It was at this critical juncture Ananga Bhima III (1211-1238 A. D.) crossed swords with the Muslims of Bengal and inflicted a crushing victory, which is recorded in the Chatesvara stone inscriptions[37] The stone inscription further reveals the conflict with the king of Tummana (the old capital of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur). The western part of the present Orissa, then known as Kosala was a bone of contention long since. The sustained efforts of Chodaganga and his successors to occupy the area proved unsuccessful. The empire-builder Chodaganga had conquered the entire south-eastern coastal region from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south but could not resume the western frontier fully which had been the centre of administration of the Somavamsis. The Kalachuri inscriptions indicate that Ratnadeva II and Prithivi Deva II of the Kalachuri dynasty were engaged in severe battles against Chodaganga and his son. According to one such epigraph the battle was fought between the Ganga and the Kalachuri armies at Seorinarayana, a centre of pilgrimage on the left bank of the Mahanadi, in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The position of the battlefield gives us an idea that the fight was for the possession of the Sonepur tract, or else the hostility between the Gangas of Orissa and the Kalachuris of Ratanpur at the stage cannot otherwise be explained. It cannot be supposed that the Ganga army was on the move in the Bilaspur region with a view to conquer the Kalachuri kingdom of Ratanpura. Such a supposition will overlook the position of the Ganga state, its extent, the difficulties of communication and the general strategy which the Gangas followed for the expansion of their empire. The conclusion, therefore, becomes inevitable that the struggle that ensued between the first two Gangas king of Orissa and the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpura was for the possession of the Sonepur region, but this struggle ended in the victory of

the Kalachuris. It is evident from the Kalachuri inscriptions that the Gangas were defeated and consequently failed to occupy the Sonepur tract. In the Ganga epigraphic records there is no mention of their fight with the Kalachuris, a fact which indicates that they were defeated. Had they been successful in their fight with the Kalachuris, a fact which indicates that they were defeated. Had they been successful in their fight with the Kalachuris, such a fact would not have failed to find mention in their epigraphic records which usually con ain references to their victories and conquests.[38]

The epigraphs as well as the tradition ascribe the occupation of the Sonepur tract during the reign of Anangabhim Deva III. Pratapa Malla of the Kalachuri dynasty who was the contemporary of Anangabhima was too weak to maintain the suzerainty of the Kalachuri kingdom. Taking the opportunity of their weakness Anangabhima succeeded in occupying the Sonepur territory. The valourous warrior Vishnu might have led a strong army to Tummana and frightened the Kalachuris. The Madalapanji, the chronicle of the Jagannath temple also substantiates the inclusion of the Sonepur region in the Ganga empire. The temple chronicle states that Anangabhima annexed territories up to Sonepur in the west and thereby increased extent of the State.

His achievements in the field of military conquests rendered invaluable services to the nation. Peace and placid calm prevailed every where. Increase of revenue from various sources made the country prosperous and promoted the monarch and the elites to resort to building activities. The Madalapanji ascribes the construction of the fort of Barabati at Cuttack to Anangabhima Deva.[39]

The then political situation demanded him to build a new capital. The tradition of establishing new capital with the appelation 'Abhinava was not new in the medieval period of Orissa. When Yayati Keshari transferred his capital from Yayatinagar (Vinitupur) to Jaypur he named the new capital as Abhinava Yayatinagar. Following the age-old tradition Anangabhima Deva laid the foundation of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka in 1220 A.D. in the village Barabati of Cuttack which is popularly known as the fort of Barabati. This interesting fact is attested by his Nagari copper-plate grant.

Anangabhima was a devout devotee of Jagannatha and Purusottama. As a builder Anangabhima figures very high in the history of Orissa. The Natamandapa and Bhogamandapa of Lingaraj temple, the completion of the Jagannath temple at Puri, the grant of a perpetual lamp for the god

Kritivasa at Bhubaneswar, provision of milk, butter, rice and curd fragrant flowers in the temple of Jagannath by Anangabhima speak of his religious activities.

One of his copper plate grants records the donation of two Vatis of land in the Puranagrama to the Brahmim Acharya, Chandra Karsaman on the occasion of the installation of God Purusottama.

'Tatha Sri Purusottama Devasya Pratistha samaya,
Chadvi Vatiparimitam bhumin bhagavatah Sri Purusottamasya pritaye......upabhogaya akarukritya pradat.'[40]

The installation of the deity Purusottam by the illustrious monarch is curious and interesting. It was from his time the established deity Sri Jagannath of Puri was designated as the Rastradevata and the monarch as His Routa. He was responsible in introducing the complicated service system in the Jagannatha temple including elaborate arrangement of cooked food (the same system continues till today). In view of the facts the installation of Sri Purusottama Deva may be corroborated with the deity Purussottama of his Abhinava Baranasi Kataka. The recent excavation of the Barabati fort at Cuttack has brought to light the remains of a temple of Ganga period at the lowest level down below the pillared structure (identified with the Navatala prasada). The excavated temple may be identified with the Purusottama temple of Anangabhimadeva. The colossal seated image of Visnu recovered from the moat of Barabati fort and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, is identified with Purusottama of Barabati fort installed by Anangabhima.

The great conqueror, versatile statesman and celebrated builder unmistakably enhanced the power and prestige of the Kalingan empire consterminating the enemies in the northern, western and the southern frontiers to an extent that for about next one hundred years there was no menance from the enemy quarters. The stone inscriptions and copper plate grants of the monarch and of his times lucidly speak of his military exploits in all frontiers, his achievements in the field of art and architecture, his administrative and cultural activities. We are aware of the fact that the rulers of different dynasties so far granted land for maintenance of the religious institutions and the Brahmins. Here we come across for the first time in the Nagari copper plate[41] the grant of land is the Puranagrama and Jayanagar Grama both situated in the Sailo Visaya to mercantile classes such as perfumer (Gandhika), dealer in conch-shells (Sankhika), wood-cutter (Pata-kara), gold-smith (Swarnakara), brazier (Kansyaka), dealer in sugar

(Gudika), milkman (Gopal), weavers (Tantubaya), oilman (Tailika), potters (Kumbhakara), fisherman (Kaivarta), barber (Napita), craftsman (Slipi) and washerman (Rajaka). This gives an indication of the caste system prevalent in those days and the king's patronisation to the craftsman, merchants and the service castes. From the fact of his multifarious contribution one can well imagine the all round development he might have effected in his capital city of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka.

With the accession of Narasimha Deva I (1238-1264 A.D.), the illustrious son and successor of the celebrated Anangabhima the Ganga Empire with his capital at Kataka attained the zenith of its glory and fame in India. At the time of his coronation the political situation in northern India was very critical. The Muslims of Bengal fortified their position thinking that there would be no trouble from Orissa after the death of Anangabhimadeva. They fortified their position firmly in both north and south Bengal. It had been referred to earlier that Anangabhimadeva crossed his sword with the Muslims several times. Situation in Bengal was tense when it came in clash with the Delhi Sultanate. A portion of Bengal thus politically came under the control of the Delhi Sultanate. Having been hard pressed the Muslims of Bengal made an attempt to conquer Kalinga.

During this critical political situation Narasimhadeva appeared like a comet. He was well aware of the political situation during the reign of his father and planned his strategy soon after his accession to the throne. Realising the gravity of the situation and his past experience as an warrior against the Muslims of Bengal, he adopted the policy of offence rather than defence. Instead of waiting for the Muslims inroad into Kalinga he pounced upon the Muslims when they were unprepared for the war. In order to put his idea into action he thought it prudent to build up forts and military strongholds on the strategic points leading to Bengal and to garrison soldiers for timely attack, as leading an army from the distant headquarters to the heart of Bengal was hazardous, risky, expensive and time taking.

He took about four or five years to build up the defences and reorganise his armies. His epoch-making war expedition to Bengal started towards the end of 1243 A.D. He was so shrewd in his political maneuvering that he did not march directly, rather sent contingents to fight in a guerrila warfare. The Kalingan soldiers clad themselves with leaves proceeded through the jungles, Tughril-Tu-ghan Khan,' the governor of Muslim Bengal in no way was a match for valious Narasimha nor he was prepared for the war. The Kalinga army approached through the untrodden forest tracts and appeared at the gate of the frontier fort, Katasin. The Kalingan soldiers

hid themselves in jungles and cane bushes and pounced upon the Muslim soldiers when they were engaged for their midday meals. The panic-stricken and half-hearted Muslim soldiers were killed mercilessly. Tughril Khan fled away to Lakhnor to save his life. Emboldened by the miraculous victory Narasimha marched towards Laksmanavati. The success of the war and the fortune of the Muslim soldiers in the hands of the Kalinga army has been nicely described in the Asankhali copper plate grants of Narasimhadeva II.

"Radha varendra Yavani nayanamjanasru
Purena duravinivesita Kalima srhited
Vipralambhakaranadbhutanistaranga
gangapi nuna mamuna jamuna dhunabhut

"The (white) river Ganga, blackened for great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis (Muhmmadan women) of Radha and Varendra and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by that monarch (Narasimhadeva-I) into the black watered Yamuna."[42]

Sonepur region in the Western frontier was included in the Kalingan empire during the reign of Anangabhimadeva III. The Gangas had a clash with the king Ganapati Kakatiya over the occupation of east Godavari district, but Anangabhima could not succeed in his attempt. Narasimha who proved his aggressive role in Bengal thought of conquering this tract of land adjoining the empire. An inscription of Narasimha engraved in the Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar records Svakarakara Vala Kampita Ganapati Bhu Senapati Gajabaji Samaja etc. which means he terrified the generals and the armies of Ganapati consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants. In this struggle the Kalingan emperor inflicted a crushing defeat and occupied east Godavari district which continued to remain as the southern boundary of the Ganga empire till the end of Gajapati rule.

It is thus clear from the above discussion that Narasimha's fight with the neighbouring powers was mainly due to his imperialistic aggression. Being a shrewd statesman he adopted the policy of aggression for extension of his paternal empire, frightening the neighbouring enemies. Chodaganga-deva the founder-father of the Imperial Gangas advanced as far as Aramya (Arambag) and after occupation he built a fort and stationed a Governor and a strong army.[43] In order to maintain his stronghold in the region and to frighten the enemy he built a series of forts at strategic points on the Rajapatha from Arambag to Varanasi Kataka, the state capital. The remains of some such forts are to be seen till today.

The troubled political situation in Bengal and the geographical phenomena, natural bounties and economic prosperity favoured the monarch not only to maintain the empire but to increase it in all directions. When the slave dynasty was ruling at Delhi, Rajaraja III, Ananga Bhima III and Narasimha I were ruling in Kalinga. Bengal was formally under the Slave Sultans, where they appointed their Governors, but since Bengal was far away from Delhi the Governors very often rebelled against the Sultans and sometimes declared their independence. At Delhi there were succession disputes after the death of each monarch and after Balban, the Slave dynasty did not produce any strong ruler. These circumstances explain why the Muslims of Bengal did not renew their attack on Kalinga. Nature provided Kalinga with protection in shaple of hills, jungles and rivers, which were considered difficult, if not insurmountable barriers in the movement of fighting forces. Besides, the Gangas had created a vast fighting force, which not only kept their kingdom safe, but also challenged the external enemies. These factors provided Kalinga with comparative freedom from the Muslim danger.[44]

Narasimha's strategy as a vindictive aggressor, his farsighted policy, war and victory over the enemies, his building activities and above all his lavish donation and religious policy have been recorded in lucid language in the copper plate grants of Narasimhadeva II.[45]

The C.P. Grant of Narasimha-II speaks of the monarch's military valour, his splendored court and valorous ministers in the following verses.

"When the most valiant and illustrious Narasimhadeva ascended the throne, his feet dazzled (the beholder) with the light emitted from the gems that adorned the crowns of other kings. All the adverse kings, frightened, broken-hearted, and intent only on saving their lives betook themselves to mountains."

"When the king sets out on elephant to battle, what hero is there on earth who would bear the weight of fighting, when we see that a single creeper-like sword held in his rain-bow-like hand spread terror on all sides ?"

"He was fierce by reason of his sword, and violently robbing the hostile king of their immense wealth equal to that of the Kalpataru, presented them to Brahmanas, with his sprout-like hands which were as ornaments of the earth and shone beautifully wetted by the water of charity."

"For the welfare of his kingdom, he kept sixteen ministers well-versed n politics, capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy, of virtuous character, and of unfailing resolution. That illustrious and fortunate king used to govern the empire with their advice."[46]

From the last passage of the inscription we learn that the monarch had a splendorous court with 16 ministers, poets and celebrities in his capital at Kataka.

The Asankhali copper plate No. 5, reverse from line 16 to 19 speaks glowing terms of the munificence and magnanimity of the monarch. The high-sounding epithets such as the lord of the 14 worlds, the illustrious king Vira Narasimhadeva is proved by the grant of 50 Vatikas of land in the city of Remuna at the merrytime of a new conquest to the Brahmins, granting land on the banks of the Ganges at time of lunar eclipse, grant of land to the copper makers and other mercantile class etc.

His religious policy was as clear as his administrative and military policy. To maintain and uphold religion and to keep up his grants in order he issued a clear-cut directive in the copper plate in the following lines (plate VI, reverse L. 1-6). "In order to reap the harvest (gain the fruit) of my gift and of preserving it, O, You future kings, obey this my religion, as long as the moon and the stars endure. O-ye kings, suspect not it to be fruitless because granted by another is greater virtue in preserving the grants of others than in making grants oneself. O, Yudhisthira, the principal of the intelligent, keep carefully the grants either by your self or by others, for preserving gifts is far superior to granting them. Whoever forfeits lands granted either by himself or by others becomes a worm in excrement, and there rots with his ancestors. Those who take away the land become black serpents in the hollows of dried up trees in a forlorn and waterless wilderness. He who robs a single cow, a single gold coin, or even half a nail of land, remains in hell until the final deluge. The religious acts performed even by an enemy, are respected by the high-minded, because the enemy only is their enemy, religion is enemy to none. Of the fiture kings of this world whether born in the dynasty of my own or in the dynasty of any other king, whoever with mind unstained by vice, maintains this my religious act, I bow before them with my palms held side by side and raised to the forehead".[47]

Ekavali an excellent literary work composed by Narasimha's court poet Vidyadhara depicts the monarch as a great conqueror, a worrior, a mighty builder, a benevolent ruler and a promoter of culture and learning.

The literary work describes lucidly the famous war episode in the following lines.

"Tvatsena Vijayotsavavyatikare vyaptim viyanmandalam,
Hammiraksitipalachetasi param malinyanummilitam".
(Sastha Unmesa Ekavali)

(The jubilation of victory by your army spreads to sky and at the same time creates sorrow in the mind of the king Hammira).

"Nijacharanasavidhanipatanaparamapi para eva viksya Hammiram
Rajan Nrusimha samare tisthati tusnirmasou Khadgah"
(Sastha Unmesa Ekavali)

(When the king Nrusimha appeared in the battle field his sword remained (unused) on seeing Hammira, the enemy falling prostrated at his feet).

"Hammira Manamardana bhavatostejo Vibhavasum Jayati"[48]
(Astam Unmesa Ekavali)

(Your valour trampling down the prowess of Hammira extends high up to the sky).

The title Hammira should preferably be taken as that of the early Mohammedan rulers of India and Ghazani. This title which began to be used by the Sultan of Delhi before 1187 A. D. continued till the time of Balban [49]

The war episode of Narasimha was so important an event that it is referred to in the Muslim chronicles, in the inscriptions of his successors and in the subsequent literary works. The conquest over the combined army of Muslim Bengal and Delhi is nicely described in the 16th century literary work, Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavyam (1509 A. D.) by Kavi Dindadima Jivadeva Acharya.

"Ganganvaye Samuchite Vatatara tasmin
Devaprasa darasiko Bhagavannrusimhah
Dillivibhanjanachanah Prathitanubhavo
Langulachumyitatanorjagadevakamallah"
(Bhaktibhagavata Mahakavyam)[50]

(His highness Nrusimha having a tail like thing attached to his body who through the grace of god took birth in the famous Ganga dynasty, was the only eminent warrior to destroy Delhi).

Ekavali in assessment of Narasimha's valour, bravery and military capabilities compares him with Narasimha an incarnation of Visnu, with Rama and other legendary heroes.

Similar to this poetic description, the inscription in the Sikhareswar temple on the Kapilas hill of Narasimha describes him as "Vasundhara Samudraranaprachandadordanda Mahavarahas".[51] (He was like Maha Varaha in redeeming the earth from the ocean of war by the prowess of his mighty arms.) The historical accounts, literary records and inscriptional evidence speak so high of Narsimhadeva I am a hero, warrior statesman, administrator, builder and patron of culture and his great achievements that I am prone to identify him as the greatest monarch of the imperial Ganga dynasty."

He was the greatest builder of the time. His title of *Silpayjna* is well justified on account of his construction of the lofty and magnificent Sun temple at Konark and a series of forts and strongholds on the Rajapathas leading to Bengal. The famous forts of Bansoda, Raibania, Amarda, Narayangarh, and several others are assigned to him.

The fort building activities reached the finality and highest water marks during the Ganga rule. The administration of the vast Ganga empire extending from Ganges to Godavari necessitated the building of forts and strongholds at the places of importance for defensive and offensive administration. These served the purpose of both military and civil administration and checked the inroads of foreigners and internal dissensions.

The Gangas built up numerous forts in their empire, details of which are not known but the ruins of which give a graphic picture of their location and their role in the military administration of the country. Abul Fazal who came to Kalinga with the army of Mansing in sixteenth century recorded the names of 129 forts in Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Kataka, Kalinga dandapata and Rajamahendri. These were perhaps the forts he came across on his way. The exact number of forts might be more. The author had the occasions to survey the remains of such forts on the old Rajapatha leading to the north. The forts surveyed are Arambag (on the bank of the river Rupnarayan), Narangad, Kharagpur Dantan, Ulmara, Nuagaon, Raibania, Amarda, Nalgaja, Bamsoda (Basta) Karatsal, Bhograi, Bhadrak, Gohiratikiri etc. which need discussion as far as possible. Through the vicissitude of time the glorious dynasties are gone by, but a multitude of monuments of religious and secular in character stand in different stages of preservation to tell the posterity their splendid and stupendous achievements The forts and military

strongholds of coastal Balasore played a significant role in the military history of Kalinga. Balasore district acted as the gateway of Kalinga by strengthening its military strength, in enhancing its economic prosperity through maritime trade carried on in several prosperous ports and diffusing the culture of the land to other parts of India and to far off countries and assimilating the cultural traits of other regions into its own.

The Sun-temple was the greatest monument of the time surpassing in workmanship, magnitude and style of all other great temples erected by his predecessors There is a political background regarding construction of this lofty and magnificent monument His crushing victory over the Muslim of Bengal at Lokhnor roused in his reminiscence the great work of his predecessors, the spirit of art tradition and the religious efflorescence The Viraja Kshetra of Sakta eminence, the Mahavinayaka of Ganapatya cult, the famous Saivite center at Bhubaneswar and the Vaishnavite sacred complex at Puri urged in him and impelled his good senses to highlight the great Sun god at Konark turning it to a sacred Kshetra Over and above these sentimental factors, he decided to immortalise his eventful victory by erecting a monument in honour of the Sun God. This military conquest as an imprint of jubilation found expression profusely in the sculptural art of the temple. The abundance of war scenes, elephant procession, horses and infantry, the marching procession, the war-horses and elephants trampling enemies under their feet, so unusual in a religious shrine that these are nothing but symbolic representation of historic event of emperor's victory over the Muslims. Hence it is said, "He was the grandest of the Ganga kings of Orissa powerful, heroic, unchallenged and victorious......If Konark is so fascinating to all lovers of art today it is not because of the worship of a god, or the pity of its builder, but because it displays in the divine language of good workmanship, the joy of life on earth. And that became possible perhaps over because of the resounding contemporary victories over a formidable enemy, both of its builder and the whole nation, and the consequential national rejoicing Konark, more than any other famous temple of Orissa, is a national monument.[52]

The Son temple is symbolically a shrine of war, worship and love. It is significantly a magnificent lyrical epic in stone, of the joys of love and victory dedicated to the light of the Universe, the Sun God. The sculptures in the temple are numerous and words fail to express how marvellous they are even today. The sculptures of animals particularly gigantic rampart lions soaring above vanquished elephants, the mighty war elephants and war horses trampling over enemy soldiers and various military scenes bring to our reminiscence the military glory of Narasimhadeva. The elephant and

horse procession in the buston friezes symbolically represent the war-mongering caliber of the Kalingans, and their monarchs. In praise of the sculptures of Konark the eminent artist Abanindra Nath Tagore exuberantly writes. "The ever old and ever new, the divine dance sport of the whole universe is going on under the sportive Kadamba tree of love, sacred to the gods, during night and during the days, to the accompaniment of burning lamps of divergent colours placed round the be-jewelled throne of the boiless God of love. Here nothing is silent, nothing is barren or sterile. Stones are running like frisky spirited horses, pulling the car at the top speed, fertile stones have bloosomed out like the everblooming plants of the bowers, embracing in their thousand arms of shining green from all quarters" Even though the main edifice crumbled down the presiding Sun God and the embellished Arun pillar have been shifted, yet it still is a veritable repository of Orissan art and architecture of the medieval Orissa symbolising the crystallised and accumulated experience of several centuries of Orissan temple building art. In the words of John Marshall, "There is no monument of Hindustan that is at once so stupendous and so perfectly proportioned as this Black Pagoda and none which leaves so deep an impression on the memory" Such a high tribute and honour are due not only to the immortal monarch Narasimha and his dignified official under whose able supervision such a majestic monument could be created but also to the band of twelve hundred master-craftsmen who through their continuous efforts of long sixteen years expressed their dream and talent in every inch of stone and made this monument a wonder of the world.[53]

Militarism of Kalingan empire reached the climax of its glory under Narasimha who instead of concentrating the garrisons in the State capital strongly fortified the forts and strongholds on the Rajapathas leading to the south and the north. His aggrandised military policy both for defensive and offensive purposes created a sense of consternation among his enemies of neighbouring kingdoms and the feudatories under his control. His splendorous court at Kataka was embellished by sixteen well experienced ministers, poets and courtiers. Since his building activities were concentrated at Konark, Bhubaneswar, Kapilas and other places he perhaps did not feel it expedient to invest his energy in further overcrowding the constricted capital city at Kataka, rather deemed proper in increasing the military strength of the empire by posting the armies mostly in different forts. Kalingan empire was then turned to be a strong military state in Eastern India, unparalleled in the contemporary times.

In pursuing the policy of his father Bhanudeva-I (1264-1278) effectively administered the empire with 16 ministers and several courtiers.

He made boundess gifts to the ministers and Brahmanas. No copper plate of the monarch has yet been discovered but the Amaresvar temple inscription[54] by Umapati, the Anantavasudeva inscription by Kavi Umapati[55] the Parvati temple inscription[56], Bhimesvara temple inscription,[57] Srikurman and Simhachalam temple inscription[58] record the monarch's achievements and a mine of information, such as the name of vassal Rama Pasayati, donation by Narahari Tirtha on the occasion of Sri Jayanti festival (1264 A.D.) etc. Umapati was an important court poet who is recorded to have donated a perpetual lamp. It is known from the Sonepur inscription that Isvara the Governor of western region donated 12 gold coins to the god Vaidynath for the long life of Vira Bhanudeva. "Besides, the general administration was run by the king with the help of the ministers and the Mahamandalikas. There is no evidence of war during the region of Bhanudeva. Sivaratri was observed with great magnificence. Vaisnavism was flourishing in Orissa under royal patronage and the doctrine of Dualism (Dvaitavad) was preached by some famous teachers. He is credited with the construction of the Atharanala bridge (a bridge with eighteen spans) near Puri.[59]

Narahari Tirth described as a poet, a sage and an administrator flourished in the court of Bhanudeva. On the whole his reign was peaceful, as such he could perform a lot of religious and social works in th country. From the inscriptions we get the name of one Governor. He must have Governors in the northern and southern regions under the control of the monarch stationed at Kataka.

The Alalpur C.P. Grant[60] the Asankhali C.P. Grants and the Kendupatna C.P. grant[61] of Narasimhadeva II (1278-1306) are the very important source materials on the history of the important Gangas. The land settlement introduced during the reign of the monarch is a landmark in the history of the dynasty The Alalpur grant records the name of General Allalanath who was the head of the record department

"The inscription is important from the social and economic points of view also. There were granaries in villages near the tanks so as to protect it from fire. Again people were self-sufficient and were not dependent on the Government during food shortage. The land belonging to gods and Brahmanas. Gohiri, Danda, Gopatha, etc. were free from all control. There were tanks, canals and markets for the subjects of the kingdom. There is a reference to Vaidya or physician.also. The method of land settlement was of high order for every plot of land were demarcated on all sides. Hence disputes might have been less. All these go to prove that people were happy and prosperous."[62]

The Kendupatna C.P. Grants reveal the noble deeds of monarch and the socio-cultural condition of the empire. "From the copper p'ates, it is evident that he was the valorous and illustrious son of Bhanudeva and Jakalladevi of Chalukya family. He is entitled as the saviour of the Ganga dynasty and destroyer of all his enemies. He acquired fame like Arjuna in handling weapons of war. Vrihaspati in Sastric knowledge, Karna in making gifts, Bhima in valour and Kamadeva in beauty. In obedience to his mother, he issued one hundred Sasanas to Brahmanas and also other presents of great value *(tena dattam dvijatiuyah sasanam satasankhyakni, mahadanani danani Srimannaturanujnaya)*.

Art and literature seems to have flourished in the reign of Narasimha II. Sambhukara, Bidyakara and Sankhadhara were great Pandits lived in the reign of Narasimha II. Sankhadhara seems to have compiled "Smurti Samuchava" during the reign of Narasimha II. Sambhukara and Bidyakara were born in the famous noble family of Bajapeyi. Very few of Sambhukara's books have been published, the rest remains unpublished. Two of his published books are Sradha Paddhati and Vivaha Paddhati. From the catalogue of palm leaf manuscripts preserved in the State Museum of Orissa it is known that several manuscripts of Sambhukara such as Agnihotrahoma Paddhati, Niruddha Pasubadha Paddhati, Smrata Ratnavali and Srotridyana sloka Paddhati have not yet been published. His son Bidyakara also had compiled Nityachara Paddhati, Krama Dipika, Dinakrutya Dipika and Mokshya Parikshya.

The types of books written in those days throw a flood of light over the religious conditions ot that period. Vedic religion was popu'ar even in those days. Sacrifices of animals in front of deities were prevalent. Discussions of Purana, Vyakarana, Kavya, etc. were regular features of the then society. The images of Durga, Gopinath, Rama, Laksman, Sita and Ganga were worshipped in temples. Gold coins were in circulation. To protect the kingdom from foreign attack a huge army was maintained. Babi, Narayana Senapati and Gopal Senapati were some of his important generals.[63]

With the accession of Bhanudeva-II (1306-1328) the political trouble in the north and the south became intense. He had to face the blood-shed war with Ghiyasuddin Tughlag in 1320. Being a great warrior he could fight with the Muslims successfully. Alongwith the trouble the monarch had to face his adversaries, the Kakatiyas of Warrangal. It appears from the facts that attack from Bengal and the South was a great blow to the Ganga empire. His Puri copper plate grants discovered in 1234 A.D. speaks of his victory over the Muslims and donation of land in favour of the Sandhivi-

grahite (Minister of war and peace) Sri Rangadasasarmana while staying at Sri Purusottama Kataka (Puri) in the sea-shore. The plate further reveals that Purusottama Jagannatha was the lord of the Ganga dominion. The reign of his son and succession Narasimhadeva-III (1328-1352 A D.) was by and large peaceful. Towards last days of his reign Kalingan empire was threatened once again from the south and the north. But he was capable of defeating the enemies and maintaining the suzerainty of his empire. He maintained a luxurious court at Cuttack with ministers, courtiers, poets and luminaries. The name of vidyakara Vajapeyi, a smrti writer is recorded in the inscriptions.

When Bhanudeva III (1352-1378) ascended the throne the political situation both in the southern and northern borders turned grave. At this critical moment the invasion of Firoz Shah Tughlag (in 1361 A.D.) was a blow on Orissa. The Governor of Bengal declared independence of Delhi Sultanate resulting in a fierce battle. In his expedition against Bengal in 1360 A.D. Firuz Shah is said to have invaded Jajnagar (Orissa). The expedition of the Sultan is exaggerated in the Persian manuscript, Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi.[64]

"Sultan Firoz set out on this expedition from Jaunpur towards the middle of October 1360. He reached Bihar in 1360 (December). The Sultan burst upon Sikar in the district of Manbhum. Then the Muslim army marched through the defiles of Manbhum and Singhnagar, the imperial army headed its way to Khichinganagar which was a prosperous town mainly inhabited by Brahmins. After a short refreshing halt at this place, Sultan Firoz made a turning movement southward and sweeping through Keonjhar reached the frontier of the Cuttack district. This movement was so swift as to outstrip the news of the advance of the Muslim army, which had arrived at Saranghar, five miles southwest of Cuttack. The king Bhanudeva III fled from the fortress of Saranghar leaving the task of defence to the garrison who offered a brave fight but was defeated. As a result of the flight of Bhanudeva the whole country lay at the mercy of Sultan Firoz. First of all he marched to the royal capital Cuttack and after the occupation of this place sallied forth to Puri."[65]

This confusing account has not been accepted by the modern scolars. In this connection the considered views of Dr. M. A. Haque is attracted.

"It is doubtful whether the account is wholly true particularly in respect of the submission of the Bhanudeva III. It is inconceivable how a

mighty king with such a large empire and such great resourses could so easily submit to a hunting excursion party of Firuz Tughlag. Up till now there was no epigraphical record of Bhanudeva's reign to prove this event of his reign. In recent times a number of copper plates have been discovered of Bhanudeva-III's reign. The copper plates had been issued by Bhanudeva-III just after the year of invasion of Firuz Shaha, but there is no mention in those copper plates about the invasion of Firuz. Rather Bhanudeva-III in that year had granted rewards to some of his generals for their meritorious services. Therefore, much doubts have arisen about the accounts of Muslim chronicles, which had given a vivid description of Firuz Shaha's invasion of Orissa."[66]

The Muslim records indicate that under the orders of the Sultan the temple of Jagannatha at Puri was destroyed. The present excavation of the Barabati fort at Kataka has brought to light the remains of a temple at the bottom level of a trench identified with the Purusottama temple built by Anangabhimadeva-III.

'The temple at Puri built bv Chodaganga still stands intact and there is hardly any evidence to show that any part of it had been destroyed during the Muslim invasions at any time. Therefore, the temple destroyed by Firuz Shaha was not the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, but it was the temple of Jagannatha built by Anangabhimadeva-III in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. The Muslim chroniclers tell us that the image destroyed by the Sultan was made of stone, but, as we know, the image of Jagannatha at Puri is of wood.'

The story of Firuz's invasion of Orissa as given by the Muslim chronicles show that when the Sultan occupied Ganga king's capital and resided in the place of the Ganga king, Bhanudeva submitted. The name of the capital has been given as Banaras which is without doubt Varanasi Kataka or Abhinava Varanasi Kataka as given in the Nagari Plates of Anangabhimadeva-III. It is now represented by the modern city of Cuttack it is stated that the Ganga king sent to the sultan one of his ministers named Baki who, instead of speaking well of his master, bitterly complained against him He was, therefore, a traitor. The other traitor was Khqan-i-Mu'azzam Ahmed Khan who had been expelled from Bengal by the Sultan Shamsuddin and had taken shelter in the court of Bhanudeva. The two traitors mentioned above, were among the five ministers deputed by the king to represent his case to the Sultan. They are said to have stated that their king had already become a dependent subject of the Sultan. On hearing this the latter replied

that his intension was friendly and that he had come to Orissa for the hunt of elephants. According to the negotiation made by the ministers, the Ganga king gave twenty large elephants to the Sultan who in exchange sent to him the robes of honour and insignia and returned home after much difficulty with seventythree elephants which he had obtained from Bengal and Orissa.

The objects of Firuz's invasion have been variously stated by the modern and medieval writers. The two contemporary official sources cited above, however, clearly state the objects of the Sultan's expedition. These objects according to the Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi were "extirpating Raj Gajapati, massacring the unbelievers, demolising their temples, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country. ' It is obvious that Firuz combined his object of procuring elephants with the spirit of a bigot and vandal and he tried to emulate the example of Mahmmud of Ghazni like the sack of the Somnatha temple in Gujrat by the latter he intended the sack of the great temple of Jagannatha at Puri but he failed to reach Puri probably due to the lack of the geographical knowledge of his followers In all likelihood he mistook the great temple of Jagannatha in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack to be the temple of Jagannatha at Puri and was, therefore, satisfied with the destruction of the former. It is a wellknown fact that Firuz Shaha was a religious bigot and during his rule there was a revival of the persecution of the Hindus and the destruction of their religious monuments. In Orissa he must have destroyed many monuments of which we have no history, but the monuments of Khiching, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj, through which the Sultan passed still bear the signs of deliberate damage. The city of Cuttack must have originally a number of Hindu temples, but at present no temple of great antiquity is to be found in it. Firuz invaded Orissa when the best period of temple building in this kingdom had been over. It is most likely that during Firuz Shaha's invasion many ancient temples of this country, particularly of Cuttack, were destroyed. Some architectural and sculptural survivals of the Cuttack temples can now be traced in the town as later fixations."[67]

The fact of treachery on the part of the minister of king's court as recorded in the Muslim records may not be untrue. Kalinga had shown its capability in successfully fighting against the Muslims of Bengal and the adversaries in the South. The expedition of Firuz Shah was of different nature and naturally had a great effect on the military force and common people of Kalinga who were tired after fighting numerous battles. This disastrous invasion was a great blow to the Ganga empire. Despite the

invasions Kalinga was prosperous and people were happy. Very soon the country could replenish the loss sustained due to invasion.

It was at this critical juncture the raid of the prosperous Kalingan empire by Ilias Shah of Bengal was another blow. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has lucidly recorded the causes of the raid of the country.

"To the south-west of Bengal there extends along the seaboard from Suvarnnarekha to the Godavari a long stretch of alluvial plain with a hinterland of undulating tract. This country had grown into a highly prosperous kingdom in the 13th and 14th centuries. Its wealth and myriads of temples e.g. of Meghesvara, Balaram, Krishna and Subhadra at Ekamra (Modern Bhubaneswar), Chatesvara at Kishanpur in the Padamtala Taluk of the Cuttack District, of the Sun-god at Konark and of Jagannath at Puri had long excited the cupidity of the Muslim Sultans of Bengal. But the arms of its rulers, especially Anangabhimadeva III, Narasimha I and Narasimha II gave it security against invasion for a century and a quarter."[06]

The Southern border of Kalinga fixed at Godavari from the time of Chodaganga was at a stake on account of the rise of Vijaynagar and Bahamani Kingdoms. A rich kingdom of the Reddis lying in between the two kingdoms became a bone of contention. The Vijayanagar rulers tried to pounce upon the Reddis. On the other hand, the Raddis attempted to push forward the frontier of their kingdom to Simhachalam. As a result conflict arose between the Reddis and the Kalingan forces. In the midst of the political trouble Bhanudeva-III died leaving the country in the hands of his son Narasimhadeva-IV (1378-1414). The monarch was comparatively free from Muslim menace of Bengal and the Reddis of Kondavidu were troubled for a civil war. This favoured Narasimha in recovering some of his territories in the Southern frontier.

His Sankarananda Math C. P. Grant of records the names of Mahapatra Krushna Nanda, Minister of War and Peace and Writer of Sahudayananda, Visvanatha Kaviraja, author of Narasimha Vijaya and Pandit Chandrasekhar (author of Pushpamala) and Basudeva who flourished in his royal court.

Bhanudeva IV (1414-1434) the last monarch of the imperial Ganga dynasty had to face the invasion by Hussain Shah of Malwa and usurpation of the Ganga throne by Kapilendra Deva. As a result of civil war the Reddis' kingdom was divided into two kingdoms—Kondavidu and Rajmahendry. Bhanudeva at this juncture attacked Rajmahendry and came out successful.

But his success was short-lived due to intervention of Vijaynagar ruler in the conflict in favour of the Reddis.

The Muslim chronicles record the invasion of the Sultan of Malwa. This was a sort of raid for collection of best elephants from Kalinga On his return journey he was badly defeated by the Reddis of Rajmahendry. This fact is corroborated by the Madalapanji wherein it is recorded that a Nawab came to Kalinga and one Kapila Routa was sent to negotiate with him. Kapila was also conferred the title of Bhramarvara. Kapila who contacted the negotiation with the Shah of Malwa was no other than Kapilendra Deva, the founder of the Suryavamsi Gajapati dynasty.

Despite the political troubles in all the frontiers the last two rulers maintained the dignity of the court at Kataka, lavishly offered grants to Brahmanas and ministers. Narasimha's court was embellished with a series of experienced ministers and Senapatis. According to the Siddheswar inscription Visvanath Mahasenapati was the *chaturdik-danda-pariksha*[69] (the governor general of four dandapatas) and Pura-Sri Karana. Simhachalam and Srikurmam inscriptions record the names of ministers and Senapatis who were highly useful in maintaining a vast army and protecting empire from foreign invasions.

For systematic administration of the country the Ganga rulers maintained a large number of officials. From the records we come across the titles of Mahamandalesvara (Governor-General in charge of a Mandala or province), Mahamandalika. Maharanaka, Visayapati (like the present Collector), Gramika, Karanika (accountant), Purohita, Dandapasi, Mahasamanta and Samanta (feudatory chiefs), Kaumaramatya, Dandanayaka etc. There were two classes of soldiers in the army, the Chatas constituted the regular standing army while the Bhattas were irregular forces and recruited only in times of emergency. The Chief of the Police was called Mahadangapasika, whose position was like that of the present Inspector-General of Police Military officials like 'Mahasenapati'.[70] Senapati, Mahapasayati, Pasayati, Dalapati and Nayaka existed in the Ganga army is clear from several inscriptions.

The Ministers of the cabinet held different portfolios. Mahapatra was the designation of the Revenue Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs was called 'Sandhivigrahika' Rahasyadhikari was the epithet applied to the Private Secretary to the king. Besides there were several high ranking officials like the Patra, Amatya, Bhudoyilenka (Commander-in-Charge) and the Sri Karana (Accountant General). These titles changed when the

Sanskrit language was replaced by the Oriya language. For example, 'Visa' or Visa was used for Vishaya, Vishoyi for Vishayapati. Daley for Dalapati and so on".[71]

Land settlement was introduced and taxes levied on land, exports and imports, mines (Akara), forest products which was mainly spent on maintenance of army and police education and religious endowments, public works, maintenance of the royal palace, forts and strongholds and provisions for meeting the natural calamities The monarch (Maharajadhiraja) was the supreme head of the State He exercised his authority in consultation with the cabinet consisting of sixteen ministers The state capital Kataka was the greatest centre of administration and culture controlling revenue, army, religious endowments and other branches of administration.

By the time Chodaganga Deva shifted his capital to Kataka the Gangas originally coming from the south started acquiring the cultural traits of the Oriyas. By the time of Anangabhima they virtually became Oriyas.

"The greatest achievement of the Gangas is that they succeeded in keeping their vast kingdom independent when the Hindu countries one after another were falling victims to Muslim aggression. During the early part of the Ganga supremacy in Orissa the Muslims conquered the neighbouring Bengal towards the close of the twelfth century and in the later part of their rule, the kingdom of the Kakatiyas, which too was a neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Orissa in the south, was conquered by the Muslims in A.D. 1310. Orissa was thus surrounded by the Muslim powers both in the north and the south. It reflects no small credit on the Ganga rulers that they succeeded in preserving the independence of their kingdom and its integrity. From the Muslim sources we get the exaggerated accounts of the invasions of Orissa by Firuz Shah, Ilyas Shah and Hushan Shah, but such invasions were mere raids originating from their lust for procuring some elephants, killing the infidels and destroying their temples. These invaders did not succeed in making Orissa subordinate to the Muslim power. We have got one sided versions of these invasions or military raids from the Muslim writers who wanted to magnify the exploits of the invaders, but such versions do not tell us why the invaders did not subjugate the independent Hindu kingdom of Orissa. The accounts of Firuz Shaha's invasion as given in the Muslim sources testify to the prosperity of Orissa even in the declining period of the Ganga supremacy. They tell us that grains and fruits were in plenty in this country and the people lived in spacious houses with the gardens of fruit, trees and flower plants. This evidence furnished by

the enemy sources indicate that the Gangas have made Orissa prosperous.

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The Gangas united Orissa politically and culturally. The process had started from the days of the Somavamsis who united the three separate regions, then known as Kosala, Utkala and Kongoda, into one kingdom, which facilitated the growth of a homogeneous culture and language. The Gangas accelerated this process by bringing all these tracts under their rule and by furthering the growth of a homogenous culture in their kingdom. The shrine of Jagannatha at Puri which assumed an all-India character during their rule, became a great centre of cultural fusion among the Oriya people. The Gangas built the great temples like those of Jagannatha at Puri and of the sun god at Konarka and myriads of other smaller temples in various cultural centres of Orissa, and these shrines became the centres of cultural unification. The Ganga rule in Orissa is thus a great landmark of Orissan history.''

Suryavamsi Gajapatis (1435-1534 A.D.)

The downfall of illustrious imperial Gangas heralded a new dynasty known as the Gajapatis who ruled Kalingan empire for a century by extending its limit to the further south. The Gajapatis rule in Kalinga is quite significant for military conquests over the Muslims and the Hindu monarchs, for consolidation with more systematized form of administration, cultural and literary upheaval particularly in development of Oriya as a regional language and for social and religious transformation. The title Gajapati or lord of elephants occurs in the *Sarasvativilasam* and invariably in all the inscriptions of the monarchs. The later Gangas also bore the title of Gajapati, though it is difficult to fix the exact date of its origin. The Gangas paid not much importance to the title as the famous Suryavamsi did.

Kapilendradeva (1435-1466 A.D.) the founder of the Suryavamsi Gajapati dynasty ascended the throne at a time when the Ganga empire was about to fall favouring the neighbouring rulers to attack it from all sides. Instead of allowing his adversaries Kapilendra turned aggressor in their lands.

''Kapilendra took over the charge of an empire which was rapidly decaying, but by the dint of his extraordinary valour, he succeeded in propping up that decaying structure. In a very dark hour of the Kalinga history when the independence of Kalinga was ruthlessly challenged from

the powerful quarters of the Bengal Sultanate, Bahamani kingdom, and Vijayanagar empire, Kapilendra not only succeeded in giving a bare protection to his empire from out-side aggression, but carried on successful campaigns into the lands of the aggressors and annexed extensive territories from the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahamani and Vijayanagar to the empire of Kalingas. In the long annals of her history, no emperor of Kalinga except Kharavela conquered so much of territory as Kapilendra. He appeared like a meteor in the political firmament of Kalinga when dark clouds of foreign invasions were fast gathering on her horizon, and during that meteoric career he brought laurels to the glory of his motherland and caused a bright chapter to be added to her history."[73]

The career of such a political hero is shrouded in mystery. The *Sarasvativilasam*, the inscriptions of the contemporary Vijayanagara kings, chronicles of the Qutb Shah Sultan of Golkunda, Kondavidu plates of Ganadeva.[74] Gopinathpur inscription of Gopinath Mohapatra,[75] a minister of Kapilendra furnish a sort of geneology of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, but not the early life of the empire builder in detail.

The account of his early life and the curcumstances which offered him an opportunity to occupy the Ganga throne is recorded in the Madalapanji. The story runs that Kapila was extremely poor and to earn his livelihood he worked as a cowherd boy in a Brahmin family. One day Kapila while grazing the cattle fell asleep under a tree, a cobra raised its hood over his head probably to protect him from the scorching sun. It is further recorded that Kapilendra was a thief in his early life and after ascending to the throne the king appointed Kasidasa, a former member of his gang as his Purohita. We further learn from the chronicle that Bhanudeva-IV adopted Kapilendra as his son when he was begging in the premises of Jagannatha temple. This incident he declared as the command of Lord Jagannatha. The story preserved in the *Katakaraja-Vamsavali* records that the boy found at the temple of Vimala was named as Kapila Samanta Rao. Towards the last days Bhanudeva's reign the Mughals attacked Kalinga and demanded a large tribute which could not be paid in full. The boy Kapila Samanta Rao was kept hostage for the remainder ransom. After the death of Bhanudeva the Mughals released Kapila Samanta and ordered him to rule his country.

The *Gangavamsanucharitam* describes the circumstances under which Kapilendra rose to power. According to this work he was an important minister in the court of Bhanudeva IV and when he was away from the capital on a military campaign he (Kapilendra) usurped the throne.

The monarch in despair retired to Gudari Kataka and spent his last days. This account appears to be more plausible. The *Gangavamsanucharitam* of course, does not refer to the campaign of the monarch to the south. Presumably Bhanudeva IV proceeded to South to check the inroad of the Reddis. Dr. K. C. Panigrahi's view with regard to accession of Kapilendra-deva to the throne is attracted here. "In the midst of the legendary account of the temple chronicle we however, find some historical facts. Kapilendra was a member of the Ganga army when Hushan Shah invaded Orissa and he was made a Bhramaravara by Bhanudeva before he met the invader The title Bhramaravara was indicative of a very high rank and it was generally borne by the members of a royal family. The title came down to modern times and the present writer knows that it was being borne by one of the members of the ruling family of Keonjhar It seems that Hushan Shah's invasion gave an opportunity to Kapilendra to rise to a higher rank in the Ganga army, which he utilised later in usurping the Ganga throne. The Gangavamsanucharitam, which was composed by a court poet of one of the descendants of Bhanudeva IV at Gudari Kataka, tells us the truth that the founder of the principality of Gudari Kataka was engaged in his wars in the south when Kapilendra usurped his throne. We cannot accept the statement of the Madalapanji that Kapilendra was adopted as son by the last Ganga king in his records and in the records of his successors. But he and his son and grandson have all been described as the members of the Suryavamsa in all epigraphic records of the family. It seems that a story was circulated by Kapilendra and his supporters that he had been chosen as successor of Bhanudeva by Lord Jagannatha. This story has found mention not only in the Madalapanji but also in the Gopinathpura Stone Inscription engraved under the orders of his minister Gopinatha Mahapatra.

A recently published copper plate grant[76] of Raghudeva has viceray of Rajmahendry relate the names of Kapilas family members and a clue to his ascendency. His grandfather Kapilesvara was a *Nayaka* and was born in the Solar and lunar races. Jagesvara was his father. He was a great hero and possessed numberous elephants. Jagesvara and his eldest son Balarama died in a battle front. This geneology disapproves the accounts of Madala-panji. The inscription makes it quite clear that Kapilesvara descended from a reputed noble and warrior family. There can be no doubt that his grand-father, father and he himself worked as military generals under the Imperial Gangas. In the fitness of situation it is quite probable that Kapilendra might have usurped the Ganga power which was on the verge of collapse.

Being a shrewd statesman Kapilendra rightly assessed the troubled political situation in all quarters and adopted a policy in the name of

Lord Jagannatha to subdue the revolt of feudatories threatening their banishment from the kingdom, to pacify the subjects and to win over their support. In the name of Sri Jagannatha he issued several proclamations, Which proved to be successful in achieving his mission.

The issue of these strong proclamations in the name of the Rastra Devata Jagannatha suggest his long experience in administrative matters in the royal court. Like Chandragupta Maurya he had watched the political situation of the country and usurped the throne of Kalingan empire taking the opportunity of the weakness of the last Ganga monarch. The anarchical condition prevailed due to constant attacks of the neighbouring enemies vindicating the placid peace and prosperity, needed a great personality like Kapilendradeva. To the good fortune of the country Kapilendra appeared like a comet, mesmerised his enemies by dint of his valour, prowess and military ingenuitv and not only maintained security of the country but also extended the boundary far beyond Godavari.

When he ascended the throne the southern and northern frontiers were in trouble. The Muslims in the north were preparing for an invasion of Kalinga. Before the proposed Muslim expedition took place he played an aggressive role. His ablest general Gopinath Mahapatra led an expedition against the Sultan of Bengal and won a crushing victory over Shams-up-Din Abul Mujahid Ahamed. The Gopinathpur inscription[77] records the title Vramarvaranrupati assumed by Kapilendradeva after the conquest of Bengal.

Realising that he had a hard task ahead he turned his attention to the south against Mastyas of Oddadi, the Silavamsis of Nandapur and various other feudatory chiefs who had declared independence in defiance of the new regime. He subjugated these rebellious chiefs acknowledging their allegiance. His authority was recognised as far south as Korakonda in Visakhapatnam district. Thus by 1443 A.D. the entire coastal region from the Gangas in the north to Visakhapatnam in the south came under his control.[78]

The Reddis of Rajmahendri were the constant enemies of Kalinga towards the end of Ganga rule and Virabhadra succeeded in extending their dominions up to Simhachalam. They were also in enmity with the Bahamani Sultan. The small principalities of Vellama which had the important forts of Deverakonda, Racakonda and Warangal exercised considerable influence in Telingana. By the time Kapilendradeva ascended the throne of Kalinga Vema and Virabhadra seemed to have lost their importance

The Bahamani Sultan did not pay much importance to the rise of the Gajapati. Ahammad Shah Bahamani with an intention of occupying Telingana from the hands of the Velma chiefs led an invasion with great difficulties and occupied Warangal. The Reddis kingdom was in the process of disintegration, Vijayanagar reigned supreme and Bahamani rose to eminence at the cost of Telingana.

Kapilendra after conquering the northern part switched his attention to the Reddis of Rajmahendri who had been constant troubles to the Kalinga in the southern frontier. It has been stated earlier that he brought under his control the region as far Korukonda. Now he turned to deal with the Reddis in their own kingdom. Rajmahendri by then was a sort of feudatory under Vijayanagar and Virabhadra was a mere puppet. To check the invasion of Kapilendra the ruler of Vijayanagar sent a contingent to assist the Reddis but in the face of invincible army of Kalinga they all fell. After the northern invasion Kapilendra assumed the title of Gaudesvara. With the conquest of the south he now styled himself Navakoti Karnatakalavargesvara, Gaudesvara etc.

The title Navakoti refers to nine important forts like Bellamkonda, Vinukonda, Kondovidu, Nagarjunkonda,Rajmahendri, Peddapuram, Kaluvalapalli, Oddadi and Potnuru.[79]

In order to completely route the power of the Reddis his second expedition started in 1445 A.D. under his son Hamvira and came out successful, thus bringing under his way the entire Rajmahendri Kingdom. On conquest of Rajmahendri he appointed Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra as its Governor.[80]

Devaraya of Vijayanagara was an eyeshore to Kapilendradeva. His death in 1444 A.D. and the accession of Mallikarjuna in 1446 A.D. offered an opportunity to Kapilendra to try his strength. He did not forget the activities of the Vijayanagara rulers against Kalinga and their assistance to Reddis to raid the country from the south. He was just waiting for an opportunity to come in clash with Vijayanagara. That chance came with the accession of weak ruler Mallikarjuna to the throne.

The territories to the south of Krishna river was under the authority of Vijayanagara till 1453 A.D. But during the reign of Mallikarjuna the major part of the southern portions like Baptla, Narasaropet etc. were almost independent. An inscription[81] of Gajapati monarch (12th April, 1454) records the occupation of the area under the Pariksa Ganadeva This indicates that

Kapilendra appointed Ganadeva as the Governor of Kondavidu after conquering the area. Emboldened by the victories the Kalingan army under Hamvira marched further south and as recorded in the Veligalani plates of Kapilendra dated 1458 A.D. he conquered Hampa, Kalabarga and Delhi. It appears from the inscription that Vijayanagara and Kalabarga suffered territorial losses in the hands of Kapilendradeva. The division and march of army in three directions—one contingent under Tamma against Udayagiri, the subsidiary headquarters of eastern part of Vijayanagara, one force to the south under his son Hamvira and the third contingent against the capital of Vijayanagara proved the tactical war devices of the Gajapati Kapilendradeva.

The attack of impregnable fort of Udayagiri was an important historical event. After the conquest of Udayagiri rajya Tammbhupala was appointed as its feudatory chief. An inscription (1460 A.D.) on the top of Udayagiri hill records the construction of a temple and sanction of grants. On account of his heroic victory in the battle Bhupala earned the title of Ranaranga-Bhairaba, Rasika Sikhamani. While his son invaded the capital of Vijayanagara, Kapilendra himself marched with a large army to the further south through the modern Kurnool district. The victory over the southern territories was celebrated by the erection of a Jayastambha on the top of Srisailam in 1460 A.D. An inscription in Koilkuntala taluq of Kurnool district describes the gift of lands for miraculous deed of Kapilendradeva Maharaya. Gajapati's son Hamvira won a victory over vijayanagara as is known from an inscription at Sriangam temple. This inscription records the gift of cows as a mark of his victory over the Vijayanagar monarch. After this great victory in 1464 the Gajapati army marched towards the southern sea and the general Kumara Hamvira washed the blood stained sword[82] in the sacred water of the sea. Dakshina Kapileswar, the grandson of the Gajapati was appointed as Pariksha of the newly conquered kingdoms.

The conquest of the south by the Gajapati was not a mere raid but an amalgamation of the vanquished kingdoms to the Kalingan empire. The Munnur inscription describe that by 1464 A.D. the entire eastern sea-board of the Vijayanagar empire up to the river Kaveri came under the possession of the Gajapati. In support of this inscription H. Krishnasastri states, "conquest of the Gajapati was not a passing inroad only but almost an occupation of the country right up to Tiruvarur in the Tanjore district and Trichinopoly."[83] The appointment of Governor over all the conquered regions indicates the annexation of the country to the Kalingan empire.

With regard to the annexation of the southern region Subramanyam remarks," It is needless to emphasize the fact that the Gajapati invasion of

the south was not a mere raid but only a part of grand design to establish a farflung empire in the eastern sea-board of India."[84].

Kapilendra's next attempt was directed against the Bahamani Kingdom. The rivalry between the Sultan of Bahamani and the Gajapati particularly over the possession of the coastal region culminated in the fierce battle of Khanmamet. It may be noted here that the Sultans of Gulbarga were known as the Hayapatis (lords of horses) as cavalry constituted the major segment of their army. The invasion of Bahamani was complete when Nizam Shah, an eight years old son of Humayun Shah ascended the throne. This was an opportunity for the Gajapatis to invade Telingana with the help of local feudatories. The whole country was devastated. As a result of the battle Kapilendra came in possession of Telingana thus completing the conquest of the entire Bahamani kingdom.

Kapilendradeva Gajapati finally came in possession of the entire eastern coast from the river Ganges in the north upto Arcot in the south. It is most spectacular that no other monarch of eastern and southern India had ruled such a vast country as Kapilendra Gajapati did. His tactical arrangements in the battles was almost novel in a sense that while dividing his armies to attack from all quarters he himself controlled all the contingents through close contacts and guidance. He was an aggressor like Kharavela, Chodagangadeva and Narasinghadeva but his rule of aggression was played at the opportune moments in studying the enemies' weakness As regards his achievements Dr. Mahtab writes, "Humble in origin, an upstart in life, Kapilendra Gajapati took over the administration of Orissa at a very critical period of her history, but a genius that he gave Orissa a glorious dynasty and a great epoch. Kapilendra surpassed all his predecessors in conquests, suppression of rebellions, generosity, sound administration and all other qualities which go to make the king really the greatest monarch of Orissa of that Period."[85] The greatest monarch of the noblest dynasty rightly and proudly assumed the titles 'Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara' with due justification.

Our discussion on such a great personality will not be complete without referring to his capital Kataka, which glamorously witnessed his coronation, foundation of new dynasty and frequent war expeditions to south and north. During his reign Kataka remained capital of the Kalingan empire. He made it a policy to fortify the capitals of his provinces and the forts, which in his views played significant role in battles and in administration. His main capital as well as the subsidiary capitals were embellished with ministers, Senapatis, courtiers and dignitaries.

A copper-plate grant of Ganadeva of Kondavidu[66] of the time of Kapilendra (in Sanskrit language but in Telugu script) addressed to Ganesa and boar incarnation of Visnu praises Kapila, surnamed Gajapati, who belonged to the race of the sun. He was the worshipper of Jagannatha, the famous shrine of Puri. His capital was Kataka (Cuttack) on the Mahanadi river. A descendant of his race was Candradeva whose son was Gunidevapatra. His son Ganadeva assumed the surname of Rautraya. His capital was Kondavidu. This illustrious king donated a village to the Brahmins. The plate gives a list of 20 donees who were mostly officials in the king's court. This record indicates that the subsidiary capitals of Kalinga were as important as the main capital.

The Dorapalem grant of Raghudeva[67] reveals that Raghudeva, Governor of Rajamahendry paid a visit to Kataka (Cuttack) to render some service to Kapilesvara. On the way he met a large number of Brahmanas, heard their cases, and settled them in an agrahara named Raghudevapura on the bank of Godavari. The province of Rajamahendry as recorded in the inscription extended from Simhachalam to Giribraja.

Kapilendradeva with an humble start became the greatest emperor of the Gajapati dynasty raising the status of the Kalingan empire to the highest water-mark. In view of his wide experience in Kalingan administration he was able to effect a violent change. He has been depicted as a native of Kalinga and not an outsider like the Somavamsis and the Gangas. Being a Kalingan and son of the soil he on the heart of his subjects giving them a sense of pride and self respect, hopes and expectation which encouraged them to fight for the nation. The extensive conquests far beyond the geographical limit of the Ganga empire earned name and fame of the people as a warrior race and a patriotic nation.

His military exploits discussed above clearly illustrate his farsighted policy of aggrandizement, war mongering spirit, the sense of vengeance against the enemies of the nation, sense of love for the mother land, policy of war strategy planned at the right moment and in the right direction and his ambition to open a new geographical horizon. He can rightly be claimed as the greatest emperor of Kalinga. His way of offensive attacks dividing the contingents and marching in different directions far excelled in his age. "He enlisted the support of the people by making Orissa strong military state in which the protection and the extension of the kingdom came to be a joint responsibility of the ruler and the ruled. Militarism penetrated into all ranks of people irrespective of their castes and all the castes bore military titles which are numerous in Orissa even today. A love for Orissa

and for its language and literature became the order of Kapilendra's reign, and inspired by this new idealism Sarala Dasa, a Sudra by caste, created the first and the vast Oriya literature which, in its quality, contents and bulk, is still considered to be the greatest single Oriya literature. Thus during the rule of Kapilendra a new age of renaissance started in Orissa."[68] In fact, the Gangas built up an empire, but Kapilendra brought it into the arena of all India politics. His contemporaries and the great military heroes like Humayun Saha of Bahamani, Mallikarjuna of Vijayanagara empire and the Afghan rulers of Bengal, the Sultans of Delhi all recognised the valour and military genera ship of Kapilendradeva. It was not an easy task to build up an empire in the midst of anarchy and enemies in all quarters. The main reason of his success in the north and the south is due to his assistance and timely help to the Hindu rulers. Besides that he took all possible steps to repair the Hindu monuments of the vanquished territories and to maintain the worship patterns.

Purusottama Deva (1466-1497 A.D.)

Kapilendra was the undisputed master of a vast empire extending from the Ganges in the north to Trichinapalli in the south. It is irony of fate that such an extensive empire exhibited the sign of disintegration when he was at the zenith of glory, not due to attack by the neighbouring kingdoms but due to internecine trouble among his sons Hamvira and Purusottama over the issue of succession to the throne. Hamvira being the eldest son and in charge of the southern part of the empire had the legitimate claim over the throne. Hamvira and his son Kapilesvara launched a revolt against the monarch. To suppress the revolt and to ensure loyalty of the courtiers and subordinates to his faithful son Purusottama, the monarch marched to the south and crowned him (Purusottama) in 1466 A.D. on the banks of Krisna and did not live long after the coronation. "Hamvira, a renowned warrior in his own right did continue his own struggles against Purusottama, the nominated prince."

It is pertinent to note that Hamvira, the eldest son of Kapilendradeva one of the greatest warriors of the time played a significant role in the south in conquering and maintaining the vast Kalingan empire. He was the rightful heir to the throne of Kalinga but was deprived of his claim resulting in a revolt for the throne. Kapilendra appears to have committed a blunder by not nominating his eldest son to the throne. Since the courtiers, ministers, kinsmen and priests at the state capital Kataka did not approve the succession of Purusottama the monarch coronated him on the banks of

Krisna. Whatever might be the circumstances under which Hamvira revolted against his father he was a devoted and loyal son of Kalinga and the main architect in building up the empire. Despite the partiality of his father he proved his loyalty to the throne by sending secret messages to Purusottams to assist him to maintain his position at Kondavidu and to recover the territories lost to the Sultan of Bahamani. Unfortunately he was not given timely help at the critical juncture. Nothing further is known about Hamvira and his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra, Governor of the conquered territories of his grandfather Most probably both, father and the son, loyal sons ever produced in the annals of Kalinga died in the battle field while fighting for the mother land. "Had Hamvira inherited his father's empire, its history could have probably taken a different turn. Hamvira, one of the best generals of his age, would have probably averted the disintegration of the empire soon after Kapilendra's death. Lord Jagannath's nomination of Purusottams to the throne, which is said to have been communicated to Kapilendra in a dream and which was circulated among the people, became the best weapon in the hands of Purushottama in ousting his brother from the throne."[89]

However, having been frustrated by his brother and threatened by Saluva Narasimha of Vidyanagar he is said to have sought the assistance of Bahamani Sultan. The Muslim accounts relate that the Muslim army with the help of Ray (Hamvira) occupied Rajmahendry and Kondavidu.[90] Hamvira occupied the Kalingan throne at Kataka. Scholars have not accepted the fact of his usurpation of the throne from Purusottama. When we analyze the then political situation in Vidyanagar and Bahamani the historical truth underlying the fact cannot be ruled out.

Soon afer his accession to the throne Purusottama adopted the policy of his father to win the heart of the people. He earned the support of the people by renewing the old grants to the Brahmins and by abolishing chaukidari tax there by strengthening his position. His rival Hamvira was in a difficult position in the southern region and was unable to move to the state capital. The northward expansion of Saluva Narasimha forced him to shut himself up in a fort probably in the fort of Udayagiri, the southern outpost of Kalingan empire. Saluva Narasimha virtually became the monarch of Vijayanagar empire though he held a feudatory status. Having heard the death news of Kapilendradeva he attempted to drive out the Kalingans from the southern tracts. He was to a great extent successful in his mission. The position of Hamvira and his son Kumara Kapileswar Mohapatra was almost insecured due to disruption of support from the state capital.

The rivalry between Hamvira and Purusottama over the succession might have offered an opportunity to Saluva Narasimha to fortify his position in the south, thereby weakening the status of the province as a part of the Kalingan empire.

During the period between 1472-78 A.D. a lot of political changes occurred in the Krishna-Godavari doab. Saluva Narasimha occupied a lot of territory from the Kalingan empire. The Sultan Mahmud of Bahamani taking the opportunity of internecine wars in Kalinga occupied Rajamahendry and Kondapali. Saluva Narasimha proceeded as for as Naulipatam by 1476 A.D. when both the powers carved out a large portion of Kalingan empire there was a possibility of a conflict between the two. Saluva Narasimha instigated the Hindu Rajas of the region against the Bahamani kingdom. It was at this juncture a severe famine broke out in the Bahamani kingdom causing a terror both to the ruler and the ruled. Ferishta writes that the Bahamani army stationed at Kondpalli revolted against the Muslim Governor, killed him and made Hamvira the Governor of the fort. In order to fortify his position in the south Hamvira sent a secret message to his brother Purusottama to render him assistance against the Bahamani Sultan.

The famine in the Bahamani kingdom coupled with the army revolt and the secret letter of his brother for help offered an opportunity to Purusottama to lead an expedition. It has further been indicated that Bhimaraja,[91] an Oriya commander of the Bahamani army with a view to saving the declining Kalingan empire transferred his allegiance to Gajapati and invited him for an invasion. Purusottama led an expedition with 8,000 infantry and 10, 000 cavalry to Rajamahendry When the Governor of Rajamahendry was defeated the Bahamani Sultan marched in person with a large contingent. In the fierce combat Purusottamadeva courted defeat in 1477 A.D once again ceding Rajamahendry to the Sultan of Bahamani. This was not all, Saluva Narasimha at this critical moment appeared at the gate of Rajamahendry. "In fact, there seems to have been a simultaneous attempt both from the south and the north for the conquest of the Krishna-Godavari delta. Had both the Hindu powers combined and presented an united front against the Muslim kingdom of Bahamani, its position would have been precarious, but both the Hindu powers worked for cross purpose and this provided an opportunity to the Bahamani Sultan to defeat the Orissan army and to recapture Rajahmahendry and Kondavidu."[92]

The weak succession to the throne of Bahamani, devastating famine in the kingdom and revolt in the army favoured Purusottama to invade Bahamani. With a large army he recovered the entire Krishna-Godavari

delta. Emboldened with the victory he marched towards Vijayanagara empire. The fortune also favoured him at this campaign. Taking the opportunity of a civil war in the Vijayanagara capital Saluva Narasimha killed the lawful claimant to the throne and he himself became the king of Vijayanagara empire. Purusottama took advantage of the critical situation and marched as far as Guntur in 1489 A.D. recovering his lost territories.

The re-occupation of the famous fort of Udayagiri in the district of Nellore was a great historical event. When the fort was conquered by Saluva Narasimha the Kalingan Governor, Basava Bhupala was forced to render his allegiance to Saluva. He took an opportunity to assist Purusottama with a large army to recapture Udayagiri. The reconquest of the fort must have taken place possibly in 1490 A.D. after the death of Narasimha. The great fort remained in possession of Kalinga till it was reoccupied by Krishnadeva Raya in 1513 A.D. Although Purusottama lost about half of his ancestral kingdom during the early years of his reign, he could reconquer the entire territory as far as Pennar in the south during later years. He was fortunate to bequeath to his son Prataparudra the entire empire built up by his father.

The famous Kanchi Kaveri legend of the Gajapati Purusottama, widespread in different parts of the state in different forms, connected with different deities, contain a lot of historical truth and also is substantiated by archaeological evidence.

Without the fact the tradition could not have been so popular not only in Orissa but elsewhere. Several other traditions developed later on are the line of this story and travelled as far as Assam. A tradition current in Nandapur of Koraput district relates that "Vijaya Chandraksha, the Raja of Nandpur in the district of Koraput stole away the image of Kanak Durga from the camp of Purusottamadev. The image of the name worshipped at Jaypur is believed to be the same icon brought from Kanchi. The image of Sundara Madhava worshipped at Purusottampur of Ganjam district is said to have been brought from Kanchi and installed therein by Purusottamadeva."[91]

The Kanchi Kaveri story further indicates that Purusottama brought from Kanchi the image of Ganesa now seen in the precinct of Jagannatha temple of Puri, the image of Sakhigopala now worshipped in the Sakhigopala temple at Satyavadi of Puri district and the bejewelled throne (Ratna Simhasana) on which Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra have been enshrined. The story of Kanchi Kaveri became so widespread that Jagannatha

and Balabhadra, who are believed to have helped the king in the battle against Kanchi as soldiers found representation in sculptures. Such sculptures of Jagannatha and Balabhadra in the shape of horsemen are seen in the wall of Jagamohana of Jagannatha temple. It is a general practice that when a particular interesting event is firm-footed we find it in the form of art and sculpture. Therefore, we cannot have any doubt about the historicity of the Kanchi Kaveri tradition. Leaving aside these facts this story alienates the martial spirit of the king, his soldiers and his tutelary deities. While analysing the legend particularly the *chherapanhara* ceremony of the king Dr. Kulke opines that the introduction of this popular custom before the general public was a way to strengthen the royal influence over the priests. "The importance of the legend besides its romantical features is based on Jagannatha's participation in the war. Like the various tutelary deities of the feudatory states of Orissa, Jagannatha thus helped his *raja* against their common enemy. Further more, the legend seems to be the first evidence for the existence of the ritual sweeping of Jagannatha's car *(chhera panhara)* by the Gajapatis. It is difficult to decide whether originally this ritual, which till today is the most important part of the Gajapati Maharaja Seva of the Jagannatha cult, had intended to subordinate ritually the kings under the priests of Puri. But even if we assumed that the priests had this intention when they allowed the most powerful kings of Orissa Kapilendra and Purusottama to attain priestly functions, the further development of the Gajapati kingship ideology shows clearly that the *sevaka* function which till recently provided the main legitimation to the Puri Rajas to interfere in the temple affairs. Furthermore, the introduction of this ritual has to be seen in the context of the great Krishna devotion of the 15th and 16th century. The performance of the *chherapanhara* certainly demonstrated first of all in front of all pilgrims the boundless devotion of Jagannatha's royal servant (sevaka) and deputy. Contrary to G.N. Dash's arguments I assume, therefore, that *chherapanhara* was introduced in order to strengthen the royal influence in Puri, the religious centre of the empire "[94]

Purusottama installed the famous image of Sakhigopal in his state capital at Kataka and Ganesa in the precinct of Jagannatha temple at Puri. During the Muslims' invasion of Orissa in 1568 the idol of Sakhigopala was shifted from Cuttack and finally installed at the present site by the Marathas.

After accession to the throne, as the scholars estimate, he lost half of its paternal empire which he, of course, could recover investing his entire man-power, energy and resources. This achievement may be due to the

favourable situation but not due to his generalship. Of course, credit goes to him for recovery of the southern frontiers but in military strategy and commanding the army his brother Hamvira far excelled him. During the regime of his father Hamvira was the real military genius in several battles. Had Purusottama utilised Hamvira who was well versed with the political affairs of the south, he could have managed the situation with least difficulties and invested his energy to the north. It is no doubt a fact that his victory in the southern frontier was short-lived and was never a permanent security for the country. In fact the beginning of decline of the empire started from his time.

He himself was a scholar, a writer and a great patron of learning and culture. He figures very prominently in tradition and literature. He, however, cannot be taken as strong administrator, a warrior and a statesman like his father.

As many as 25 inscriptions of Purusottama and his times (mostly from south India) speak of his achievements. His Puri inscription[93] records that Virasri Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara Pratapa Sri Purusottom Deva Maharaja issued an order while staying in the southern part of the royal residence named Gopalapriya at Baranasi Kataka in the presence of old Lenka and Mahapatra Sami Misra advising the kings of Orissa to make gifts to Brahmens with peaceful and attentive mind. During the reign of Purusottama the religious sanctity of Kataka was greatly increased with the installation of the image of Sakhigopal.

Prataparudra Deva (1497-1534)

Prataprudra, the son and successor of Purusottamdeva ascended the throne in 1497A.D. Before his coronation he was the Governor of Srikurmam, thus he gained adequate experience in administration and was well-acquainted with the affairs of the south. It was expected that after holding the sceptre he would divest his energy in consolidating the empire and recovering the lost frontiers of his grand father's empire. The political situations were quite favourable for implementing his plans. The Bahamani kingdom was in the process of disintegration and finally was divided into five separate kingdoms. The Vijayanagara empire lost its importance after the death of Saluva Narasimha in 1491 A:D. His minister and the powerful general Tuluva Narasa Nayak as the regent of Narsimha's son Immadi Narasimha was virtually the ruler. Tuluva attempted hard to maintain the suzerainty of the empire. In order to fortify his position in the south he came in clash

with Bahamani Sultan and won a victory but could not reoccupy the forts of Raichur and Mudgal which remained under the sway of Bahamani till the rise of Vijayanagara emperor Krishnadeva Ray. Narasa Nayaka, the defacto ruler of Vijayanagara tried his best to recover the forts of Udaygiri and Kondavidu from the Kalingan empire but had failed.

It is most unfortunate that Prataparudra did not make any attempt to reinforce his position under such favourable situations He remained almost silent when the rulers of Vijayanagara were concerned with acquisition of the citadels of Udayagiri, Kondavidu, Raichur etc. In 1503 A.D. the political conditions of Vijayanagara empire were more favourable to Prataparudra. In that year Narasa Nayaka died leaving the throne to his son Vira Narasimha who killed the legal heir Immadi Narsimha. The end of Saluva dynasty heralded the Tuluva dynasty in Vijayanagara. Over the Change of the dynasty there was a great tormoil in Vijayanagara which evidently offered an opportunity to Prataparudradeva to invade and recover the lost territory. He rose from slumber in 1509 A.D. When the whole situation had completely changed turning unfavourable to him, his feeble attempt could not help to save the hard-earned empire of his grandfather and father.

Over and above this there was a Muslim invasion from the north. Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal took an opportunity of Prataparudra's weakness and marched as far as Puri. The invasion was planned when the monarch was engaged in a war in the south. According to the Madalapanji the Gajapati having been informed of the Muslim expedition from the north returned to the capital and defeated the Muslim army. The panic stricken Sultan took shelter in the fort or Mandaran (in the Arambag sub-division of Hoogly district). When the Gajapati attacked the fort his general Gobinda Vidyadhar played a treacherous role and sided the Sultan resulting in the retreat of Kalingan army Later on the Gajapati planned a second invasion to Gauda but was advised not to undertake war at such a critical situation. In any case the first invasion of Prataparudra to Bengal achieved some success.

The accession of Krishnadeva Ray to the throne of Vijayanagar and his war-mongering invasion for extension of his empire was a deadly blow to the Kalingan empire. He spent a year and a half in reorganising the army. His first attempt was to reconquer the three most important forts—Udayagiri, Raichur and Mudgala from the Kalingan empire Having been informed of Krishnadeva Ray's invasion Prataparudra marched with a large contingent to save the fort of Udayagiri, but was badly defeated and driven back as far as Kondavidu. The fierce battle continued for long seven years finally

defeating the Kalingan monarch and annexing the territory upto Simhachalam. Thus the entire Telingana which had been the strong-hold of Kalingan empire came under the possession of Vijayanagar ruler. When the Gajapati was preparing for the battle his son Virabhadra committed suicide in the Vijayanagar capital. The sad news appears to have forced Prataparudra to conclude a treaty with Krishnadeva Ray.

According to the treaty Gajapati ceded the entire region beyond Krishna. The river Krishna was the boundary line between two states. The Gajapati had to offer his daughter to Krishnadeva Ray in marriage. As a result of this illfated treaty Kalinga lost its importance as an empire.

The trouble did not end here. When Vijayanagar and Kalinga were fighting each other the Sultan of Golkonda taking the opportunity of trouble in Bahamani garbed out territory in Telingana. Of the five kingdoms dismembered from the original Bahamani, Golkonda became more powerful, the Gajapati power suffered a great setback and hence could not check Muslim inroads into Telingana. Despite the loss of territory Rajmahendri continued to be the seat of the administration of the Kalingan empire in the south.

Here ends the ignominous political career of the Gajapati Prataparudradeva. It is the irony of fate that the vast empire built by the Gangas and the great Kapilendradeva collapsed like a house of cards sheding the melancholy story of the loss of empire. The process of disintegration of the empire started from the time of his father was almost complete during his reign. The loss of territory in the north and the south and his defeat in almost all the battles proved his inefficiency, lack in statesmanship and farsighted policy. The preceding pages have indicated that the monarch did not care to avail the favourable opportunities to pounce upon the enemies. He was so weak and feeble that he had to lose the hard-earned empire leaving a sad picture to the posterity.

The advent of Sri Chaitanya to Kalinga in 1509 A.D. was a great event from the viewpoint of religious development. The flow of his popular Vaisnavism overflooded Bengal and Orissa. On his way to Puri he crossed Mahanadi and reached Kataka, the capital of Kalingan empire. Sri Chaitanya was astonished to see the charming image of Sakhigopal enshrined in the capital city.[96] The famous Baliyatra held in November in the field (popularly known as Baliyatra padia) lying in between the Barabati fort and the Barabati stadium is stated to have started as a mark of Sri Chaitanya's visit.

Some historians hold Chaitanya responsible for the political decline and ultimate fall of Kalingan empire. R.D. Banerjee one of the advocates in supporting this view writes "Suddenly from the beginning of the 16th century a decline set in the power and prestige of Orissa, with a corresponding decline in the military spirit of the people. The decline is intimately connected with the long residence of the Bengali Vaishnava saint Chaitanya in the country If we accept only one-tenth of what the Sanskrit and Bengali biographies of the saint state about his influence over Prataparudra and the people of the country, even then, we must admit that Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of empire and the people of Orissa. Not only that, the acceptance of Vaishnavism rather Neo-Vaishnavism was the real cause of the Muslim conquest of Orissa twenty-eight years after the death of Prataparudra."[97]

Sri Chaitanya's Bhakti movement attracted the people who, on the other hand, in disregard of the troubled situation of the country swept away in the popular movement. The Bhakti affected the country when it was troubled by the powerful enemies in all frontiers. Ray Ramananda and Gopinath Badajena, the Governors of Rajmahendry and Midnapore respectively were deeply absorbed in the Bhakti movement and paid little attention to administration. In connection with Chaitanya's visit to Kalinga Dr Mahatab remarks—"These accounts go a long way to prove that the administration of the country was very loose during the reign of Prataparudradeva and the state of political stagnation that marks his reign may easily be ascribed to the cult of love which was gradually spreading in Orissa and which reached its climax on the advent of Sri Chaitanya into Orissa. A doctrine that preaches inaction and sentimentalism is harmful to the ordinary man in his daily walk of life and it is simply fatal to an administrator who holds the destiny of millions. The attempt to make the Bhakti cult a mass religion and to influence the king and his officers by its sweet pessimistic philosophy had no doubt been fatal to the social and political life of the country."[98]

The Gajapatis ruled over Kalingan empire for about a century extending its limit to the further south. They had a strong administrative machinery which controlled both civil and military administration very effectively. From his proclamation issued in the name of Sri Jagannatha for relaxation of taxes and directives against the rebellious chiefs Gajapati Kapilendra appeared to have adopted both conciliatory and stern policy of administration. If the description of Sarala Mahabharata is to be believed Kapilendra won the heart of the people by creating a sense of awareness

among them as a worrior nation and a belief that the soldiers dying in the battlefield were sure to attain heaven This policy was considered most religious for Salvation and exemption from all sins Sarala Mahabharata emphasizes the birth of more male children who were required for military services of the State. "Since a very large number of young men were required for the army and many of them were losing their lives in the battle field, we can easily understand the poet's partiality for make children and his anxiety for increasing the male population. The protection of the state and its expansion were the joint responsibilities of the entire population and not of the king alone. Militarism penetrated into all ranks of the society and all able-bodied persons were called upon to perform military service. The king had a standing army, but the number of the local militia was far greater than the number of the soldiers in the standing army. Besides, the feudal lords also supplied to the king a stipulated number of soldiers at the time of war and had to fight for him in the battle field."[99]

The Kalingans of all castes and even the tribal and scheduled caste people were recruited to the Gajapati army. It was customary to award honorary military titles to some influential people who were not directly involved in the military pursuits. A vast segment of the militia comprised the people from different castes who resorted to their traditional callings at the time of peace and assisted the monarchs as soldiers during wars. Some important military titles conferred to people may be cited here for example, Vahubalendra, Champatiraya. Champati, Nisanka, Senapati, Routaraya, Dandapata, Samantaraya, Dakshinakavata, Uttarakavata, Paschimakavata, Vramarvara, Mardaraja, Harichandana, Jagadeva, Samanta-simhara, Simha, Manasimha, Baliarasimha, Nayaka, Pattanayaka, Danda-nayaka, Gadanayaka, Mohapatra, Behera, Dalabehera, Paricha, Pradhana, Samala, Rauta etc.[100] "Sarala Dasa's Mahabharata also gives us an idea about the different divisions of the Gajapati army on march. The first division was known as the ***Hantakaru Dala*** i.e. the pioneering force clearing jungles and making roads, the second was known as the ***Aguani Thata*** i.e. the advance units, the third was ***Pradhana Vala*** i.e. the main army and the fourth division was Pacchiani Thata (rear guards). The king and the big military officers were furnished with the bodyguards who were known as ***Anga Valas***, and the detachments[101] which were placed in charge of the captured forts and conquered territories, were known as ***Paridandas*** Sarala Das also gives us a picture of an army on the move, in which flags and other decorative devices were used and the musical instruments such as ***Damalu Dadama, Tamaka, Bijighosa, Daundi, Ghumura, Bheri, Turi, Ranasjnga*** etc. were sounded. The weapons used have been

given as *Dhanu, Trona, Sara, Asi, Parigha, Pattisa, Kunta, Jathi, Guruja, Saveli* etc.[102]

The high-sounding titles adopted by the Gajapatis such as Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara Gaudesvara etc. reveal their over lordship on several kingdoms. The Gajapati empire was known as *Maharajya* and the emperor as *Maharaja* In the later days of Gajapati rule the name of the capital city Varanasi Kataka was changed to Kataka. There were several subsidiary headquarters embellished with poets, ministers, courtiers and other luminaries. Kataka and the headquarters of Dandapatas were virtually important cities (Nagaras) kept under the official *Nagaradhyaksas.* The paramount monarchs conducted administration in pursuance of the Smritis and other Dharmasastras. In fact, they paid highest honour to the *Rastradevata* Sri Jagannatha. The text Rayavacakam describes how the Gajapati Kapilendra was particular in paying reverence to Sri Jagannatha and how careful he was in his daily duties and successfully conducting his administration.

"He used to get up from the bed early in the morning two hours before the sun rise and salute two Brahmanas first before looking at any other person. Then, accompanied by the Sixteen Patras he used to go on a ride of about twenty or thirty miles and then return to the palace. After taking his bath he engaged himself in the daily worship of the Lord Jagannatha. Then he had his midday meals. After food he used to recite Sanksepa Ramayana. Then putting on official robes, bedecked with jewels he used to sit in the court and transact his daily business."[103]

The Gajapati court at Kataka was embellished with the princes of royal blood, the ministers, writers, astrologers and high dignitaries. The inscriptions furnish the names of several dignitaries and ministers but remain silent about their specific functions. The Rajaguru occupied a prominent position in the court exerting a great influence over the royal family and the courtiers. There are records to indicate the function of the Rajagurus and priests as the military commanders in addition to their priestly assignments As for example, Rajaguru Tivaradeva Acharya had the title of Vahinipati (a commander of a contingent). Military leadership seems to have been one of the important qualifications necessary for a minister Besides possessing proficiency in the art of administration, the ministers were expected to be well-versed in the military science also The military department was the most important of all departments at the centre. The king was its head. The fighting force consisted of infantry, cavalry, and elephant corps, and in the Gajapati army the elephants formed

a prominent part. The minister in charge of affairs was known by the name *Sandhivigraha* (the man in charge of peace and war). Kapilendra Mahapatra Madhukesvara was in charge of this portfolio. This minister assisted the king in matters of foreign policy, entertaining ambassadors and despatching *dutas*. The Gajapatis had several feudatories and neighbours. This minister who had to deal with them had in his service several officers.[104]

The Dandapata in the present sense of the term was a province. The exact number and the names of the Dandapatas have not yet been ascertained. From the inscriptions we get an idea that the southern portion of the empire was divided into Kalinga Dandapat, Rajamahendry Rajya, Udayagiri Rajya, Kondavidu Rajya etc. The Governors in charge of these provinces or the important forts looked after the administration of the region and collection of revenues for the central treasury. The practice of transfer of the Governors *(Prikshas)* was followed for systematic administration and better security of the regions concerned. There are some references to indicate the transfer of the Governors in the Kalinga Dandapata. Laksmana Dasa Mahapatra, son of Kundalesvara Mahapatra was the Governor of Kalinga Dandapata in 1451 A.D. and in 1455 A D his father Kundalesvara is noted in the inscription as the *Pariksa* of the same Dandapata. Gandadeva Routrava who was the *Pariksha* of Kondavidu in 1454 A.D. was appointed as the Governor of Kalinga dandapata. On his transfer Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra, the grandson of Kapilendra Gajapati, is mentioned as the *Pariksha* of Kondavidu.[105]

The Dandapatas in the northern region as recorded in the inscriptions are the Dandapats of Lembai, Daksinadiga, Kothadesa, Serai, Chhabiskud (in Puri district), Dandapatas of Ahara, Baranga, Sargara, Ali and Purbadiga (in Cuttack district), the Dandapatas of Bhimnagar, Athagarh and Paschimadiga (in the district of Dhenkanal), the Dandapatas of Bhadrak, Soro and Remuna, Jaleswar etc. (in Balasore district).

The title of Gajapati rightly justifies that the monarch was the lord of numerous elephants. The availability of the best breed of elephants in Kalinga has been referred to from the early times. All the dynasties of Kalinga had large elephant corps for the purposes of battles, but the Gajapatis surpassed in maintenance of the largest elephantry. The very presence of the elephant corps terrified the enemies. The Muslim accounts like Burhan-in-Mansir records that Kapilendradeva possessed 2, 00, 000 elephants. According to Nizam-uddin, Purusottamadeva encamped on the bank of Godavari river with an infantry numbering 7,00,000 foot soldiers.

The Veligalani C. P. grant of Prātaparudra reveals that the king Gauda retreated in panic and fear seeing the large elephant troupe of the Kalingan emperor. Another grant records that during the encampment the entire bank of the Krishna was covered by the elephants and army of Prataparudra Deva.[106]

The cavalry force of the Gajapatis was no less important, "Cavalry dominated the army.' The Veligalani inscription tells us that Kapilendra's cavalry crossed the diteches and attacked Dhara and Kalabarga. The march of Kapilendra was indicated by the huge dust raised by the hoofs of his horses and the loud sound of his bigles frightened the enemies and made them fly to the forests (the Gopinathpur temple inscription V. 7). At the sight of the clounds of dust raised by the hoofs of his horses, Purusottama's enemies fled terror-striken into the forests. The approaching raid of the cavalry of Prataprudradeva made the kings of Karnata, Anga and Vidarbha hide in panic.[107]

The Gajapatis not only maintained vast army but paid keen attention to the training of soldiers and the animals. When Krishnadeva Ray ascended the throne he wanted to assess through the spies the military strength of the Gajapati Prataprudradeva. The spies sent to the state capital at Kataka came to know in detail the strength of the army, the different war tacties, the physical strength of the soldiers and the methods of training. The descriptions in this connection recorded in the Further Sources of Vijaynagar History is cited here. "We entered the city, and saw the palace of Gajapati, the mansions of the sixteen Patras, the gymnasiu and the people who take exercises therein. Even the gods and demons are not capable of exhibiting such skill in physical exercises as they show. Your Majesty might have observed the skill in physical exercises shown by the great wrestlers of other countries, but the style of the people at the capital of the Gajapatis is totally different They alone are capable of lifting up such heavy dumb-bells. They lift them up, and what is more, they lift them up cross-wise. They raise a sack weighting 10 paddes to the height of the uplifted arm of a standing man and throw it upon their own bodies. Moreover, they catch the sack between their thighs, and suspend themselves in the air taking hold of the cross-beam (of the gymnasium). The reason for taking this exercise is this While engaged in battle, the troopers are accustomed to carry away their opponets bodily imprisoning them between one of their arms and the body; If, however, the opponents fight without losing their hold on their steeds, they abandon their attempt considering the opponent to be unmanagable. The riders on the armoured horses are not afraid or any wound which they might receive. The attempt to carry

away under their arm such riders. The soldiers practise their exercise in order to remain firm courageously (in their seats) on such occasions. They completely demolish walls of hundred feet with *arummi mattakhandam* which is heavy enough to be carried by a man on his head. They also cut with that sword. strong tamarind pillars as easily as they cut the pitch of the plantain trees. Planting two crow bars together on the ground they cut them to pieces with their swords. They bring a basketful of combat discs, and twist four or five of them together. As the blacksmiths are not able to separate them, they place on the anvil, and detach (with the aid of the hammer), and bring them again in good condition for the next days use. Moreover, they break iron clubs at any given points. The wrestlers of the country who go their return with a feeling that it is not possible for them to cope with their methods of taking exercise. The wealth and strength of that place cannot be seen anywhere-else.[108]

The above description is adequate to indicate the military significance of Kataka. When the whole nation participated in the military campaigns and in protection of the country Kalinga can rightly be termed as the Military state. "During the reign of Kapilendradeva this total militarisation reached its peak, and was based on a stern discipline, an unquestioning obedience to the king and above all, on the single-minded devotion to Lord Jagannath, started from the reign of Prataprudradeva and these factors undermined the military character of the Oriyas who sank into obscurity after the loss of their independence in A. D. 1568".[109]

Bhoi Dynasty (1542-1559 A. D.)

The downfall of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis after the death of Prataparudra Deva heralded a period of anarchy for about 20 years. Govinda Vidyadhara, the treacherous minister of Prataparudra established a new dynasty known as Bhoi dynasty after killing his (Prataparudra) two minor sons. The reign of four kings of the dynasty (lasted for 20 years) is marked for treachery, lawlessness, revolt, external invasion and internal dissension. The Madalapanji is the main source of information of the dynasty The Katakarajavamsvali writes in this context, "Hereafter the minister Govinda Vidyadhara himself assumed the kingship. He killed 32 sons of Prataparudra Deva. In Cuttack, the capital, there lived a brother of the king named Madhu Srichandana. He was also killed by him. Whatever old royal servants had been left there, were also eliminated. This king established an Agrahura (Brahmin Village) named Vira Govindapura and got excavated a tank there. In the 5th year of his reign, he made an expedition towards the South. With his army were associated the son of his sister named' Raghubhanja Chotaray

and his minister named Balunki Srichandana. The king acted against the advice of the two (during his expedition, where upon they got dissatisfied and returned Home). They came from there to the Purusottama Ksetra, had a darsana of the Lord and got the Superintendent (pariksaka) of the temple beheaded. Then they went to the capital Cuttack and stayed there. The protector of the royal fort (or the capital, Kataka) named Mukunda Srichandana was staying at the palace fort named Manikhanda. Having heard the deeds of these persons, the king came back (and launched an attack against them) When the two learnt the approach of the king, they raised an army consisting of (all the) four wings, crossed the river Mahanadi and fortified themselves in the village named Citrapur. A battle between the two took place. In the battle Raghubhanja Chotraya was defeated and he fled away. The king chased him close upon heels right up to the bank of Ganga. In the 7th year of his reign, the king died on the bank of the Ganges. His period of reign is 7 years. Adding this, the Saka years come to 1463."[110]

Chakrapratapa (1549-1557 A.D.) son of Govinda Vidyadhar succeeded to the throne. The cruel and notorious king oppressed the people and particularly the Brahmins. He is stated to have been killed by his son Narasimha Jena. He ruled for about one year and became a prey to the treachery of one Mukunda Harichandana. "He sent persons (=soldiers) to bring back Danai Vidyadhara who was living in South. In the meanwhile one Mukunda Harichandana secretly placed his four brothers in the royal palanquin of the king and announced that the king himself was entering into the inner apartment of the palace. The four brothers thus hidden in the palanquin reached inside the palace and having arrived there, they assassinated the king."[111]

The last ruler of the dynasty was Raghudeva Chhotray. "During the time of his rign Danai Vidhyadhara returned from his expedition to the South. Mukunda Harichandana took him in confidence, brought him to the Fort of Cuttack and got him fettered there with chains. Raghubhanja Chota Ray who had earlier fled away came back in the meanwhile to Cuttack along with an army consisting of all the four wings. He fought with Mukunda Harichandana was however, defeated in the battle. Mukunda Harichavdana put Chota Ray in prison. The period of rule of this king lasted for one year."[112]

This disgraceful dynasty tarnished the glory of the Gajapati empire. However, during this period Kataka remained the capital of Orissa witnessing the ignominious rule of the disgraceful Bhoi rulers.

The Chalukya Dynasty (1559-1568 A.D.)

Mukundadeva Harichandan, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, the first and the last ruler of the last dynasty and the last independent Hindu monarch of Orissa ascended the throne of Orissa Kataka in 1559 A.D. The monarch traced his desent from the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. The members of this dynasty were originally fendatories in the south assuming the titles of Mahapatra, Bahubalendra, Harichandana, Srichandana, Behera etc. Mukundadeva rose into prominence by defending the fort of Kataka from Raghudeva Chhotray, and the Kalingan empire from further disintigration. In fact, he was a military general and played his significant role to put an end to the Bhoi dynasty and to establish his own dynasty. Finally he managed to occupy the throne in 1549 A.D. by assassinating the puppet king of the Bhoi dynasty. "In spite of his mean treachery and blood shed, history has preserved a soft corner for him and the nation cherishes his memory with pride and affection for the wonderful bravery he showed to retain the independence of the country against enormous odds. He was the last independent king of Orissa and he fell fighting for the mother land, a fact which has washed away all his misdeeds."[113]

Being a brave general he assessed the political situation of the neighbouring kingdoms and thought of conquering the lost territories in Bengal. The compelling circumstances forced him to involve in the poiitics of Bengal, which finally proved ruinous for him. He came in conflict with Sulaiman Karrani, the Sultan of Bengal when he gave protection to Ibrahim Sur, the arch enemy of the Sultan. The enraged Sultan invaded Kalinga and proceeded as far as Jajpur. Mukundadeva proved his valour by giving a decisive blow to the Muslims and saved the northern boundary intact. As a mark of the victory of the Muslim of Bengal he constructed stone steps on the bank of the river Hooghly known as the Trivanighat which has been regarded as a sacred place.

In 1556 A.D. Akbar, the Mughal emperor ascended the throne. He was not in good terms with the Sultan of Bengal nor with Ibrahim Sur who stood as a rival to the throne of Delhi. Ibrahim was badly defeated by the Mughals and by the Sultan of Bengal and finally took shelter in Orissa. In order to chastise Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal Akbar maintained friendly relations with Mukundadeva. He sent Hasan Khan Khajanchi, to the court of Kalinga as his envoy alongwith an reputed Oriya musician of the Mughal court named Bhatta Mahapatra. In exchange Mukundadeva sent Paramanda Ray as his ambassador to the Mughal court. Mukundava thought that through his

friendly relation with the Mughal court he would ward off the Muslim of Bengal but ultimately this proved disastrous.

The wounded Sultan of Bengal, the irreconsilable enemy of Kalinga, planned an invasion in 1567-68 A.D. and finally sent the expedition under the commandership of his son Biyazid assisted by Sikandar Uzbeg and Kalapahar. The Bengal army marching through Dhalbhum and Mayurbhanj reached the coastal area at a time when Mukundadeva was not prepared for the war. Having heard of the Muslim invasion Mukundadeva released Raghubanja Chottaray from the prison and sent a contingent under his command to check the inroad of the Muslims but unfortunately he turned traitor by submitting himself to the invaders. Having no other alternative Mukundadeva himself commanded the army and proceeded as far as the fort of Kotsima on the western bank of the Damodar river. A Muslim contingent under Bayazid appeared at the gates of Kataka. Taking the opportunity of this trouble and the absence of Mukundadeva from the State capital Ramachandra Bhanja, the chief of the Sarangagada fort declared himself as the king of Orissa.

Mukundadeva expected assistance from Akbar. Since he was in an war expedition to Chittor help from Mughals was not possible. At this critical juncture Mukundadeva had to conclude a treaty with Sulaiman Karrani and hastened back to Kataka. Now a battle was fought between Ramachandra Bhanja and Mukundadeva, two sons of the same soil. In this fight Mukundadeva was killed and thus ended the life of the last independent king of Orissa. According to a tradition, it was the battle field of Gohiratikiri in the district of Balasore that witnessed the last setting sun of independent Orissa.[114]

On the very day when Mukundadeva fell in a fratricical war Ramchadra Bhanja, infidel and a traftor to the motherland was killed by Bayazid. The Kalingan empire which flourished for centuries under the Gangas and the Gajapatis crumbled down piece by piece from the time of Prataparudradeva finally fell in to hand of the Muslims in 1568 A.D. "But the misfortunes did not end with the loss of Independence. Kalapahada, the famous general of Sulaiman Karrani, who is more famous than his master in the legends and traditions of Orissa, began to wreck his vengenanu on the Hindus and their deities. Kalapahada was a Hindu renegade whose original name was Kalidas Gazadani. He was a Brahmin by caste and fell in love with a Muslim girl on account of which he was ostracized from the Hindu society once for all. But when Kalidas woke up from love's pleasant dream, he realised his folly and wanted to be readmitted into the Hindu Society.

It is said that he approached all the Hindu authorities including the king of Orissa who was regarded as the head of the Hindus of Orissa. But all his efforts were not fruitful. This disappointment made him an arch enemy of the Hindu religion and he took a vow to dedicate his life to the destruction of whatever was adored and respected by the Hindus. He entered the service of the Karranis and opportunity came during the Afghan invasion of Orissa.'

After the battle was over, this great inconoclast tried to fulfil his mission of destoying everything that was sacred to the Hindus. He destroyed some temples at Bhubaneswar ane proceeded to Puri and desecrated the temple of Jagannatha. This episode has been described by the famous Mughal historian Abul Fazal in his Akbarnama. Kalapahada dealt a cruel blow to the art and architecture of Orissa. Many small temples were demolished by him and many beautiful images were reduced to powder. But in spite of all his efforts the three mighty monuments of Orissian architecture, namely the temples at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark, proved too strong to submit to the might of Kalapahada."[115]

The Madalapanji relates that Kalapahada attacked the temple of Jagannatha, took away the images on an elephant to Bengal and burnt them on the bank of the river Ganges. It is further stated that Bisara Mohanty a great devotee of Sri Jagannath followed Kalapahada in disguise and managed to recover the Brahmas from the womb of the images, put them inside a mrudanga and brought them back to Orissa. As a result of this dangerous Muslim invasion and taking away of the images, the Srimandira remained vacant for long eight years after which Sri Ramachandra Bhanja of the Bhoi dynasty reinstalled the images in the temple and resumed the temple services. The tradition ascribes the destruction and desecretion of all the Hindu monuments of Orissa to Kalapahada. Since he was responsible to destroy many Hindu monuments the tradition and popular beliefs represent him as the iconoclast and the destroyer of temples. In later years also due to the Muslims iconoclastic attitudes many Hindu monuments were dashed to pieces by the Muslim imvaders and on the ruins were raised the Muslim monuments.

The magificent fort of Barabati, the last greatest citadel of the illustrious monarch of Orissa, was the theatre of political, civil and military administration through centuries. It was perhaps the efflorescence and final culmination of the art and architecture of Orissa. This fort in its ruins slowly crumbling into its primeval dust, a testimony to a grand artistic vision and an attempt at an architectural and technical feat, bespeals that

it was the grandest achievement of the Orissan military architecture and one of the finest and stupendous monuments of the Orissan master mason ever made. It is undoubtedly the last wonderful chapter of a long and varied history of Orissa.

The history of Barabati [116] is interconnected with the history of Cuttack, the Capital of Orissan empire over the ages. The notable events of Orissan history are all interwined with this citadel. As the Gajapati Emperors assumed the title of Navakoti Karnata Kala Vargesvara, Barabati, the seat of administration of such a vast empire occupied the highest rank among the innumerable forts spread from Ganges in the north to Godavari in the South. It is an established fact that the Kalinga Empire had a long temple and fort building tradition since the 3rd century B. C. if not earlier. During these centuries many a fort rose to eminence, earned name and fame and ultimately begrimmed and dimmed by the passage of time leaving a remarkable history to the posterity.

Mukundadeva rebuilt the defensive walls of the fort and erected a nine-storied palace. Since then the fort of Barabati was popularly knows as the palace of Mukundadeva. He is recorded as the greatest builder and greatest warrior of his time. His sway extended to Tribeni Ghat on the Hooghly river, where he built a temple and bathing steps. In his reign, invasion of the Muslims from the north began to be constant and successful. To oppose the inroads of Sulamania Gurzani, the Afghan king of Bengal, he built a strong fort in a strategic position in the northern frontier of Orissa. Raibania fort of Narasingha Deva backed by the impentrable forest was at a commanding position in the northern frontier. For much greater strength of the fortification on the northern side he built the fort of Deulgaon, seven miles west of Raibania. The evidence shows that it contained the chlorite stone figures of Jagannatha and Balarama so celebrated in the Orissan legend. During the recent years the fort has been demolished and on its ruins stands a High School. This indicates the war strategy and srrong line of defence at the frontier of his State. It may, therefore, be well-imagined what a noble contribution this monarch made in upkeeping the prestige of Oriyas and the independence of Orissan Empire.

Such is the amazing story of the illustious dynasties that ruled Orissa successively for about seven centuries with their capital at Kataka leaving to the posterity the tales of their miraculous rise and ignominious fall. Gone is the monarchical State of Kalinga where the king was the root of its tree, the ministry was its trunk, the military chiefs are its branches, army the

leaves of its tree and the subjects were its flowers, prosperity its fruits and the whole country its final seed; its marvellous achievements over the ages are not merely the matters of history but are the sources of inspiration for building up a better and prosperous future.

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Kataka (Cuttack) in Legends and Inscriptions

Dr. K.S. Behera

It is well-known that Cuttack played a significant role in the political and cultural history of Orissa. How old is Cuttack ? The answer most often given to this question is the one formulated by Andrew Stirling. In 1825, Andrew Stirling, the secretary to the commissioner of Orissa, published an article entitled, "An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack.[1]" While giving an account of rulers of the Kesari Vamsa, he mentions

"Raja Nirupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of modern Cuttack, about A.D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of stone revetment, or embankment faced with that material, (probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen), to protect the new capital from inundation A.D. 1006; and Madhava Kesari has the credit of building a fortress of vast dimensions at Sarangher[2]".

With the discovery of enormous mass of archaeological materials, it is now easy to point out the weakness of Stirling's account of the Kesari dynasty. The chronology and genealogy of the dynasty, as given by him, are proved to be wrong.[3] But Stirling did not write in ignorance. He based his account about the chronology and history of Orissa on the Sanskrit ***Vansavali pothis*** and the ***Raj charitra*** of the ***Madala Panji***, in the Oriya language preserved in the temple of Lord Jagannatha.

W.W. Hunter, on the basis of the Bengali version of the ***Madala Panji***, called ***Purushottama Chandrika***, by Bhabanicharan Bandopadhya, acceptes Nripa Kesari as the founder of the city of Cuttack; He writes as follows[4]

A.D. 941—953. Nripa Kesari. A warlike and ambitious prince who founded the city of Cuttack. Reigned 12 years. (Stirling dates the foundation of Cuttack by this prince in 989 A.D.)

A.D. 953—961. Markata Kesari, Constructed a long and massive stone revetment to protect the city of Cuttack from inundation. Reigned 8 years. (Stirling calls this Prince Markat Kesari, and places the construction of this work in 1006 A.D.)

The *Madala Panji*, edited by Prof. A.B. Mohanty, mentions that Nripa Kesari ruled upto Saka 875 (i.e. A.D. 953). but no reference is made to the foundation of Cuttack[5]. His successor Makara or Markat Kesari is credited with the construction of the fort of Barabati on the Mahanadi, while the stone embankment along the Mahanadi is attributed to one Nabaghana Singh during the reign of Ghata Kesari.[6]

A Sanskrit text entitled *Kataka raja Vamsavali*, collected by Colin Mackenzie in the early part of the 19th century, gives the traditional history of Orissa from the earliest times upto 1819 A D. While giving the history of the Kesari dynasty, the text mentions that a king named Nripa Kesari, who defeated many kings, ruled the kingdom. In the middle of Mahanadi, there is the city of Kataka. He built a fort called Barabati in this city. He ruled for 15 years from Saka 900 to 915, i.e. from A.D. 978—993. The text runs as follows.

Anantaram Nripa Kesari rajno raja rajya Kritavan Asau bahun rajno jitva rajyani grihitavan Mahanadi madhya Kataka nama nagaram tadantargata dvadasa vatika name durga cha karitavan.[7]

According to *Kataka Vamsavali*, Markata Kesari became the ruler after Nripa Kesari and ruled upto Saka 929 i.e. A.D. 1007. His brother, Nrisimha Raya, costructed the stone embankment around the city of Cuttack.

Thus the recollections preserved in these texts are vague, inconsistent and confused and give no authentic history of the Kesari dynasty. But the Kesari vamsa of these traditions is not wholy imaginary and the *Madala Panji* is not fully devoid of historical foundation. The legends and traditional stories, however, contain some elements of historical truth. The Somakula king and officers, known from the inscriptions, often use the Kesari title. The account about Nrupa Kesari is not fully the product of imagination. Possibly, this tradition may have originated when the real history of the foundation of the city became a memory of the distant past. Possibly, the city was established by a Somavamsi—Kesari Nripati for which, in popular tradition, he was called Nripa Kesari.

K.C. Panigrahi, on the basis of archaeological evidence, believed that ancient monuments of the eighth-ninth century existed at Cuttack

and Cuttack was a "place of importance even during the Bhauma rule in Orissa."[8] But the specimens cited by him, such as detached sculptures and the curved pillar do not really belong to Cuttack.

The Parikud plate of Madhyana raja (7th century A.D.) of the Sailodbhava family, mentions Katakabhukti vishaya which, according to R.C. Majumder, stands for Cuttack[9]. S.C. Behera rightly rejects the identification as the Sailodbhava territory never extended beyond the Puri-Ganjam region which was known as Kongoda mandala and Purvakhanda of this vishaya need not be Purvakachha of Cuttack district.[10]

It has been suggested by some scholars that Varanasi Kataka was founded by Anangabhimadeva III (1211—1238 A.D.) N.K. Sahu, for example, observed, "Anangabhima III laid the foundation of modern Cuttack by constructing the fort of Baranasi Kataka, to which he transfered his capital"[11].

The transfer of capital by Anangabhima Deva from Choudwar to Varanasi Kataka is recorded in the *Madala Panji* as follows.[12]

"E raja nagar Chaudvare Katake vije Karithanti Emantara eka dinare rajae vijekari asi Mahanadi para hoi e nadira dakshinatire dekhile kodinda dandapatara Varavati gramare Visvesvara devanka sannidhe samala pakshiki baga madi vasiachhi. Eha dekhi rajae vada ascharya pai subhayoga dinare e Barabati gramare subha dei naar tolai Kataka karie Kataka nama Vanarasi (Sic. Varanasi) Kataka voli nama dei nagara Chaudvar Kataka chhadi asi Kataka kari rahile."

According to the above account, in the early part of the reign Anangabhimadeva resided in the city of Chaudvara, but later he built a palace at the village of Barabati and named this Kataka as Varanasi Kataka. He left Chaudvara Kataka and stayed at Kataka. This story is expressly contradicted by another statement of the *Madala Panji* that, earlier to Anangabhimadeva, the Ganga monarch Chodaganga Deva had occupied Kataka in the guise of a dancer and became the ruler. (nata vesare asi Kataka madivasi raja hoila[13]) Varanasi Kataka is mentioned as one of the five Katakas. In the *Madala Panji*, Anangabhimadeva, while in Varanasi Kataka, is mentioned as Abhinava Yayatinagar Vishnu, which indicates that it is no other than Varanasi Kataka. Yayatinagar on the Mahanadi, which continued as the capital of the later Somavamsis, was evidently established with the occupation of coastal Orissa by the Somavamsi-kesari kings.

It is held that tradition of Anangabhima III, as the founder of Varanasi Kataka, is corroborated by the Nagari charter of Anangabhima III[14] which refers to his stay at Abhinava Varanasi Kataka. But to believe that Varanasi Kataka was established by Anangabhima III in 1230 A.D is not substantiated by the inscription. The inscription records that grants were issued while the king was in Abhinava Varanasi Kataka and no where in the inscription he is mentioned as the founder of Varanasi Kataka. The existence of Varanasi Kataka in the 1113 A D. from an inscription of the Simhachalam temple[15] which cotradicts the contention that Anangabhimadeva as the founder of the city.

The Ganga king Anantaverman Chodagangadeva occupied coastal Orissa in the early years of the 12th century. His Mukhalingam plates, dated A.D. 1108, refers to his restoration of Utkal king which is repeated in the Korni plates dated A.D. 1112. His Puri Narasimha temple inscription is dated A.D. 1113; while the date of his Lingaraja temple inscription is A.D. 1114. Hence, Chodaganga got control over Utkal as early as 1108 A.D. His earlier capital was at Kalinga nagara i.e. Mukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh. With the expansion of the kingdom to Ganga in the North and the need to fight with the Kalachuris from a new base, he shifted his capital to a central place in coastal Orissa. The Temburu copper plate (A D. 1129) states that Chodaganga was staying at Nivali, which is mentioned as the rajadhani, in Utkal. Kalinga nagar, however, retained the status as capital till A.D. 1135, and shortly after, it was permanently transfered to Varanasi Kataka or modern Cuttack. Inscriptions from the Nadindla temple and the Cholesvara temple in Guntur district mentions Katakam, which may refer to Cuttack,[16] the new capital of the Ganga kingdom. Cuttack continued as the capital of the Eastern Gangas.

It is known from the Nagari plates[17] of Anangabhima-III that while taking bath in the Mahanadi, between the temples of Chitresvara and Visvesvara at Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, the king granted twenty vatis of land at Purunagrama to a Brahmana named Sankarshanananda Sarman. The grant is made on the occasion of the *Mina Sankranti* on Saturday, Chaitra Sudi 9, in Saka 1151 (i.e. February 23, A.D. 1230). In Saka 1152 (A.D. 1230) on the occasion of the concecration of god Purushottama *(Sri Purushottama devasya pratistha samaye)* the king granted two *vatis* of land to Brahmana Acharya Chandrakarasarma. Further, in 1152 Saka, when the king was standing before the god Purushottama at Abhinava Varanasi, *(Abhinava Varanasyam bhagavatah Sri Purushottama devasya sannidhau)* on the Makara amavasya, he granted four *vatis* and eight

manas of land to Brahmana Devadharasarma. The date, recorded in the charter, corresponds to January 5, A.D. 1231. One of the two Ganga inscriptions, engraved on the wall of Arulala Perumal temple at Kanchipuram[18] belonging to time of Anangabhima-III (A.D. 1211-1238), records the gift of a village by Somaladevi-Mahadevi for the worship of god Allalanatha while she was at Abhinava Varanasi. The date of the grant is A D. 1230. The Puri plates[19] of Ganga Narasimha-IV (A.D. 1378-1402) were issued when the king was staying in the *Bhitara Navara* of Varanasi Kataka. Abhinava-Varanasi, Abhinava Varanasi Kataka and Varanasi Kataka, of the above mentioned grants, without doubt, represent the present city Cuttack. The town seems to have been called Varanasi because of the presence of Visvesvara Siva on the bank of the Mahanadi, which not only encloses the city with its two branches but was also considered equal to the holy Ganga. It was designated as Abhinava Varanasi to distinguish it from the sacred city of Varanasi of the North India. God Visvesvera, recorded in the Nagari charter of Anangabhima-III, is also mentioned in Sarala *Mahabharata* of the 15th century. It may be mentioned here that Nimbahura (Nimbel in Karnataka) is called *dakshina Varanasi* and *Abhinava Sri Saila* in an inscription.[20]

The temple of Purushottama Jagannatha, at Abhinava Varanasi (i.e. Cuttack), was erected and consecrated by Anangabhima III sometime before January 5, 1231 A. D. This is clear from his Nagari charter. The temple is no longer there. It seems to have been destroyed on the wake of the invasion of Firuz Shah Tughlug in A. D. 1360-1361 during the reign of Bhanudeva. The invasion of Firuz Shah against the ruler of Jajnagar (Ganga kingdom of Orissa) is mentioned in the inscription at Khambhat, district Kheda, Gujurat and in the Persian texts such as *Sirat-i-Firuzshahi* and *Tarik-i-Firuzshahi*. According to Shams-i-Siraj, the auther of *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, the city was known as Banarasi. It was in a flourishing state inhabited by numerous people. Every king who occupied the throne of Jajnagar added the fort of Banarasi with new construction, and for this reason the fort was big. There were two forts in Banarasi each populated with a large number of people. Firuzshah occupied Banarasi, took away the stone idol of Jagannatha from the Rai's fort and brought it to Delhi. The importance of Cuttack, however, continued in spite of such plundering raids.

The grate city was a centre of opulence and culture during the period. The philanthropic and religious activities. of its people are reflected in several inscriptions of the Simhachalam temple in Andhra Pradesh. The attachment and pride in the native city is indicated by the fact that about twenty Telugu inscriptions of the Simhachalam temple refer to the residents

of Varanasi Kataka (Cuttack) and their various donations to god Narasimha, the presieding deity of the temple. An inscription of the Simhachalam temple, dated Saka 1035, chaitra, Sudi, Ravivara (March 29, 1113 A. D.) registers gift of a fly whisk to god Narasimha by Siriya Mudasiri of Varanasi Katak.[21] This inscription is a sufficient proof of the existance of city of Cuttack in the early years of the 12th century. The gift of *Vidiya* (betel leaves and nut) to the god by Govinda Jiyyana of Varanasi Kataka, brother of Chamde Mahadevi queen of king Narasimha is recorded in an inscription[22] dated Saka 1312 (A.D. 1390). The inscription further states that Gorudasa was appointed to perform *chamaraseva* and*Kirttanas* as per the Odiya sampradaye. Jivudasa Mohasenapati, son of Bhamdu Sahasamalla of Varanasi Kataka, deposited five gandamadhas for the *Alavatta seva* of god Narasimha, which is recorded in an inscription[23] of Saka 1303 (A.D. 1381). Two other inscriptions[24] dated Saka 1304 (A.D. 1382) register gifts by Narahari Mohapatra and Gorudasa Mahasenapati both hailing from Varanasi Kataka. One inscription, dated Saka 1305 (A D. 1383), records arrangement for reciting Vedas by Brahmanas in the temple of Narasimha by Dagarabaraki champu Mahasenapati of Varanasi Kataka.[25] Three inscriptions[26] dated Saka 1309 (A,D. 1387) records gifts to god Narasimha by three persons including a woman, who claim to be relations of residents of Varanasi Kataka. Lakhumadevi, who arranged for flower garlands,is said to be the daughter of Ramadevajiyya in service of the Ganga king of Kataka. An inscription dated Saka 1315 (A.D. 1393) registers gift of ten *gandamadas* by Satidasa, the Samdhivigrahi, son of Nagesvari Mahasenapati of Varanasi Kataka.[27] The residents of Cuttack also served as *bhoga pariksha* (Superintendent of offering) in the Simhachalam temple. Inscriptions dated Saka 1320 (A. D. 1402) records gift of *Alvatta* service by Narayan Mahasenapati the *Bhoga pariksha*, son Sankaradasa Mahasenapati of Abalabrahmapura of Varanasi Kataka[28], while another inscription[29] dated Saka 1338 (A.D, 1416) records gift of Bhogas to god Narasimha consisting of *Dhupas* and *madhuparkas*, by *Bhoga pariksha* of Simhadri, named Haradasa Sahasamala, son of Chamdu Sahasamalla, native of Varanssi Kataka. According to an iscription[30] dated Saka 1339 (A.D. 1417), Jadesvora Chandana Mahapatra and patra BhadresveraJiyana of Varanasi Kataka made arrangements for supply of two *Vanamalas* for the *ubhayadhupas* of god Narasimha. Another inscription dated Saka 1350 (A.D. 1429) also records gift for supply of *vanamala* to god Narasimha by Bhavasahasamalla, the Kalingadandapata behara son of Bulayi Sahasamalla of Varanasi Kataka.[31] Inscriptions[32] dated Saka 1331 (A.D. 1409), Saka 134 (8)=A.D. 1426, Saka 1348 (A.D. 1426), Saka 1349 (A.D. 1427) and an undated inscription from the

Simhachalam temple mention residents of Varanasi Kataka in connection with various gifts to the temple.

The Eastern Gangas were succeeded by the Suryavansi Gajapatis, who ruled from 1435 A.D. to 1540 A.D. Kapilendra deva, the first ruler, had capital at Kataka (Cuttack) on the Mahanadi river. A copper plate grant of Ganadeva of Kondavidu, dated Saka 1377 (A.D. 1455), mentions[33].

Katakakhya Puri yasya rajadhani virajate
Mahanadi parisare Sakrasyeva Amaravati

Kataka, the *rajadhani* of Kapilendra, has been compared with Amaravati which indicates its importance, fame and prosperty. Raghudevapuram grant of Raghudeva,[34] Saka 1378=1546 A.D. also mentions Kataka. A Simachalam inscription dated Saka 1375 (A.D. 1453) records gift of *chamaras* and *Nrityas* at the *ubhayadhupas* of god Narasimha by son of Bhabaraja Mohapatra of, Raju Kataka[35] i.e., modern Cuttack. Another inscription of Simhachalam temple, Saka 1377 (A.D. 1455) registers gift of a village to Bulayi Sahasamalla the nijogi, by Kundalesvara Mahapatra, the Kalinga pariksha, son of Ramanaya pitamaha of Varanasi Kataka[36]. The Puri inscription[37] of Purushottama Deva, belonging to his 19th Anka (A.D. 1482) records an order of the Gajapati ruler while he was staying in the palace at Varanasi Kataka. The mention of Gopalapriya Jagat, in association with the royal residence, seems to suggest the worship of Gopalapriya i.e. Krisna at Kataka. The Anantavarmana plates of Prataparudra Deva[38], Saka 1422 (A D 1500), mentions Kataka as the capital of Kapilesvara Gajapati. Another inscription from Kommur in Guntur district, dated A.D. 1517, asserts that Krishna Raya was ruling the kingdom as far as Katakam. Thus during the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, the capital of Orissa was known as Kataka.

From the survey we can see that scholars have given different interpretations on the origin of Cuttack. Andrew Stirling believed that the city was planted in C.A.D. 989. R.C. Majumdar stated, in the light of a Sailodbhava inscription, that Cuttack was known in the 7th century. K.C. Panigrahi accepted the possibility of Cuttack being established in the 8th-9th centuries. There are still others who suggest that Eastern Ganga king Anangabhimadeva III was the real founder of Abhinava Varanasi Kataka which is mentioned in his Nagari charters dated 1230-1231 A.D. But the time has now come to examine the limits of these interpretations. No real foundation, however, exists to accept such assumptions as sober history. Nevertheless, the broad outline of its development is known. Inscriptions

show that modern Cuttack was known in the past through various names such as Abhinava Varanasi Kataka, Abhinava Varanasi, Varanasi Kataka and Kataka. The name Kataka, abbreviated from the full name, however, become popular to designate the city. The Simhanchallam temple inscription, dated Saka 1035, makes it clear that Varanasi Kataka existed in 1113 A.D. This would suggest that it could have been also an important town in the 10th—11th century, during the rule of the Somavamsis.' It is not possible, due to lack of authentic historical materials, to give an accurate judgement on the precise date of its origin. Perhaps, it is not proper to overemphasize the real beginning of the city, for its growth has been the result of a gradual process. It has witnessed the most remarkable transformation in our history, from a mere camping ground to an excellent city, and from a royal camp to the capital of Orissa. Further discovery of inscriptions and other source materials may help us to know fully the origin and devlopment of this historic city. It will not be, however, wide out of the mark to suggest that this city has virtually continued for nearly one thousand years, and this continuity, while other historical cities have vanished or remain abandoned, makes it a unique city of India. Being the *rajadhani*, Kataka was not only the political hub of Orissa, outside the state, Odisa was known by its chief city, Kataka. There has been change of dynasties. Kings, have come and gone. But Cuttack continues perhaps much better and bigger than what it was in the past.

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Cuttack under the Maratha Rule (1751-1803 A.D.)

Dr. Jagannath Patnaik

The history of Cuttack City during the Maratha rule is an eventful and exciting chapter in the political scenerio of the 18th century Orissa. This city being their capital had witnessed the rise and fall of many Maratha Governors (Subedars), the acrimonius struggle between the Marathas and the British and the final occupation by the latter. A brief resume of all such sensational episodes is as follows.

It was after the conclusion of a peace treaty between Raghoji Bhonsle, the Maratha Raja of Nagpur and Aliverdi Khan, the Nazim of Bengal that the latter ceded Orissa to the former. Mir Habib, an ambitious man of persian birth was appointed the Maratha Subedar (Governor of Orissa) with the city of Cuttack os his Capital. The circumstances under which a non-Maratha like Mir Habib was appointed as the Governor needs to be highlighted.

After the death of Taqi Khan at Cuttack, Murshid Quli Khan-II was appointed the Naib-Nazim of Orissa. He was accompanied by Mir Habib to Cuttack. Mir Habib was also given a job. Gradually he acquired huge amount of money and became fabulously rich. So he had extended financial help to Murshid Quli Khan.[1] Meanwhile Aliverdi Khan defeated Murshid Quli Khan-II at Balasore and drove him out of Orissa. This step of Aliverdi Khan made Mir Habib his arch-enemy although he was then under the service of the former, his own master.[2] At heart he was boiling in fury and waiting for an opportunity to take revenge against Aliverdi Khan. Meanwhile in 1742 A.D. the Marathas invaded Orissa. They came from Nagpur to Cuttack along a connecting road passing through Ratanpur, Sarang Garh, Sonepur, Baud, Bormul, Bedpada, Kantillo, Padmavati, Baideswar and Banki. However, Mir Habib joined the Maratha camp and since then he acted as their guide, friend and philosopher[3]. Meanwhile it was after signing the treaty between Aliverdi Khan and the Marathas in 1751 A.D. that Orissa came under the Maratha occupation and Mir Habib created such a situation that he was made the Governor of Orissa. He happened to be the first Maratha Governor. But he was not destined to enjoy this post for a

long time. Hardly a year after he was murdered at Cuttack in 1752 A.D. by Janoji Bhonsle, the son of Raghoji Bhonsle.[4]

After Mir Habib, another Muslim became the Maratha Governor. He was Mirja Saleh, the nephew of Mir. Habib. More competent a man as he was, Mirja Saleh remained as the Governor for seven years (1752-1759). Some how he was able to satisfy the lust of Raghoji Bhonsle, who used to demand more and more money year after year. Meanwhile, the British opened secret negotiation with Mirja Saleh and became their friend. So he was removed from the post in 1759 and succeeded by one Sheo Bhatta Sathe as the Governor of Orissa. He was the first Maratha to hold such a post. During his tenure some events took place at Cuttack. By that time Janojee Bhonsle was the Maratha Raja who had succeeded Raghoji Bhonsle in 1755 A D.[5] This Janojee was known to have instructed Sheo Bhatta to retrieve the prestige of the Marathas in Orissa as their position had already sunk low. In fact when Sheo Bhatta reached Cuttack he was pained to see, the fort of Barabati lying in the hands of the Muslim rebels with Fateh Khan as their leader. Fateh Khan refused to hand over the fort to him. So a fight between the Muslims and the Marathas became inevitable and Cuttack became the main theatre of operation. After neck-to-neck fight for 27 days, Sheo Bhatta succeeded in recovering the fort of Barabati. But he could not remain in the good book of the Maratha Raja, Janojee Bhonsle. So he was displaced in 1764 by Chimna Bapu or Chimna Sau after remaining as the Governor for four years (1760-1764).[6]

Chimna Bapu arrived at Cuttack in 1764, took the fort of Barabati and stayed there. Meanwhile the erstwhile Governor Mirja Saleh created problems for the Marathas at Cuttack. He did so being instigated by the British and Mirjafar. But he died at Cuttack in 1765 A.D. and with his death the Marathas became free from the external problems. Meanwhile Sheo Bhatta was sent to Cuttack as the Maratha Governor for the second time.[7] During his tenure the British became little more active in Cuttack. They stationed one Kushal Chand at Cuttack to forward all their letters from Bengal to Madras. Of course he was imprisoned soon. After a short while he was released by Sheo Bhatta. Thereby he incurred the displeasure of the Maratha Raja, Janojee Bhonsle. Furthermore he fell into arrears in the payment of tribute. The stipulated amount could not be paid in time. So Janojee removed him and reappointed Chimna Bapu as the Maratha Governor.[8] When he reached Cuttack on 12th April, 1764, he was challenged by Sheo Bhatt. A fight between the two was surfaced. However, Chimna Bapu's tenure was eventful in the history of Cuttack as the area of

the City was said to have been extended as far as Chauliaganj. He was known to have founded there a Ganj.* However, in the stormy situation, Janoji Bhonsle appointed Bhawani Pandit as the Maratha Subahdar of Orissa. It was during his Subahdarship that T. Motte, a British merchant was sent by Robert Clive in 1766 A.D. to Cuttack to suggest to Janojee Bhonsle through the Maratha Subahdar for the peaceful cession of Balasore and Cuttack in lieu of cash payment.[9] But T. Motte's mission failed to achieve the desired results. Presumably it was due to Janojee's preoccuation in saving his won skin from the combined attack by the Peswas and the Nizam.[10] However, T Motte proceeded from Cuttack to Sambalpur and returned to Cuttack during the tenure of Bhawani Pandit.

Bhawani Pandit remained as the Maratha Subahdar from 1764 A.D. to 1768 A.D. During his tenure one Sambhu Bharati was a Mahajan of Cuttack. He had salt golas in the territory of the Raja of Khurda.[11]

Bhawani Pandit was succeeded by Sambhaji Ganesh as the Maratha Governor of Orissa. He remained as such for two years (1768-1770). It was during his tenure that the British were found to have been active in creating field for the occupation of Orissa. At the instance of the Governor of Bengal, Cartier, one British Officer, John Pierce engaged a number of Harkaras at Cuttack for communicating the secret news to the British. One of them was Bishnu Nayak. Thus the British became very active during the Governorship of this Sambhaji Ganesh. However he died at Cuttack and was buried there.[12]

Sambhaji Ganesh was succeeded by Babuji Naik in 1770 A. D. He remained as the Maratha Governor till 1773 A.D. His tenure was not that eventful in the history of Cuttack. Babuji Naik was succeeded by Madhaji Hari. He remained in Cuttack as the Maratha Governor till 1777 A.D. During his Governorship many British ships were plundered at Kujang.[13]

After Madhaji Hari, one Rajaram Pandit became the Governor of Orissa. His tenure of Office was the longest (1778-1793). As such his time was most eventful in the history of Cuttack. It was during his time that Chimnaji Bapu, the second son of Madhaji Bhonsle went from Cuttack to fight with the Raja of Dhenkanal.[14] That was not all. Rajaram Pandit was the first Maratha Governor to inflict Punishment on the Raja of Khurda, Birkishore Dev. That was because he went mad and murdered four of his own children. The Raja was captured in Person by Rajaram Pandit. He was put into confinement in the fort of Barabati. Then he made the grand son

* In Maratha Language, Ganj Means Market.

of Bira Kishore Dev as the Raja of Khurda. He was Divyasingha Dev. Rajaram Pandit also made him agree to pay annually a tribute of Rupees ten thousand to the Maratha Government.[15]

It was also during the governorship of Rajaram Pandit that Warren Hastings, the Governor General made diplomatic move for securing Cuttack from the Marathas. He wanted to negotiate with the Bhonsles of Nagpur through the Maratha Governor of Orissa. Madhaji, the younger brother of of Janoji Bhonsle was then the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur and he remained as such from 1772 to 1788 A.D. He was somewhat friendly to the British Government.[16] So Warren Hastings deputed one David Anderson in January, 1781 so as to open negotiation for securing a tract of land on rent in Cuttack from Madhaji. He met Chimnaji Bapu. After preliminary discussion at Cuttack, both came to Calcutta for a final settlment with the Governor General. On March 6, 1781 an agreement was reached to the satisfaction of both the parties.[17] Accordingly East India Company paid a sum of Rupees twenty lakhs to the Marathas in return of which they allowed a passage through Orissa to a British army under Colonel Pearu. But the the objective of securing Cuttack on rent remained for away.[18] It was also during the tenure of Rajaram Pandit that Cuttack witnessed the arrival of some religious mendicants of Goswamis. One of them was Motiger Summer. They arrived at Cuttack in the rain season of 1784 to perform religious ceremonies in the temple of Jagannath of Puri. From Cuttack they proceeded to Puri. At the instance of the Bhonsle Raja, Madhaji, they were known to have been paid one lakh of ruppees by Rajaram Pandit in Charity.[19] During Ryjaram Pandit's Governorship,Cuttack had developed as a flourshing centre of trade in India. A large number of merchants from Berar and other inland parts of India used to bring cotton and other goods to Cuttack for sale.[20]

Rajaram Pandit died at Cuttack in 1793 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Sadasiva Rao as the Maratha Governor in 1793 A.D. He was previously the Naik-Subahadar of Orissa. So he was rich in administrative experience. He was known to have been frinndly to British. However, it was in the month of February 1798 that Sadasiva Rao set out from Cuttack to pay respect to the Maratha Raja Raghoji Bhonsle at Nagpur. During his absence Nilakantha Nayak was put in charge of his office. After a short period, Sadasiva Rao returned to Cuttack and resumed his office. He continued to remain in office till the British occupation of Orissa in 1803 A.D.[19]

Meanwhile Marquess of Wellesley was appointed Governor General of India. He arrived in India on May, 18, 1798. An imperialist out and out,

he took up the question of the occupation of Orissa in right earnest. In the first instance,,he too made all efforts to secure Orissa through negotiation directly with the Raja of Nagpur. But all the negotations failed.[20] Then he tried with the Maratha Officer stationed at Cuttack. Wellesley addressed letters to two Maratha Officers who exercised first authority at Cuttack and ordered the British Commander, Colonel Campbell and Civil Commissioner Melville to forward these letters first to them and then to open negotiations. They were also authorised to pay to each one of them, a sum not exceeding two lacs of rupees. The persons to whom the letters were known to have been written were Sadasiva Rao, the Maratha Subahdar and Benuji Pandit, the Naib Subahdar of Cuttack.[21] The very fact that Sadasiva Rao, the Maratha Governor was absent at Cuttack during the British occupation substantiates that both the Maratha officers had received the bribes and they were won over by the British. Meanwhile the British Commander Colonel Campbell fell ill. He suffered from high fever. In his place the military secretary of the Governor General, Colonel Harcourt took over the command of the British forces on September 11, 1803.[22] He came from Puri along the Puri-Cuttack Road passing through Birpurushotampur, Mukundapur, Pipili, Balkati and then crossing Kathojodi and reached Cuttack on October 10. He immediately took the possession of the Lalbag Palace. He then actively employed himself for the occupation of the fort of Barabati. According to a description given by G. F. Leckie who was sent to Cuttack in 1790 A.D. by Governor General Lord Cornwallis, the Maratha forces consisting of 1,000 maratha, 150 Sikh Horsemen and 500 foot soldiers were stationed to defend the fort of Barabati.[23] The same arrangement might have been retained when Col. Harcourt made an attack on the fort. Sergent Christopher Samuel Plummer who was one of the fighting troops has given an eye witness description of the fort thus, "Built with stones, defended by eight small towers, surrounded by a high rampant and deep moat 20 feet to 30 feet paces abroad and in some places by a double ditch".[24] However it was at 10.00 A.M, on October 14, 1803 that at the instance of Colonel Harcourt that the trops opened fire, An English officer at 11.00 A.M. blew open of the small gates and the British force obtained the possession of the fort and the town of Cuttack,[25]

Thus the Maratha rule in Orissa came to an end and the city of Cuttack thereafter heard the footsteps of the British administrators,

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Glimpses of Beautiful Cuttack in the 19th Century Drawings

Dr. K. S. Behera

"The charm of it stuck us on our first visit, the broad, shady roads, and green parade ground, the picturesque buildings, the two broad rivers with their background of lovely blus hills, make it one of the most picturesque stations in India"

John Beames, *Memoirs of Bengal Civilian, P. 194*

The Company drawings first appeared in South India in the Madras Presidency. This was followed by the growth of other centres such as Murshidabad, Calcutta, Patna, Banaras, etc. With the British conquest of Orissa in 1803, Company painting developed in Orissa with Cuttack as the principal centre.[1] This development was, doubtless, due to importance of Cuttack in the administration. Up to 1816 the Collector's headquarters were at Puri, although the treasury and always been at Cuttack. The collector's headquarters were permanently shifted to Cuttack in 1816. By regulation I of 1818 the office of the Commissioner was established and under Regulation I of 1829 Cuttack was made the 19th commissionership of Revenue and Circuit. Thus Cuttack became the capital of the Orissa Division and the District administrative headquarters. The 19th century British Orissa comprised the three districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri under direct Btitish control, and 18 tributary states under the general supervision of the Commissioner, who was called Superintendent of Tributary States.

In 1804 the first settlement of the land revenue of the province was made for one year only and embodied in Regulation XII of 1805. This was followed by a triennial settlement and by others thereafter. The Bengal Engineers and Madras Engineers were in Cuttack during 1810-11 and 1818-1821 respectively. Some of their draftsmen prepared of architectural drawings of Orissan temples at Puri, Konark and Bhubaneswar. Particularly, in 1815 the artist of Collin Mackenzie, Madras Engineer and the Surveyor General, prepared drawing of Orissan images at Jajpur, Bhubaneswar Puri and Konark. On May 20, 1815 two drawings were produced illustrating the views of the famous Jami Maszid at Cuttack.[2] Located at Balu Bazar, the mosque follows the usual layout of an Islamic prayer house with court yard, *hauz*, a spacious prayer hall with three bulbuous domes on it. The two minars, on both sides

of the mosque, add to its majesty. The entrance to the Masjid is through the southern gate. It is known from a Persian inscription that the Jami mosque was built by Naib Nazim Ekram Khan in 1102 A.H. (1689 AD.) in the reign of Aurangzeb, The illustrations successfully convey the beauty and majesty of this mosque.

The Baptist missionaries started their activities in the town of Cuttack since 1822, and, in course of their work, they published tracts containing illustrations such as the "car of Juggernaut". James Peggs, a leading Missionary at Cuttack, has given a description along with a picture of Telugue Suttee at Cuttack in his tract entitled, *India's Cries to British Humanity* 1828. The *Sati Daha* by a Telugu Brahman Woman at Cuttack was witnessed by Rev. James Peggs and other Europeans, including the Magistrate in August 19, 1824. They failed to dissuade the widow. She entered "the pyre as a person would get into a bed and lay herself down by the left side of her husband" and soon the fire consumed both the dead and the alive.

Andrew Stirling, who was Cuttack from 1817 to 1822 as Secretary to Commissioner of Cuttack, published an elaborate article on Orissa in the *Asiatic researches* Vol. XV, 1825. It contains a few illustratious relating to temples of Orissa. Markham Kittoe (1808-1850) and James Fergusson prepared drawings of Orissan monuments during their visits to the State. The coloured picture of Konark temple made by Fergusson offers interesting glimpse into the condition of the temple in 1837.

In course of the time Cuttack developed into a big British station. Referring to Cuttack in 1873, John Beames writes

"There was regiment of Madras Infantry with six or seven officers and their wives, about a dozen engineers of the public works department, six or seven members of the Civil Service, besides missionaries and merchants and men in other departments. Numerous officers stationed in outlying parts of the province were constantly coming in on business or pleasure, so that on special occasions we could assemble over a hundred Europeans of both sexes, a large number for an Indian station. Nor were they only numerous, they were, for the most part, cheerful, gay and sociable folk. Cut off as Cuttack was to a great extent from the rest of the world by defective means of communication, its residents had to rely on themselves and their neighbours for help, society and amusement. Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor, used to say that he could not get men to go to Cuttack, but ones they had got there he could not get them to come away from it. Men did not like going there because it was so out of the way, but when they once got there they found it so plesant they wished to stay".[3]

Such was the great town of Cuttack, the Capital of a remote province of India. Its distance, and strangeness offered a fascinating study. Artists tried to record in their paintings the strange environment in which the British officers worked and lived. Pictures were produced to depict local scences, festivals, occupations, and subjects of human or social interest. At times artists depicted buildings, and art remains. Several drawings on Cuttack are now preserved in India Office Library in London.[4] A set of ten drawings, in water colour, made by an artist around 1840 AD. bear short descriptive notes and mention Cuttack. The drawings, evidently meant for a relative in England, are as follows

1. A scene from the river side at Cuttack.

The natives throw down the dead bodies and the wild beasts come and devour them. The picture depicts a corpse, lying on the river side at Cuttack being devoured by dogs, vultures and a jackel.

2. A group of starving villagers out side the pilgrims Hospital,Cuttack.

The Cuttack dispensary or *arnachhatra* hospital had been established with the object of providing charitable medical relief to pilgrims and feeding other poor people, who received free meals twice daily. The hospital was usually filled with diseased pilgrims, or starving people picked up on the roads and brought to the hospital by the police.

3. Cook sourrounded by Utensils., Crouching in the kitchen in front of a hearth.
4. Brahmin, seated on the varandah of his thatched house being shaved by a barber.
5. Carpenter planning wood.
6. Shoemaker at work.
7. Man and woman with a pair of bullocks working an oil press.
8. Sepoy of the 30th (?) Regiment, Madras Native Infantry in full dress.
9. Sepoy of the above Regiment in light marching order.
10. Sepoy in heavy marching order.

Another set of drawings on Cuttack, ranging in dates from 1873 to 1878, are available in the Oriental and India Office collections of the British Library, London. The favourite subjects are the views of the Mahanadi river, entrance to the fortress of Barabati, the Lal Bagh, their own bunglows, garden, and local scenes at Cuttack.

The location of the city of Cuttack is unique. It is situated on a tongue of land between the Mahanadi and Katjuri rivers. The Mahanadi (the great river), enters upon the delta at Naraj, about 12 km. west of the town of Cuttack and divides into two great streams, Mahanadi proper and

the Kathjuri. Thus Cuttack lies between "two sheltering arms of the mighty river". It is virtually a "Jala durga" Further massive revetment or stone walls along the sides of the two rivers, provided with bastions and ghats, gives to the city the appearance of a fortified town. A painting made in 1878 depicts Naraj while another drawing of the same year shows the Mahanadi River with chain of hills in the background.

The gateway of the fort of Barabati is the theme of another painting of 1875. The fort was captured by the British in 1803. Abul Fazal, the court historian of Akbar, gives an interesting description of the fort. He writes that "the city of Cuttack has a stone fort which is the residence of the rulers and contains some fine buildings, Raja Mukund Dev built here a palace with nine quarters, the first was meant for elephants and their stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and residence for attendants; the third by patrol and gate keepers; the fourth by the workshops; the fifth by the kitchen; the sixth contained the public reception rooms; the seventh; the private apartments; the eighth, the women's apartments; and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the ruler". Ghulam Hussin Tabataba, author of *Siyarul Muta akhkhirin*, also gives an account of the city of Cuttack and the fort of Barabati. "The fort of Barabati was situated on the Mahanadi. It was constructed of stone, brick, mortar and lime and was surrounded by a pucca wide ditch"

During the early British period the fortress was used as the state prison for important political offenders. As the fort became dilapidated, the walls were dismantled and stones were used for the repairs of revetment, public roads and for building the Light House at the False point. Thus "one of the finest remains of antiquity in the province of Orissa" was destroyed for the sake of stones. The fort was converted into "an ugly series of earthen mounds" Only the arched gateway remained to proclaim its past glory. Within the enclosure "stood the station club, a racquet court and other buildings"

The Lalbagh House, depicted in two drawings dated 1873, was the Commissioner's residence. It is situated on highest point of the Kathjuri revetment. The Lalbagh palace was constructed in the thirties of the 17th century and served as the residence of the Mughal Governors of Orissa. In 1766, according to Thomas Motte, it was a "large building laid out in a number of courts, in the morisco taste, but much out of repair, the Governor when one part is ready to fall, removing to another. From the principal entrance of this palace, runs the great street, formerly built in a straight line, one mile and half long, and still the chief place of business in the town. On the right of it is the English factory, the meanness of which does

no credit to so flourishing a company". In 1873, when the drawing of Lalbagh House was made, it was "a large and stately building in a park like compound in which, in our time, a herd of spotted deer used to roam. A long avenue of tall trees with dense foliage (a species of uvaria) led to the entrance gates, beyond which lay the native city".[5] The other drawings, depict the Mangalabag House (1877) Chauliaganj House (1878), Mr. Walkir's garden (1878), and the boat builders at Jobra (1878). John Beames in his Memoirs refers to "Chauliaganj with a race-course and a row of pleasant, spacious villas in large compounds, in one of which we lived for four years".[6] In 1873, "Jobra was a suburb of Cuttack, a grean woody little village on the bank of the great river Mahanadi. Just above it the river was dammed by an anicut, a mighty wall of stone more than a mile in length, and at one end of it stood the great range of canal workshops, under the management of George Faulkner".[7]

The tradition of painting declined with the coming of camera when photographs of monuments and other scenes were taken. Even John Beames, who stayed at Cuttack from 1873-1877, has given photographs and drawings in his memoir entitled, "The Story of My Life"

Cuttack has now changed considerably. The Lalbag House has been converted to a hospital. Cuttack is no longer the capital of Orissa, yet the great city bustles with life and charm of it has never diminished. The drawings of the 19th century evoke memories of a bygone age. In the estimation of John Beames:

"It was a very lively place in those days, being a very large station and a centre of meeting for several smaller stations in the neighbourhood. It was one of the cheerfullest, healthiest, rettiest and most generally agreeable stations I have ever known-atleast it was so in those days i.e. from 1869 to 1878 when we knew it".[8]

In our times, Cuttack is also a "very lively place", and the focal point of the cultural life of Orissa.

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6. *Ibid*
7. *Ibid*.
8. John Beames, Op. Cit. P. 195.

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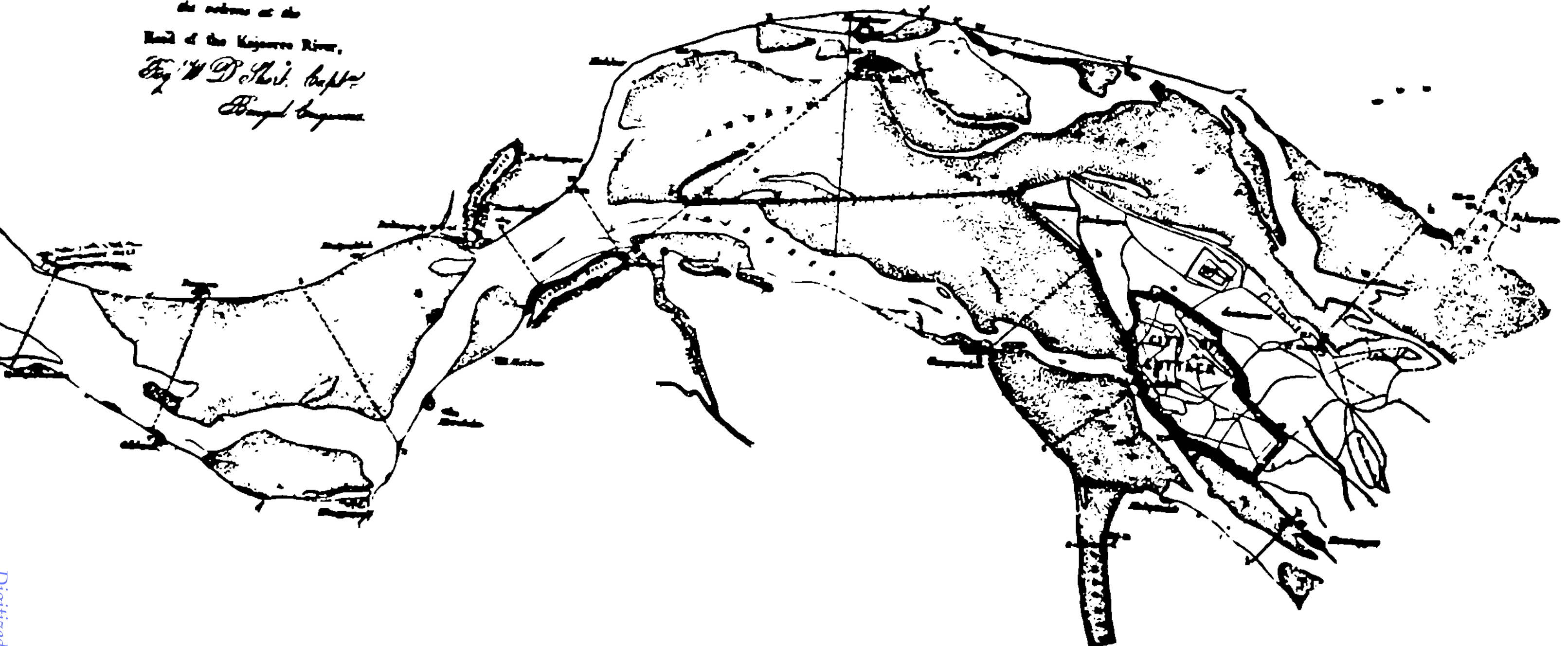
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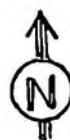


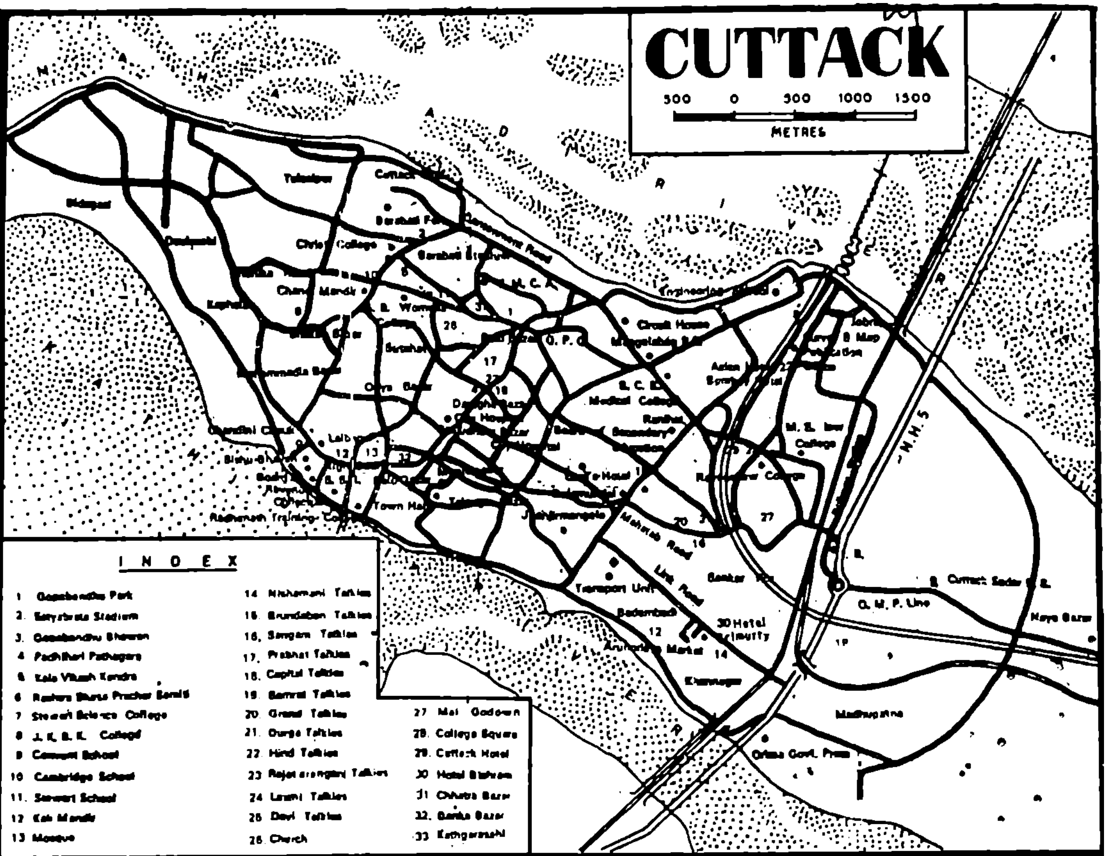


PLAN OF CUTTACK
SHEWING THE FLOW OF THE
MAHANUDDY AND KAJOOREE RIVERS
and the project for controlling
the volume at the
Head of the Kajooree River.
Copied and Corrected in the Office of the Chief Engineer B.

DRAINAGE MAP OF CUTTACK CITY

BARABATI FORT, CUTTACK, ORISSA
PLAN OF EXCAVATED REMAINS
SCALE : 1 Cm = 4 Mts

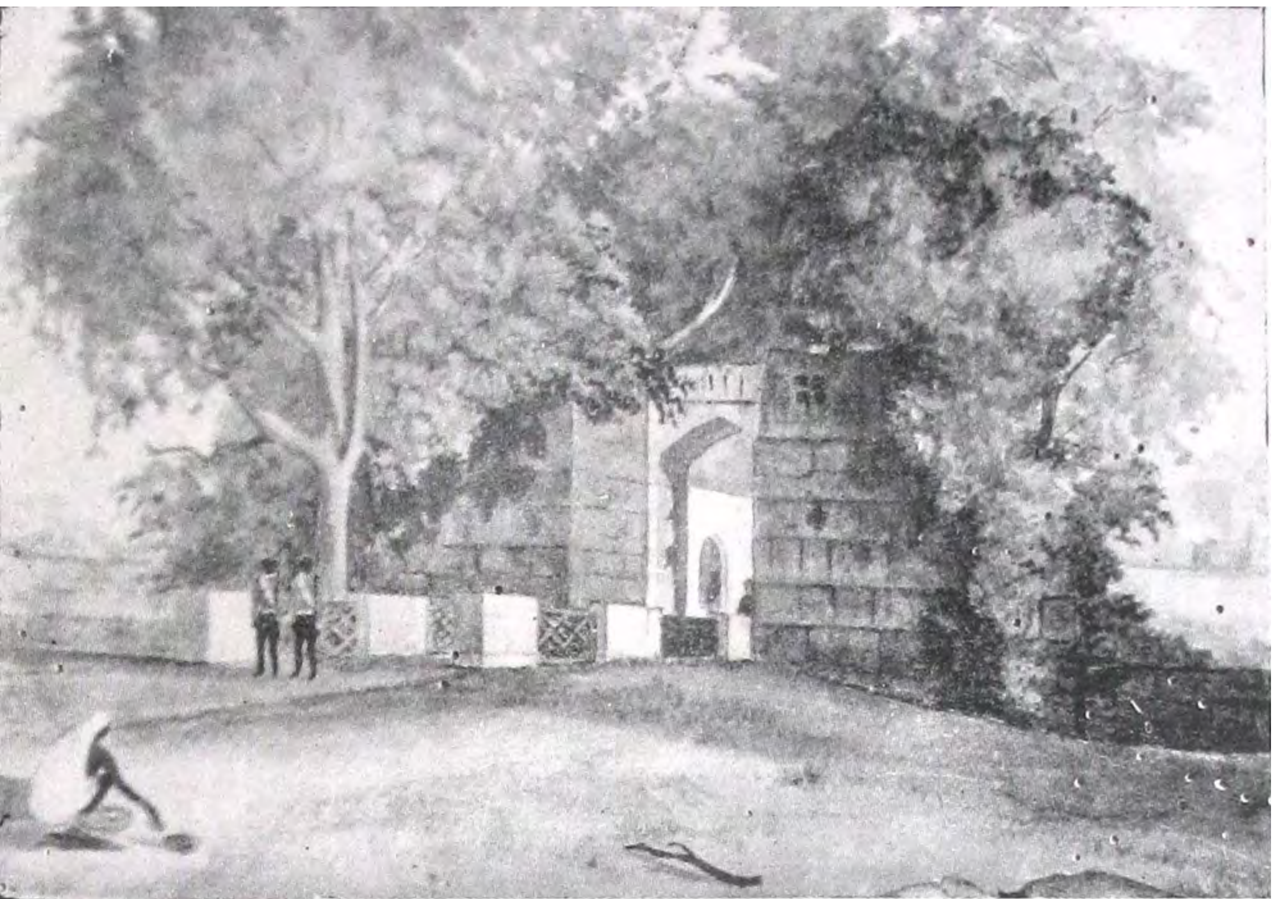




CUTTACK
500 0 500 1000 1500
METRES
MAHANADI RIVER
KATHJURI RIVER
N.H. 5
Cuttack Sadar R.S.
O. M. P. Line
Naya Bazar
Madhupatna
Orissa Govt. Press
Ravenshaw College
M. S. Law College
Mahatab Road
Link Road
Transport Unit
Badambadi
Arunodaya Market
Khannagar
Buxi Bazar
Chandni Chowk
Town Hall
Radhanath Training College
Jhanjirimangala
S. C. B. Medical College
Circuit House
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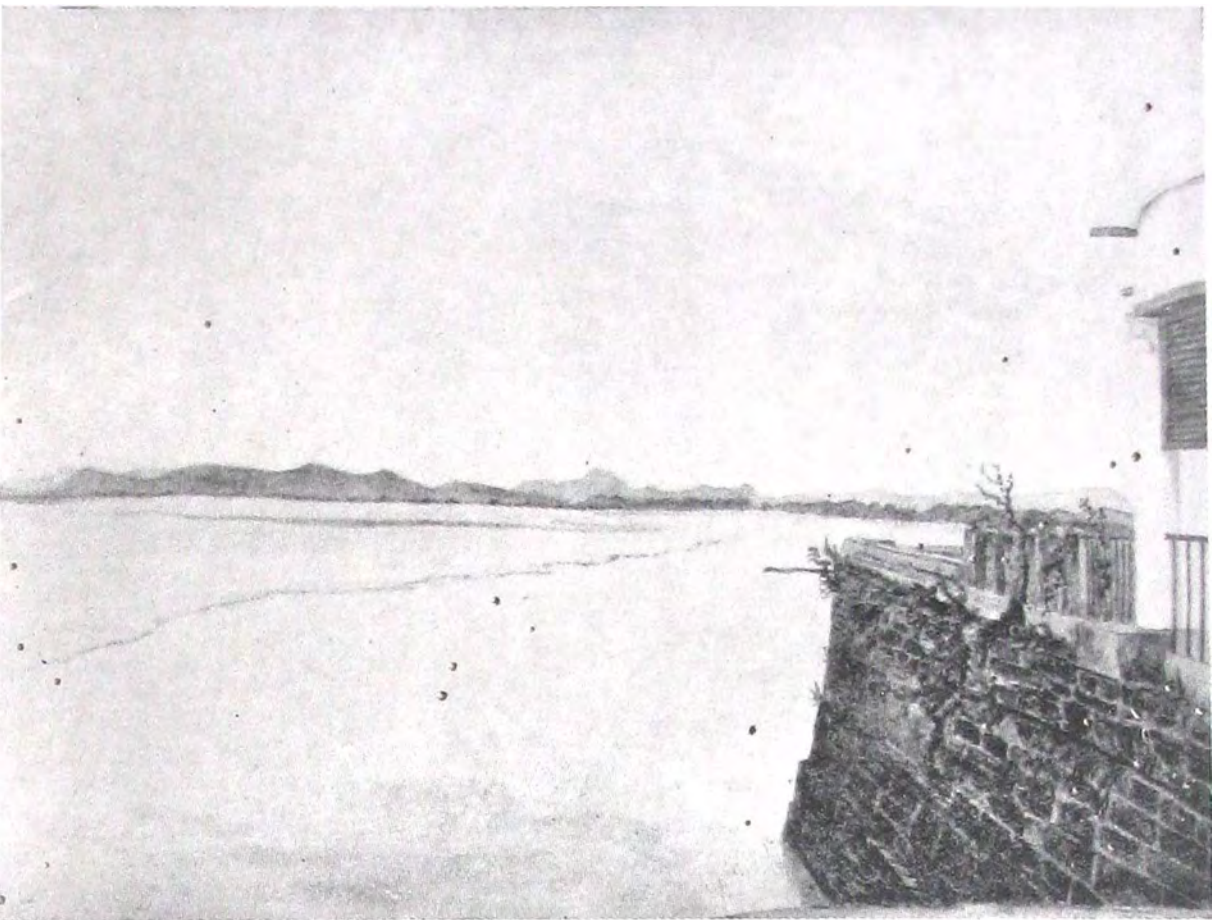
5 Naraj, (1878)copy from a painting, Courtesy British Library, London.



6 Gate-way of Barabati Fort (1875), copy from a painting,
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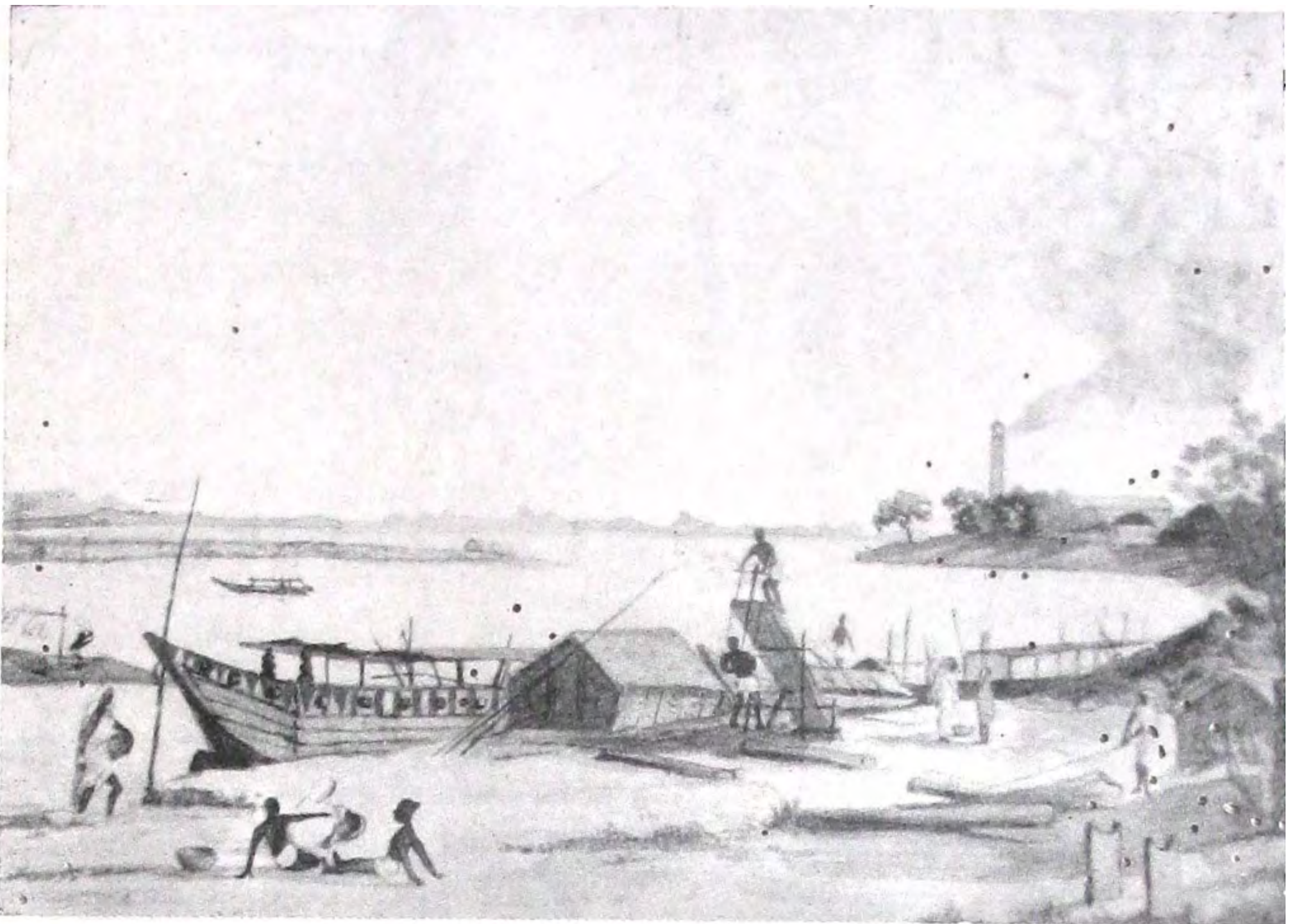
7 The Lalbag House (1873) copy from a painting.
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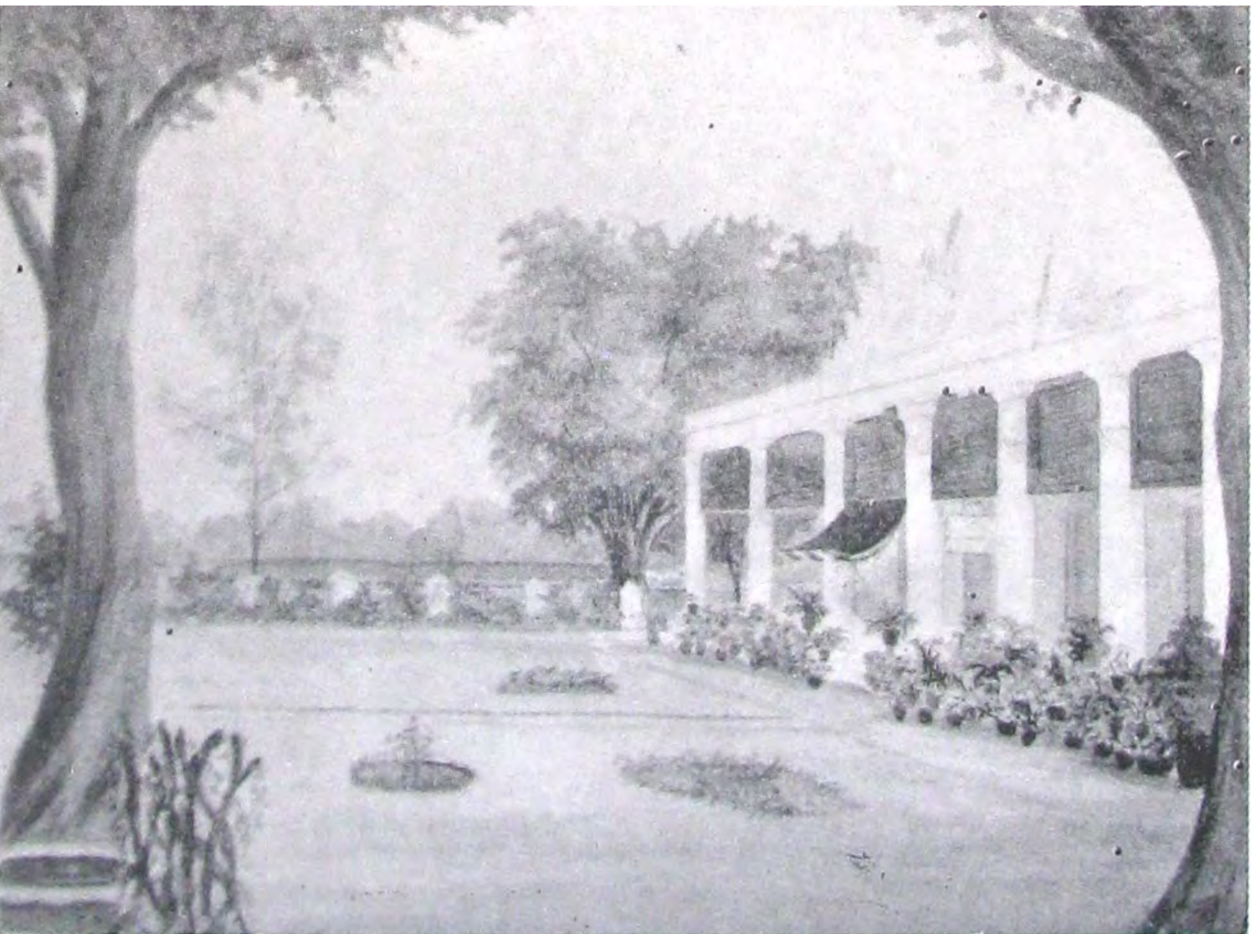
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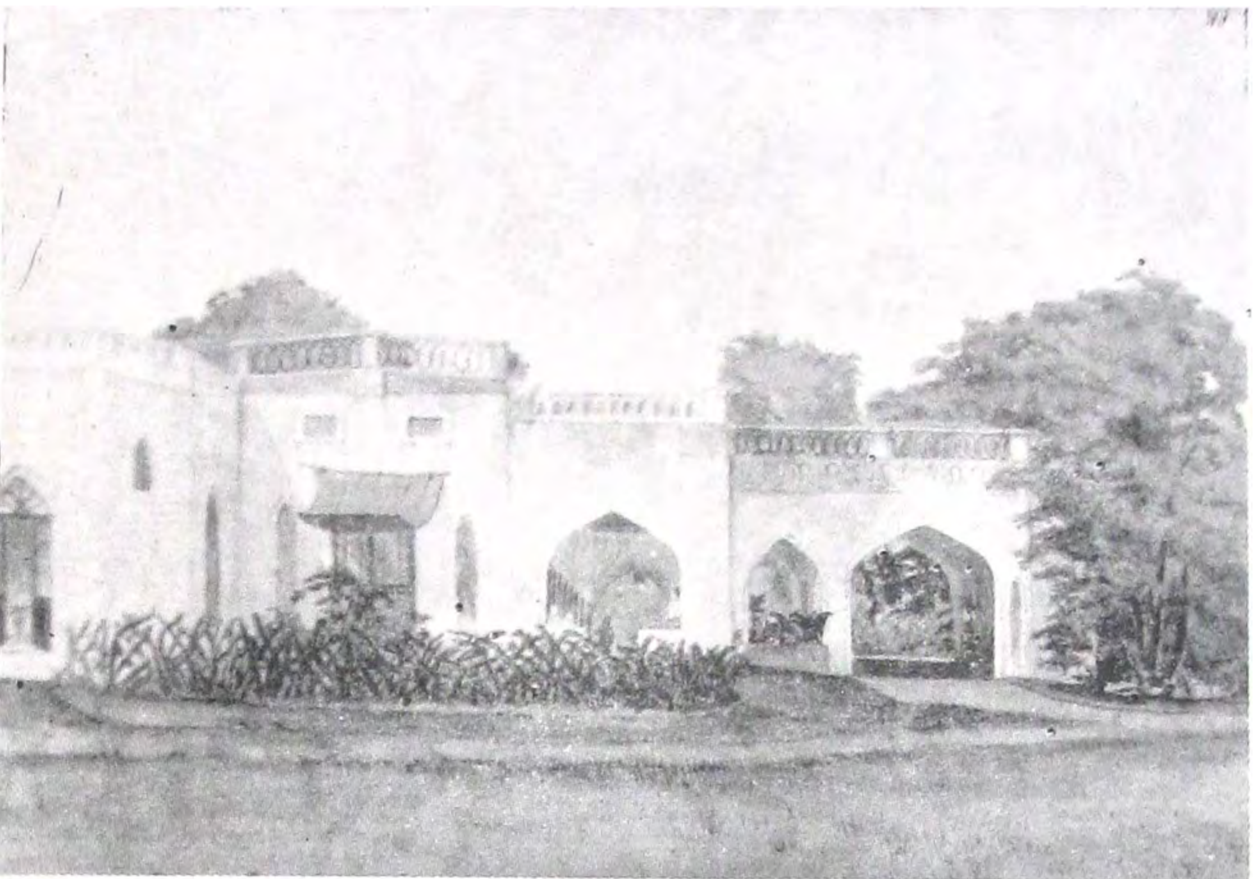
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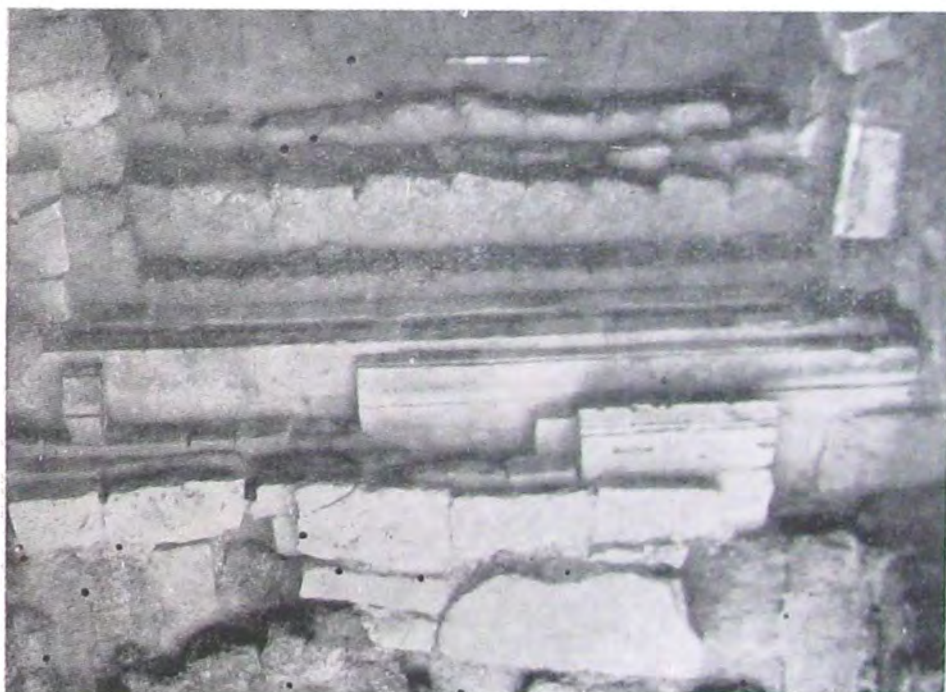
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21 A view of the remains of the temple from the top-Barabati Fort.



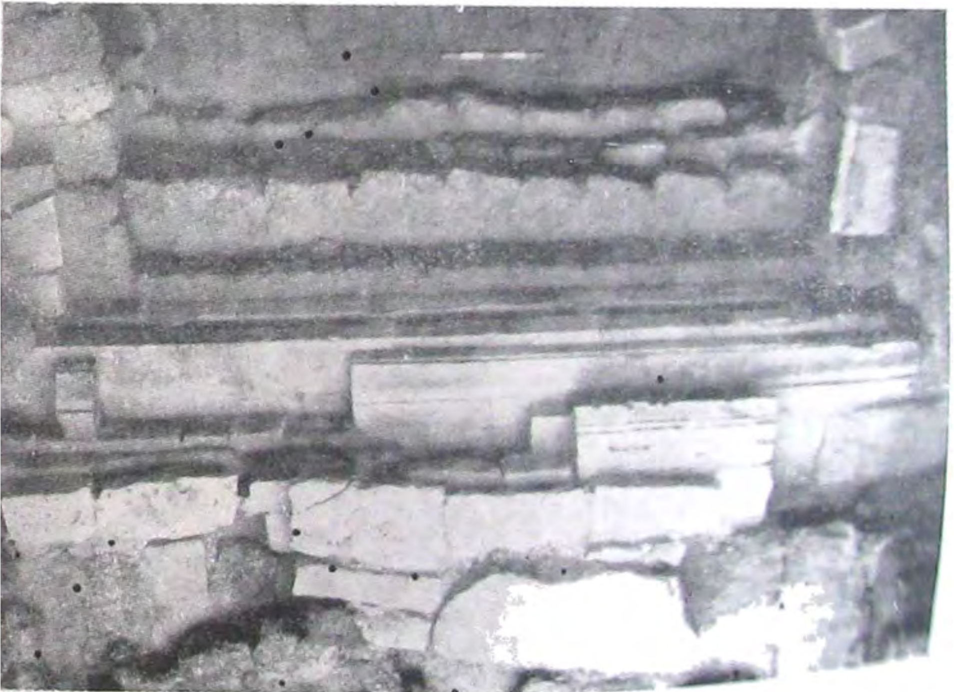
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20 A view of the remains of the temple from the top-Barabati Fort.



21 A view of the remains of the temple from the top Barab



23 Mutilated female image- Barabati Fort.



22 Mutilated image of Ganesa Barabati Fort.

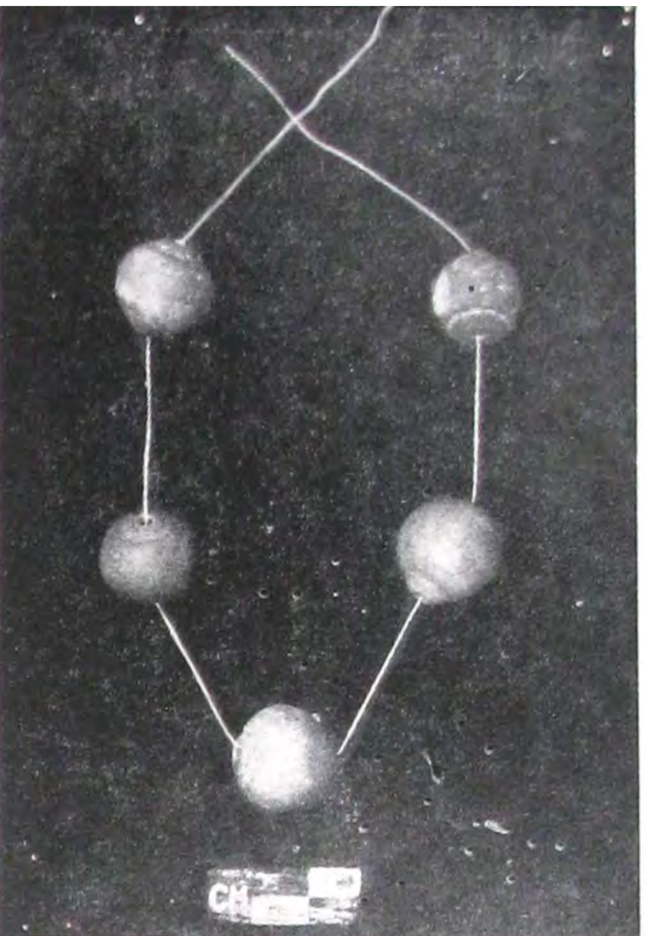


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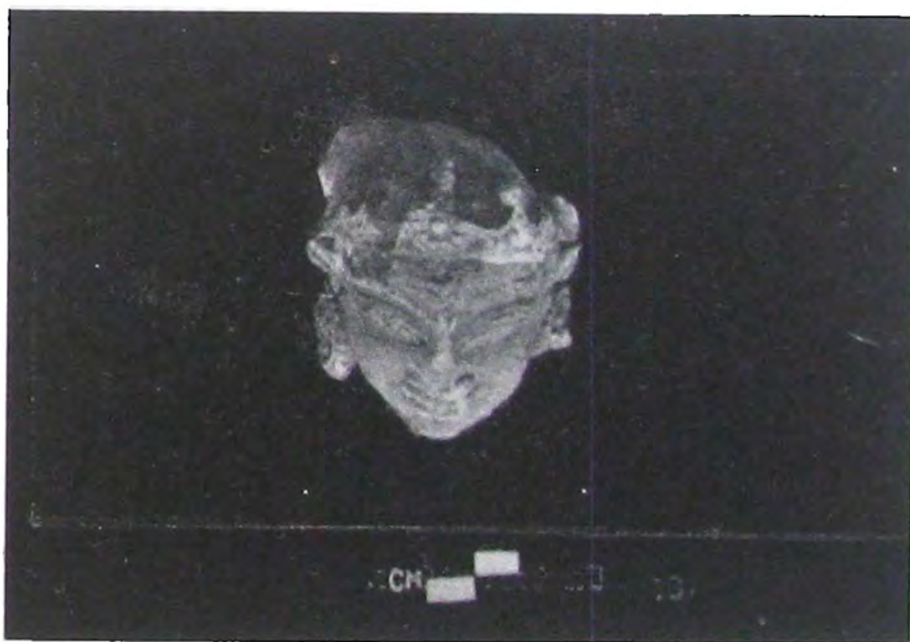
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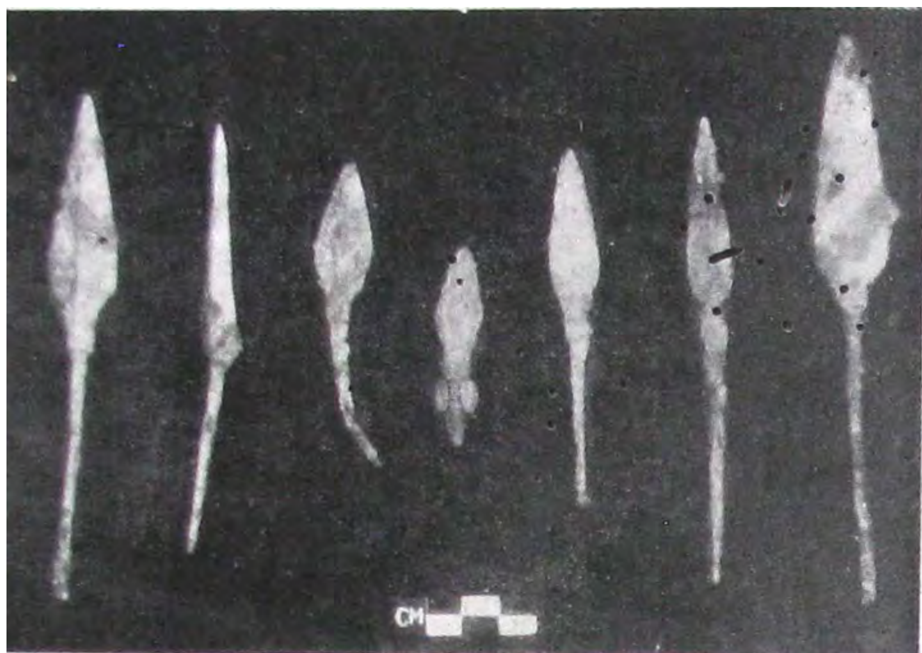
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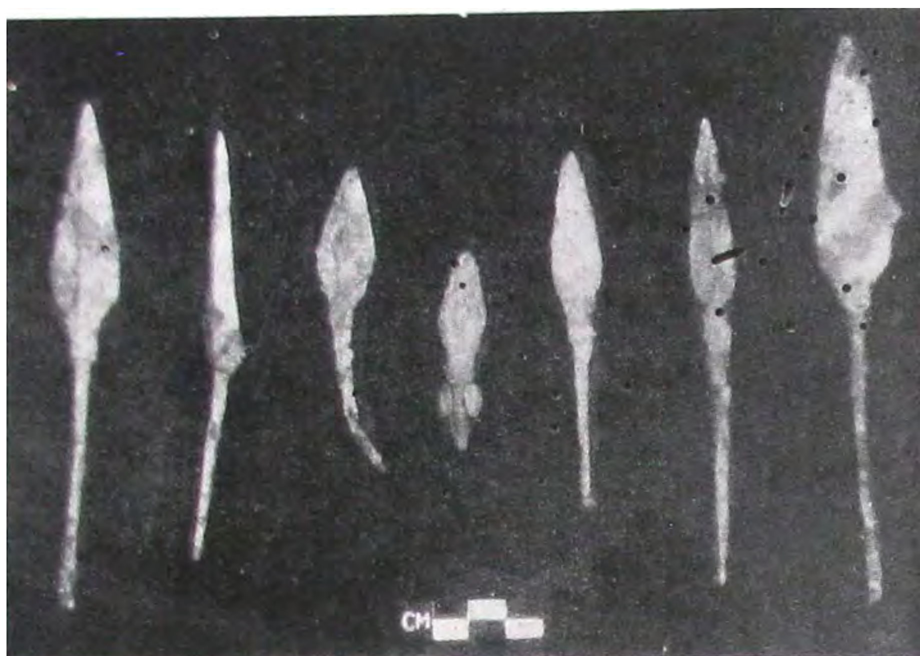
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32 Cannon from'Barabati Fort.
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33 Cannon from Barabati Fort
Courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.



30 Arrow heads found during excavation Barabati Fort



31 **Barabati Fort Gate.**



32 Cannon from'Barabati Fort.
Courtesy Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar



33 Cannon from Barabati Fort
Courtesy Orissą State Museum, Bhubaneswar.



34 Inaugural function of excavation (1 12.1989)



35 Guests proceeding towards the mound for laying foundation for excavation.



36 Laying foundation of excavation, by Sri Radhanath Rath, Editor, The Samaj, (1 12.1989)



37 Laying foundation of excavation, by Sri Jagatpati Joshi, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India (1 12.89)



38 Parachute landing by Indian Army on Kathajori sand bed. (1 12 1989)



39 •View of gathering to witness the Parachute-landing and Sky - diving by Indian Army. (1.12.1989).



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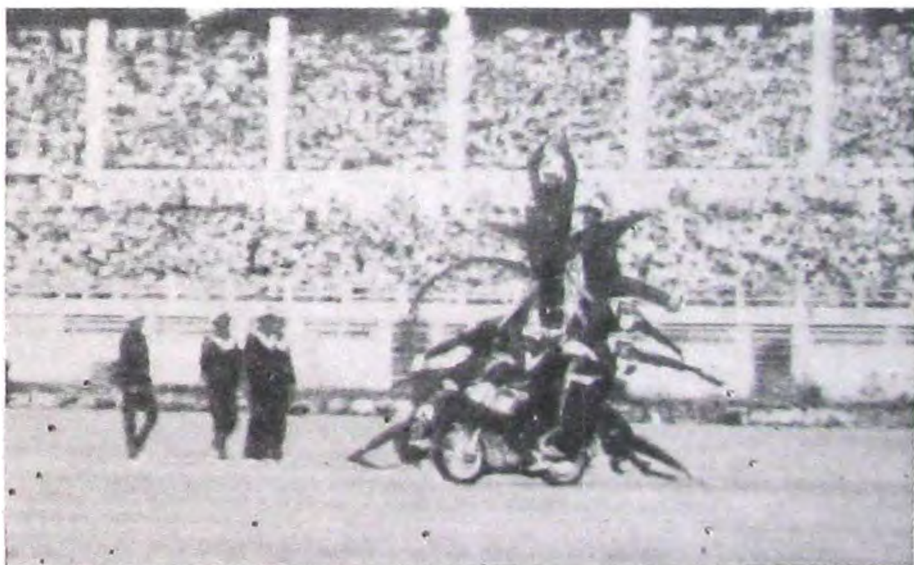
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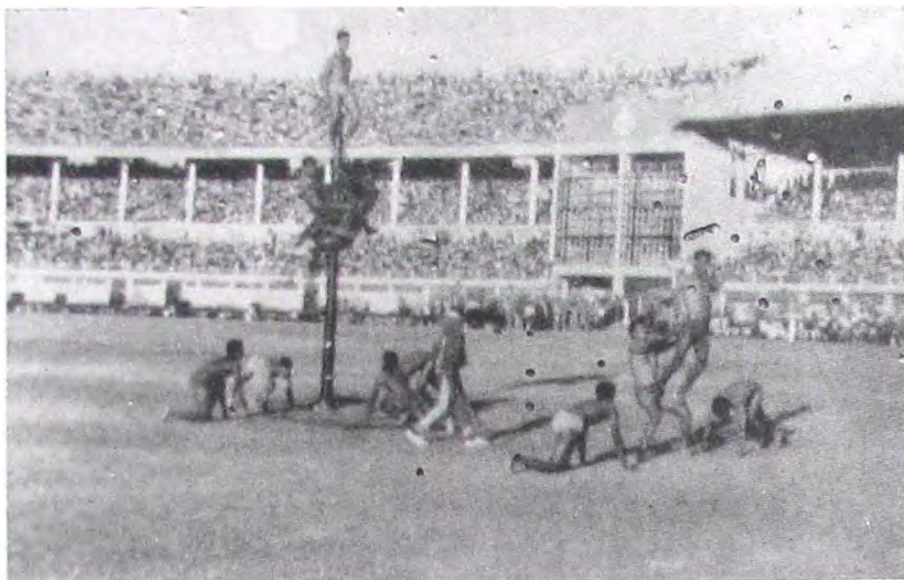
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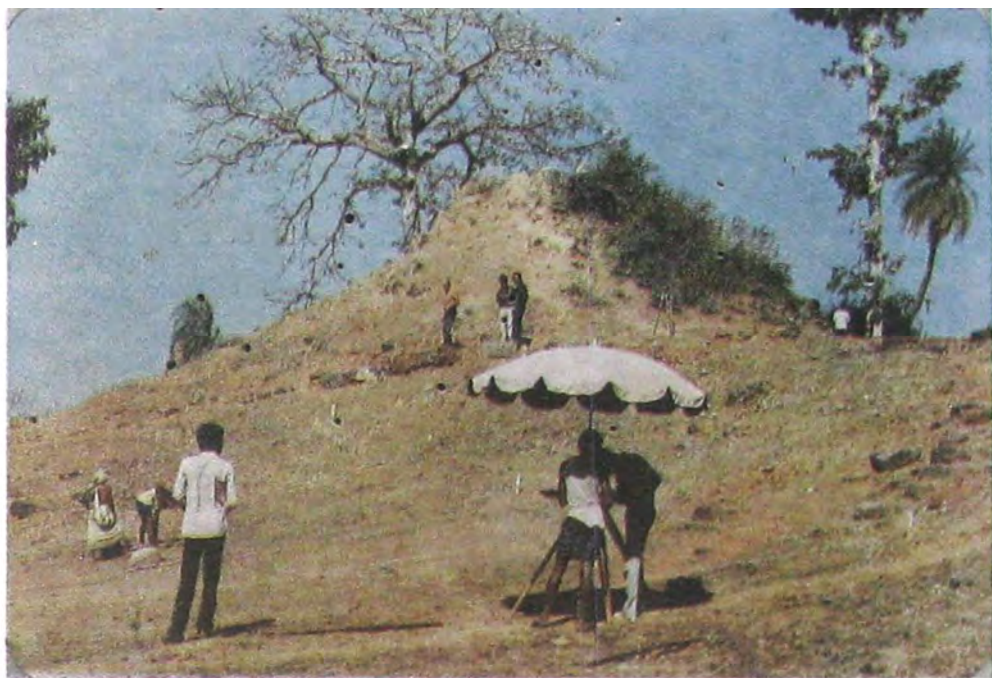
58 A wood cut c. 1830 showing Bengali & Palki (Sabari) service. A Freey Ghat was a busy place in those days.

Service.

To

Cuttack

59 Persian Endorsement read clock-wise from right side 1, 13th Nov. 1820 1st. Prahar of the day.

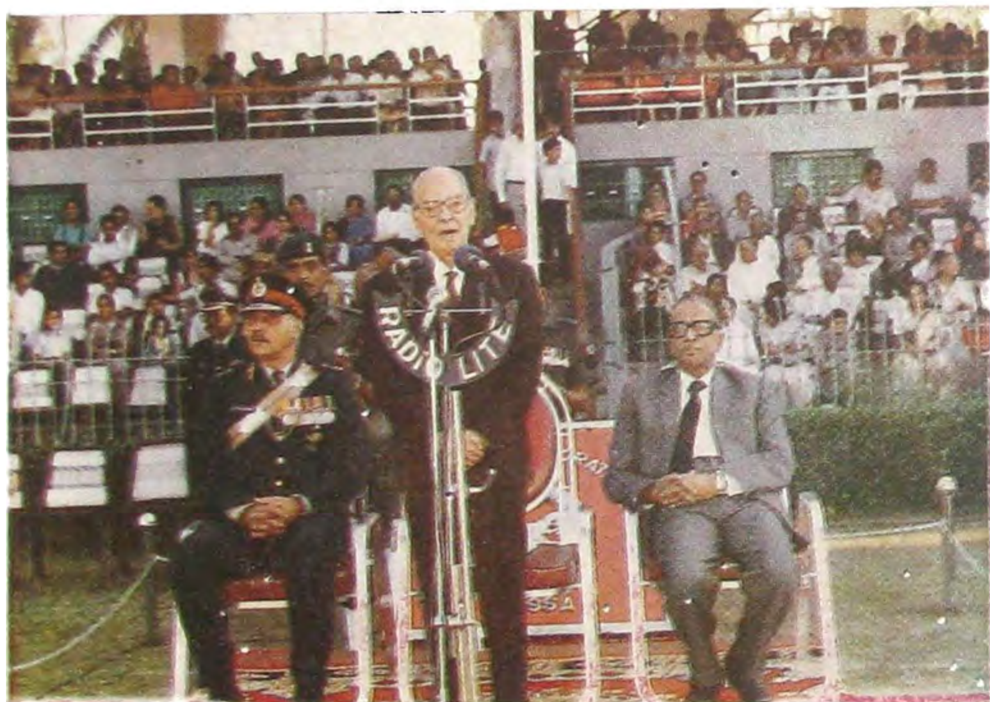


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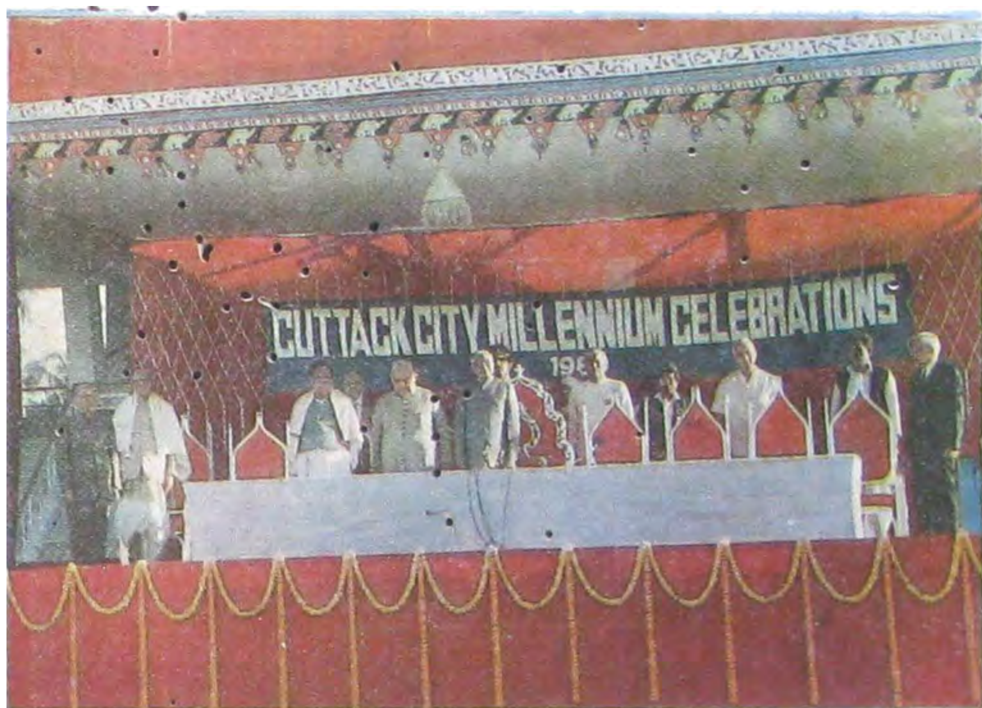
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65 Chorus by 250 artists of Cuttack on 10 12 1989



66 Foreign dignitaries witnessing the inaugural function (10 12 91)



67 Seminar on Cuttack City on 27.4 1990

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